

July — August, 1933

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

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Voltaire and the Physiocrats

Samuel Danziger

The Labor Problem and How to Solve It

B. W. Burger

Work of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, the Henry George School,
Book Reviews, Correspondence, News Notes, Etc.

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LAND AND FREEDOM

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

TAKING the full rent of land for public purposes insures the fullest and best use of all land. In cities this would mean more homes and more places to do business and therefore lower rents. In rural communities it would mean the freedom of the farmer from land mortgages and would guarantee him full possession of his entire product at a small land rental to the government without the payment of any taxes. It would prevent the holding of mines idle for the purpose of monopoly and would immensely increase the production and therefore greatly lower the price of mine products.

Land can be used only by the employment of labor. Putting land to its fullest and best use would create an unlimited demand for labor. With an unlimited demand for labor, the job would seek the man, not the man seek the job, and labor would receive its full share of the product.

The freeing from taxation of all buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes and every product of labor and intellect, will encourage men to build and to produce, will reward them for their efforts to improve the land, to produce wealth and to render the services that the people need, instead of penalizing them for these efforts as taxation does now.

It will put an end to legalized robbery by the government which now pries into men's private affairs and exacts fines and penalties in the shape of tolls and taxes on every evidence of man's industry and thrift.

All labor and industry depend basically on land, and only in the measure that land is attainable can labor and industry be prosperous. The taking of the full Rent of Land for public purposes would put and keep all land forever in use to the fullest extent of the people's needs, and so would insure real and permanent prosperity for all.

Land and Freedom

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No. 4

Comment and Reflection

THE present depression caught a world without any economic knowledge. We might indeed accept with some excuse the prevailing ignorance in political circles, yet it is not so easy to explain the ignorance of collegiate and university professors. Here shallowness and superficiality have been for a generation almost unbelievable. "Smart" they were, but nothing more: cleverly ingenious in the books and pamphlets emerging from institutions of learning in never ending stream.

THE old political economy, despite its imperfections, might have served as a general starting point for a partially coherent science of political economy. Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill had indicated as much of economic truth as was needed for a beginning. Instead of developing from this starting point, so full of promise, economic truth was left marooned with whatever was fundamental in these philosophies, and a new political economy was begun on new lines, in which there were no fundamental principles at all, but just ingenious speculations, social inventions, and regulations and restrictions, all of which have finally developed into what is known as a "planned economy." The socialistic principles have been too strong for these youthful teachers and writers with little traditional background who have taught and written from the chairs of colleges and universities.

THE Malthusian theory and the Wage Fund theory have been taught in turn. The Technocrats bloomed for a time and faded out. The regulationists, with Prof. Tugwell at their head, now have the field all to themselves. They vie with suggestions for re-making a God-made world aright. That the processes of production and exchange are natural processes, not dependent upon man-made adjustments, seem not to have occurred to them. Indeed such theories are openly repudiated, despite industrial history, and despite, too, the laws for which Smith and Mill broke ground.

WE do not mention Henry George in this connection because he was not until now held in high esteem, his teachings being a direct challenge to *all* political economy. We speak only of the recognized fathers of the science who would have some difficulty in identifying their

offspring in the over-smart, but fearfully shallow gentlemen who now seek to remake society like the child arranges his building blocks, and with as little thought to the laws that govern their arrangement.

THOUGH business men have accepted generally and tentatively the policy of control—they can do nothing else of course—it must not be imagined that anything is settled. Those who accept the monstrous "recovery" measures of the administration do so with the implied understanding that it is entirely experimental. There is nothing in industrial history that gives us ground for anticipating any real success. Business men grasp at it as they grasp at a straw. "We are conscious of the danger that there is so little time to think," says Prof. Moley, doubtfully. And he might have added, "So little ability to think."

BUSINESS men have been so long buffeted hither and thither that like a battered prize-fighter they rush into the "clinches" to save themselves from further punishment. To change the metaphor, others have been so long taught to rely on government that they are ready to accept the present programme, though doubtfully. And as the inevitable temporary recovery which might have been anticipated in the absence of any governmental measures, shows signs of appearing, they try to pluck up hope, and whistle as they plod through the dark forest and persuade themselves that there is a faint glimmer of dawn in the distance.

SUCH temporary revival must always be the effect of inflation or anticipated inflation. It is a method of applying oxygen to the very sick patient. But permanent recovery cannot be artificially induced. What we see is but the articulation caused by an artificial respirant. This we must be prepared for, and while it will be hailed as a triumph of the Tugwell-Moley-Roosevelt experiment, we who know better should be trained to meet the arguments that will be urged for it. We know, that, despite the perpetual smile of our President, which ere long will turn to a grimace, the whole recovery measure is what Alfred E. Smith calls it in his picturesque language, "bologna." We can watch the outcome with a different kind of confidence than is shared by the administration.

WE know the jigsaw puzzle that was handed out by protectionists, which was something like this. We will give you, said the protectionists to the worker, a system that will raise your wages; to you, the manufacturer, a system that will increase your profits; to you, the consumer, a system that will lower prices. The manufacturer was to be benefited by legislation that would force him to lower prices and raise wages. The workingman was to receive this increase in wages from increased profits.

And though they told you that cheapness was not desirable, nevertheless to the consumer prices were to be reduced!

THE Moley-Tugwell-Roosevelt school being arch protectionists, has a somewhat similar jigsaw puzzle. It starts out to raise wages, but warns against increase of prices—"runaway prices," whatever those are, are not to be allowed. We are to put more men to work, but we are to restrict the output, so the solver of the jigsaw puzzle is asked to reconcile the decreased output with more men employed to make things. And speaking generally the poverty of the people is to be decreased, to begin with, by limiting production in nine staple articles!

WE must express surprise at the supine attitude of the press of the country. There is scarcely a prominent paper anywhere that has fought this monstrous departure from the old and wholesome traditions. The *Times* and *Herald-Tribune* of this city have very mildly expressed their disagreements, but not with the vigor we might have anticipated. Imagine, if you can, how Dana and Watterson would have levelled their lances against the medicine men who with strange incantations and "codes" are endeavoring to create prosperity!

IT is our opportunity. We must not ignore the issue that is presented. It is enough that Congress has abdicated, that business men, because they must, have accepted this government over-lordship over all industry. It must fail of course. Even if it should succeed temporarily every gain would be absorbed by speculative land rent. But it will not even succeed temporarily. Government must break down under the strain put upon it. The whole recovery plan will collapse because it is based upon false economics. Already we are informed by the press of the country that the administration is exercised over the "apparent reluctance of industry to cooperate."

IT is not reassuring to read the pronouncements of those concerned with the administration of the Recovery Act. General Hugh Johnson, the chief administrator, stated the problem, if not completely yet forcibly, and indeed with a fine sympathy for those who are victims of the depression. A kindly man, but no better informed than his associates. He says the trade associations become under the Act "almost a part of government."

Daniel E. Richberg, who is general counsel to the Industrial Recovery Administration, is more candid, perhaps we should say more thoroughgoing, for he is quite explicit in his statement that the industries if they will not willingly cooperate will be forced to do so, and thus boldly announced his conclusions:

"Unless industry is sufficiently socialized by its private owners and managers so that great essential industries are operated under public obligations appropriate to the public interest in them—the advance of political control over private industry is inevitable."

INDEED it is inevitable. The government has taken the first step toward state socialism. Frightened at Mr. Richberg's address the partisans of the President have hastened to voice their disclaimers. It is no use. If Mr. Richberg is more frank than General Johnson it is because he sees clearer that socialism is the haven for which all sails are set. It is not that Johnson would preserve some semblance of democracy, or that Richberg wants the socialism he pictures as inevitable. The important thing is that there is only one possible outcome. Unless we reverse our course we are heading for the next extreme of socialism.

AND where the path of freedom is so plain! "I do not go all the way with him," said the President of Henry George. That means, as we said, that he goes part of the way with him. Does he not realize that to go even part of the way with him is to reveal the insufficiency of codes and incantations. What is needed to effect recovery and to make the country really and permanently prosperous is to get back the earth from the small proportion of the people who now own and control it. General Johnson talks about the "employers." The earth is the employer. Men do not employ other men; they employ themselves. Capital is not an employer; capital is merely the associate with labor in the work of production. This is elementary economics. We ask General Johnson's pardon for assuming that he is unfamiliar with it. But he talks as if he were.

SENATOR BAILEY of North Carolina, in the course of an excellent speech against the Recovery Act, said speaking of the causes of the depression: "I do not profess to comprehend the situation." He proved it by his opening remarks when he said that "the number of men employed is determined absolutely by the amount of capital invested in productive enterprise." This is not true at all, but there was no Senator present who was prepared to controvert him. There are many school boys who could have enlightened him.

ADAM went to work in the Garden of Eden. He had nobody before him—naturally—who had invested any capital. When the pilgrims landed from the May

flower they employed themselves for the most part with no eye to invested capital. They went to work on the land.

IF all capital invested were swept into the sea, and all land were available and free for use, everybody would be employed regardless of invested capital. Surely the genesis of production should prove the fallacy. Labor must have begun somehow without capital being previously invested. Our pioneers went out into the forest and built themselves homes which homes finally grew into cities. They had no invested capital and were not dependent upon it. They did not care a hoot about the amount of capital that Senator Bailey so confidently says determines the number of men employed. Our Senator from North Carolina, who sees some things so clearly, is grievously at fault in his political economy. What he puts forward as incontrovertably true, comparing it to the law of gravity, is simply not so. And no one corrected him, as we have said. Poor Senators!

CAPITAL is only useful as it aids labor. Wealth springs from the magic union of labor and land. So does all capital, invested or not. Labor employs capital; otherwise capital rots. To all intents and purposes it is capital that knocks at factory doors and petitions labor for employment. Under normal conditions this would be plain to see. What deceives us is that labor, being deprived of access to land, causes the true position to be reversed; labor is made to appear as the slave, not the master of capital. But in the last analysis it is labor that gives capital employment, and it would be more correct for Senator Bailey to have said that the number of men at work determines absolutely the amount of invested capital and the number of capitalists gainfully employed.

Brainy Boston Blunders On

THE present-day cry that "over-production" is the cause of idle labor—and its consequent lack of food and clothing—finds a contrary cry coming from out the pages of early history of the settlers of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

In a tract entitled "Some Considerations Upon the Federal Forts of Banks Proposed as a Medium of Trade," etc. (Boston, 1716) we find the following:

"Tho' this Country be large, and much good Land in it, which for want of People, cannot be improved in many Generations; yet a shame it is to say, This Colony cannot provide themselves necessary Food."—"Tracts Relating to the Currency," etc. Davis).

The reason for the insufficiency of necessities, among the colonists, is laid at the door of the monopolists of land as the tract goes on to say:

"In the first Setling this Country, Land was easy to be attained, and at a low price, which was an Inducement to multitudes to come

over Servants: But now the Land being so generally taken up, few come over that can live elsewhere. . . . If the Country should put a Rate upon such Tracts of Land as lie convenient to settle Townships upon, in order to make them willing to throw them up to the country; such yearly Rate would be more Justifiable, and more Equal, than to Rate a poor Man 10s. that has much ado to live; those Estates being valued worth *hundreds of Pounds* by the Owners thereof, who keep them only in hopes that as other Places hereafter shall be settled, they may Advance upon the Price, yet Pay no Rates for them: And in the mean time their poor Neighbours must pay perhaps a greater Rate than would be put upon him in the most Arbitrary Kingdom in Europe"

(Printed by T. Fleet and T. Crump, at the Defire of some of the Inhabitants of Boston. 1716")

Attorney Paul Dudley (subsequently the Attorney-General for the Province) opined in 1703 that:

"This Country will never be worth Living in for Lawyers and Gentlemen, till the Charter be taken away."

Attorney Dudley may have had sufficient reasons for differentiating between "Lawyers and Gentlemen"—and while it may not have mattered whether others than Lawyers and Gentlemen should find the country fit to live in once the legal and leisurely elements of society were comfortably ensconced under detail dictation by Great Britain—all in all, old New England (particularly Boston) appears to have suffered from either too little amidst too much land or from too much from the same area ever since the colonists discovered that Great Britain was incompetent to manage our bursting buds of Boston genius.

Fortunately, for the Ground Hogs, the canny colonists carried this idea of a land tax into their graves. Fortunately, for the G. H's., our present-day legislators never read the history of their commonwealth. Likewise fortunately, our legislators find their limitations in parrot-phrasing socialistic sophistries aimed at "soaking the rich," and our wealthy members of society—while vaguely conscious that the "soaking" somehow fails to hurt over-much—protest a-plenty.

Today Washington's Brain Trust assures us that the processing tax on wheat and cotton will be "absorbed before it reaches the consumer," just as the sponge absorbs the rain before you buy the sponge. You get the sponge without extra charge for the water. It's a wonderful theory, but will it hold water as well as does the sponge?

Wonderful progress since 1716 when it was "the defire of some of the Inhabitants of Boston" to apply a Land Tax!—THOMAS N. ASHTON

AT the National Conference of Social Workers in Detroit Miss Jane Addams lamented that child labor and other evils which she had believed abolished for ever had returned. Miss Addams would have less cause to lament if she would let this misfortune open her eyes to the truth that she would have better results if she devoted her efforts against fundamental causes instead of external symptoms. If she intends merely to urge repetition of former mistakes then she has cause to mourn.

Voltaire and The Physiocrats

YOU ask in a note in the May-June issue for information concerning a change of heart by Voltaire in regard to the impot unique. You published an article by me more than a year ago on this subject. Here are some references:

"The more advanced philosophers had no sympathy with the physiocrats. But Voltaire, whose dislike of everything pedantic and obscure led him to ridicule Quesnay's abstruse dogmatism, welcomed the ministry of the greatest and the most practical of the school. There may have been some affectation in the emotion he showed when he met Turgot during his triumphal visit to Paris in 1781, but the words he wrote on hearing of the great minister's fall ring true: 'I have nothing but death to look forward to since M. Turgot is out of office. The thunderbolt has blasted my brain and my heart.'" Cambridge Modern History: Vol. 8, page 25.

"The Parlement of Paris ordered the suppression of a pamphlet by Voltaire in favor of Turgot and free trade in grain."—*Ibid.*, page 87.

"He (Voltaire) wished to kiss the hand of Turgot, that hand which had, he said, set its signature to the people's happiness."—Historians' History of the World, Vol. 12, page 136.

"On hearing the news of the dismissal of Turgot the bishops ordered prayers of thanksgiving. Voltaire, on the other hand, would not be comforted. 'It is a disaster. . . . I see nothing but death ahead of me. . . . This thunderbolt has stunned me in heart and head. I shall never be consoled for having witnessed the birth and death of the golden age which Turgot was preparing for us.'"—The French Revolution, by Charles Downer Hazen, Prof. of History in Columbia University, Vol. 1, page 130.

"The accession of Turgot to power in 1774 stirred an ardent sympathy in Voltaire. Like the rest of the school he looked upon this as the advent of the political messiah and he shared the extreme hopes of that great and virtuous man's most sanguine lieutenants. He declared that a new heaven and a new earth had opened to him. His sallies against the economists were forgotten and he now entered into the famous controversy of the free trade in grain with all his usual fire. His fervor went too far for the sage minister, who prayed him to be somewhat less eager in alarming uninformed prejudice. Still he insisted on hoping all things."—Voltaire by Viscount Morley, page 362.

Morley gives references to original French sources. He also reproduces a passage from "Ode sur le Passe et le Present." Although I have less than a smattering of French I can see that it indulges in extravagant praise, speaking of the "glowing dawn which precedes the beautiful day."

In none of these is anything said about a "recantation," but a change of heart is unquestionably implied even though no formal statement to that effect is made.

As a matter of fact his "Man of Forty Crowns," is in no way a reflection on the Single Tax though it no doubt burlesques the views of the physiocrats. A peasant who manages by hard labor to produce forty crowns a year from his land is found by the tax-gatherer to be able to eke out a bare existence on twenty crowns. Therefore he is taxed twenty crowns. In other words he is not taxed on his land or land value, but on his industry. He meets an old acquaintance who has become rich, having an income of 400,000 crowns and assumes that he is being taxed to the amount of half of his income also. He is informed

that his wealthy acquaintance is not taxed at all since he owns no land and, since everything comes from the land, all that he has must have been taxed before he got it.

Here we have the modern argument of the millionaire who owns no land anticipated except that the treatment given the Man of Forty Crowns would have made a millionaire impossible unless he stole from the public treasury or were a pensioner. If workers were left only a bare living and everything above went into the treasury then the only alternative to a bare living would be taking money from the treasury. Voltaire, as a satirist, may be excused for presenting in mock seriousness such a paradoxical situation. Bernard Shaw, perhaps, as another satirist, may be excused for pretending to take Voltaire seriously, but Prof. Seligman, presenting himself as an economist and expert on taxation, seriously offering Voltaire's satire as a refutation of the Single Tax is in an entirely different class. He can not justly complain if his doing this leads to questioning of his sincerity, knowledge or ability to reason. It is easy to prove that he is not lacking in knowledge and, when certain interests are not concerned, his ability to reason appears sound enough.

The physiocratic idea, though not the Single Tax, may be understood in the legislation enacted by Joseph II of Austria. In almost the last article of mine in that mis-treated magazine, *The Public*, I told of the doings of that monarch as narrated in Meyer's *Geschichte Oesterreichs*. He decreed that the tenant should retain seventy per cent of his product, the landlord should get a fraction over seventeen per cent and the rest, a fraction over twelve per cent, should be taken in taxation. The vacant land holder seems to have been forgotten. Even as stated however, it was very different from the conditions in "The Man of Forty Crowns." Probably the croppers of the South and other American agricultural tenants would consider such legislation a boom, while the unencumbered working owner, if any, would be delighted if the tax gatherer left eighty-seven per cent to be split between himself as tenant and as landlord.

Perhaps some French Single Taxers could find more information concerning Voltaire.—SAMUEL DANZIGER.

IF the new Secretary of Labor, Miss Frances Perkins wants to make her department a real benefit to labor let her take up again the plan for dealing with unemployment originated by Assistant Secretary Louis F. Post in 1913, urged on Congress two years later by Secretary William B. Wilson and recommended a year later by President Wilson. There would have been no period of unemployment had Congress responded.

A PRESIDENT who owes his election to lack of confidence in his predecessor should be the last to attribute the nation's troubles to lack of confidence.

Henry George School of Social Science

THE best laid plans of mice and men gang aft a-glee!" Never has the truth of this saying been more forcefully demonstrated than in the inadvertent publication of the address at 252 West 72nd Street in the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM in both this section and in the advertisement carrying this special announcement.

All arrangements for the occupancy of the place at 72nd Street had been made, even the lease was drawn and waiting to be signed; LAND AND FREEDOM had to go to press and we had every reason to believe that the negotiations would go through as planned—wherefore the announcement!

It developed, however (and fortunately in time) that there was involved the violation of a city ordinance in that the place had only one exit while the New York fire regulations require two separate and permanent exits for all places of assemblage. This, of course, is a proper regulation, but as the landlord, or his agent, did not see his way clear to provide the needed additional exit there was nothing sensible left for us to do but to look elsewhere and this seems to have been worked out to very good advantage, for the place finally decided on at No. 211 West 79th Street is much more desirable in many ways.

Repetition is sometimes in order, and in view of the necessity of correcting our error in prematurely publishing an incorrect address, may we not be forgiven if we again mention that books on all phases of Economics and Social Philosophy are wanted and will be acceptable, as the School will have its own library and reading room always open to students and the public and will need books to supply such library and reading room facilities as fully as possible.

Pictures and busts of Henry George suitable for display in library, class and reading rooms, also are wanted and will be properly cared for. First editions and books of greater value will be given special care and will be preserved for posterity.

All gifts will be appropriately labelled with the name of donor unless we are otherwise instructed.

Here is an opportunity to put to effective and permanent use life-time collections of books that not only will be made to serve humanity and the cause we hold dear to the fullest possible extent, but also to give such books a permanent setting that in every way will be worthy of their collector's ideals, hopes and wishes.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Question 1. In a talk I am asked to make at a local luncheon club I probably shall assert that the tragedy of unemployment lies not in the loss of a job but in the victim's lack of opportunity to produce for himself. Make land free, as in early days, and mass unemployment, mass underpayment, mass poverty and some other social problems will disappear, as physical diseases disappear when we remove the cause. All very fine, but someone is going to ask what that will do

to the problem of overproduction. If but one-tenth of our idle, or one-tenth of our underpaid were to go back to the land, what would happen to agricultural prices—which even now are less than costs of production?

To me that question is something of a poser. It would be hard to convince that bunch that re-employing twelve million idle people will greatly affect farm prices, and especially if many of them are to engage in agriculture. For two reasons: one those twelve million are eating now and will not eat much more after they get jobs; second, the slump in farm products came while the idle hordes were at work. Why should not the slump continue after they return to work? I would like to have that muddy spot in my reasoning cleared up before exposing myself publicly to such questions.—A. G. C.

Answer: If land is "free" as A. G. C. proposes to make it, the margin of production will rise to the point where each producer will receive the full value of his product. This means that labor will receive the highest wage possible. If wages are high consumption of all products will increase, not merely quantitatively but qualitatively.

Free land means also free competition and the free play of the law of supply and demand. Farmers (and this is true of all producers) will then not produce products other than those wanted, nor quantities other than such as the demand warrants. But does A. G. C. really believe there is, or ever has been, an overproduction of farm products? Does he believe that even in our so called times of prosperity everybody consumed all the farm products they really needed, and could consume, if their incomes permitted the full gratification of all their potential wants and desires? Unless we think down and trade down to poverty and misery and accept these as the normal conditions and standards of life, there can be no overproduction of food stuffs until all the potential demands of every man and woman and child for food, both quantitatively and qualitatively, have been fully satisfied. For man is an animal that is not satisfied with merely quantity, but given that, demands also quality. Who but the rich have ever had enough of both?

"The poor ye have always with you," is one of the world's greatest historic truths. Even in times of greatest "prosperity" poverty has always been the rule; and as the poor cannot consume in proportion to their potential needs, but only according to the measure of their meagre incomes, *underconsumption* has always been the rule. It is underconsumption of farm products, and all other products, therefore, and not overproduction that is troubling our social structure, and the problem is to increase the purchasing power of the consumer—all consumers—and not to reduce production to meet the poverty of the people. The truth is that the 12 million idle people (and 50 million more in this country alone) never ate enough—if quantity and quality, and desire and selection, had anything to do with it. Not only will the 12 million eat more and better food, wear more and

better clothes and live in more spacious and better homes if the rent of land were taken in lieu of all taxation and thus the land were free, but over 100 million in the United States will do the same.

Question 2. Another question someone is sure to ask is how a higher land tax can be justified when tens of thousands have lost their farms and city homes and when in many cases the present tax exceeds the rental value of the land. I do not know how New York has done but this section has been spending and borrowing appallingly. Lay a map of this State on a table and sprinkle over it a spoonful of sand and each grain would represent a heavy public debt incurred, a beautiful marble and bronze court house, a palatial city hall or community center and modern school houses without number. One woman told me recently that her town school building was badly crowded. So, they tore it down, issued bonds and built another. Shortly before the crash, the school board had a lot of money and tried to pay off some of the remaining debt but discovered they could pay only so much each year. Today that school district still owes a back breaking balance and the fine, new building actually seats fewer pupils than did the old one. Nebraska has built her ten million dollar state house and has improved her roads on the pay-as-you-go principle, but little towns and big have paved their streets and installed other public services until the matter of paying even interest on it all, not to mention salaries and present needs, is most serious. And when the land tax already exceeds the rental value of a tract, the owner or his friend is sure to ask how an increase can be justified. Can you help me answer him?

Answer: Where does A. G. C. get the idea that a "land tax" (assuming, of course, that he means a tax equivalent to the full rent of land, or as it is more correctly stated, the collection by government of the rent of land in lieu of all taxation) where does he get the idea that such a tax is an increase in taxation? He surely must be aware of the fact that the taking of the rent of land under the system he seems to favor implies also the abolition of all other taxes. Can it be that although knowing this he still is unwilling to have the government collect the full rent of land?

In question No. 1 A. G. C. speaks of making land free. One begins to wonder what he means. The phrase "making land free" under the scheme of rent socialization, in favor of which evidently he means to speak, has only one meaning and that is making land cheap; so cheap that no one can sell it and get any appreciable price for it; so cheap that no one need pay any purchase price for it; so cheap that it is accessible to everyone; so cheap that after paying the ground rent for it the producer has one hundred per cent (100%) of his own entire product left (the rent representing that part of the product that Nature or Society—mainly the latter—has produced). If A. G. C. is interested in making and keeping land free, and if he realizes that taking the rent of land and abolishing taxes will make and keep it free, why is he concerned about higher land taxes? What difference does it make whether land taxes now exceed the rental value or not? If they exceed it, so much the better, for then the true rent of the land, which is what will be taken, will represent a reduction. If A. G. C. is going to speak to his luncheon club he is going to talk about changing present conditions into others

that are sane and he should always bear in mind that it will be the *rental value of land*—the amount that a willing renter is satisfied to pay—that will be taken, not more and not less.

When A. G. C. speaks of farmers losing their farms and blames this on taxation, why does he not analyze the tax and ascertain how much of it fell on the land value and how much on the value of improvements? If he did this he would probably find that the tax fell most heavily—as it generally does—on the improvements. These, under the land-freeing system that he presumably espouses, would be tax free and thus the farmers' burden would be lightened. But A. G. C.'s land-freeing system is also a general, or universal, tax-freeing system, not merely an improvement tax-freeing system. Under it all taxation would be abolished. There would be no tax or any commodity or labor service, and this would further reduce the farmer's burden by reducing, relatively, the cost of all the seeds, the tools and the machinery; all the materials for his houses, barns, fences, drains, coops, stalls, paints, etc.; the cost of the clothing, shoes, hats and of the foodstuffs that he does not produce; and also the price of the piano, organ, radio, victrola, fixtures, furnitures, rugs, carpets, kitchen utensils, automobile, tractor, reaper, harvester and what-not that the farmer buys, as well as no tax on his income. Add to this the greater demand under free-land conditions for his own products and his greater ability therefore to more readily dispose of everything he produces at a fair price, and you have a picture of the farmer's condition under Henry George's system of "free land." And as long as it is the farmer that A. G. C. is most concerned about let us add this thought: The land values of New York City alone are nine thousand million dollars (nine billion for short). Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Cincinnati, St. Louis, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other cities will make, comparatively, equally good showings. What are the land values of farm lands in comparison? Remove the tax on the farmer's improvements and on the commodities he buys and he will be almost tax free.

Whether the court houses, schools, city halls and community centers that A. G. C. speaks of were services that the people of Nebraska needed and wanted, or whether they were useless, extravagant and foolhardy, cannot rightly form the topic of a fundamental economic discussion, but that all real services that government renders to the people immediately reflect themselves to their full value into higher land values is a proper subject for such discussion. If Nebraska had collected the rent of land instead of taxing improvements and had abolished all taxes on commodities and services, every court house and school, and every city hall and community center that it built—and of which no doubt the citizens of Nebraska were proud at the time—would have paid for itself, perhaps many times over, in the rises on land values that

immediately followed the building of these improvements. The City of New York does a lot for its people. In 1932 it spent 631 million dollars for services. Of this sum the State of New York furnished 50 million dollars and the City had to raise 581 millions. The annual land rent in New York City in 1932 was about 700 million dollars. If New York City had done more for its people, and as a result needed more money, the land rent of New York would have been at least that much higher. That's the nature of land rent. Of course, New York is not taking this land rent beyond its general tax rate, and more than two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) of the rent remains in the possession of the land owners and is capitalized into the selling price of land. So, New York, too has a problem, only smaller perhaps, in degree than that of Nebraska or other equally enlightened places, as New York takes a bigger proportion of its land values in taxes than do most other places.

Question 3. A third question which someone is almost sure to spring is this: Will not taxing land values exclusively not merely impair but completely destroy the assets of life insurance companies? What about them? If that question is not asked I certainly shall not suggest it, but if put to me now I could not handle it satisfactorily.

Answer: The collecting of land rent and the abolishing of taxes will probably not be done in full at one time, but in convenient stages, say by an increase of five per cent (5%) per year. Thus it will take fifteen or sixteen years to make the change. In this period industry will have an opportunity to adjust itself, and this it will begin to do immediately that the measure is enacted into law. No harm will, nor can come then to insurance, banking or other institutions that lend money on, or invest in, unimproved land, for it is assumed that that is what the question implies. Improved property, especially that which is fully or properly improved, can only benefit by the change.

Question 4. I dislike to bother you with my troubles. For many years I have written and talked Single Tax and I used to think I had a fair working knowledge of the philosophy, but the last few years have produced situations which were not among any conditions that I had anticipated. Just now I need help badly and surely shall be grateful if you can extend it.

Answer: Our very best advice to A. G. C., whether or not he intends to speak for the Single Tax, is to register at once for a correspondence course at the Henry George School of Social Science, 211 West 79th Street, New York City. The new sessions start in September. The course is free excepting for the cost of one book—"Progress and Poverty" by Henry George—which may be had for \$1 by writing to LAND AND FREEDOM, 150 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.

HAS the depression touched bottom? By no means. Let us hope it never will. So long as some industry can still be carried on, so long as some are not totally destitute, so long have we avoided touching bottom. But let our statesmen keep on fooling with fake remedies and we'll get there.

The Editor Appeals For The School

ON this occasion we depart from a long settled policy to resist any temptation to appeal for help for any specific Single Tax activity. We do so now because we feel the imperative need of sustaining what appears to us the most important movement ever begun in the history of our cause. We refer of course to the Henry George School of Social Science.

The School, now in the second year of its existence has, as our readers are informed, a permanent headquarters. It has classes composed at present of about fifty young students, coming from high schools and colleges, who are getting an economic education. So much is needed to be done for the young that we, who are living on borrowed time, must realize the importance of passing on the torch which we must soon relinquish.

Those who have had the opportunity of witnessing the remarkable effect of the system of education carried on by our able Director, who have personally met and talked with these bright young students, many of whom are now definitely enrolled as ardent apostles of the new truth so vividly revealed to us by Henry George, see in the present achievements of the School, but more in its potentialities, what an institution under proper nourishment it may become.

Today many men and women are more and more dubious of the trend of civilization and governments. Socialism has failed in Russia; it failed in Italy, and under it Italy drifted into a dictatorship; it petered out in Germany, and is now being tried in the United States. The great industrialists, merchants and manufacturers with substantial payrolls, bending under tax burdens, fear they know not what. Among these the Henry George School for Social Science will find friends who in time will help to support it. Already a section of a public utility company, important and vast in its ramifications, has appealed to the School, wanting to know if there is room for its employees as pupils of the classes in the Henry George School of Social Science. A like request has been received from a denominational Ministers' Association of large membership. And others will come. The School is full of definite promise.

A word as to the Director, Oscar H. Geiger. At the Baltimore Henry George Congress our old friend, Dr Mark Milliken, of Hamilton, O., suggested the foundation of a Henry George University. The suggestion caused the ripple of a smile, the idea seemed so remote. But today one man's audacity and high courage has enabled us to visualize the possibility. For the School will grow and ere long may develop into what Dr. Milliken desires.

Our Director is equipped with knowledge, tact and

tenderness. He can be forceful, too, when roused. His students love him and that is half the battle. For because of this they are more easily persuaded of the truth. But he asks nothing of them save the exercise of their reason.

And he has surrounded himself with able men who will help him carry on the work, some young and others more mature, teachers like John Luxton and Max Berkowitz, economists like Raymond V. McNally, and younger and increasingly proficient men like Charles Joseph Smith, Bill Moore and others, whom to meet and hear is an inspiration.

Years ago in a discussion over a disputed point in political economy, Mr. Geiger, then a very young man, ventured an explanation. Mr. George said delightedly to Jerome O'Neill, "Here is the economist of our movement," and nodded his head in satisfaction. And when later Mr. Geiger started a dozen boys, members of his Round Table Club, on their careers, he had the satisfaction of knowing that every one of them, including his gifted son, Dr. George Raymond Geiger, was a proficient economist and a soldier of the truth as expounded in "Progress and Poverty." "A born teacher," as others, not we, have termed him.

And he has given himself to this work unreservedly. He has cast behind him all hope for preferment in other fields. This is now his life work. It is big with promise and possibilities for the cause. There is nothing more important. Those who believe with him that the truth as expounded by Henry George is the only hope of the world should stand squarely behind the School. We must justify the faith that inspires him and give what is necessary even if it hurts.—EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM.

Henry George School Commencement

(REPORTED BY BEATRICE COHEN)

THE Henry George School of Social Science marked the close of its first complete year of work with commencement exercises at the Mahwah River Yacht Club, Suffern, N. Y., on Saturday, June 24, 1933.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Walter Fairchild, Commodore of the Mahwah River Yacht Club, provision was made for the conveying of guests to the club grounds.

At 10:30 a. m. the American flag was raised to the strains of the Star Spangled Banner. The grounds were then at the disposal of the guests for boating, swimming, tennis, hiking and the like, and at 12:30 noon, the guests partook of a campfire luncheon.

At 2:00 p. m., Host Fairchild opened the commencement exercises, introducing Admiral Henry Potter McKinney, who officially welcomed the guests, some one hundred in number.

Mr. O. K. Dorn, chairman of the conference, explained the object of the meeting, namely, the commencement exercises, or the conclusion of the first term of the Henry George School of Social Science. Mr. Dorn explained that the Henry George School was perhaps the best medium to assist Single Taxers in bringing their friends to understand the real economics of the Single Tax. The purpose of the School is to reach the young folks—the men and women of tomorrow.

Mr. Oscar H. Geiger, Director of the School, said in part: "Over thirty-seven years ago I first thought of a school in which the economics and philosophy of Henry George might be taught to students every day, all day. Just about thirty-seven years ago I started a class (we called it a club—The Progress Club of Harlem), which grew until we had about one hundred fifty-five members, all working men. . . . I dreamed of a school then quite different from the one we actually have. Today we are marking the end of our first complete year—this School was started eighteen months ago. We ended our season with a class on Monday and a class on Thursday at Pythian Temple, a class on Wednesday in Brooklyn, a class on Sunday in the Bronx. We have started a class in North Arlington, N. J., every alternate Tuesday, and if the summer season had not intervened, there would have been a class every other alternate Tuesday in Ridgewood, N. J. In addition we had a forum every Friday evening at Pythian Temple. Our classes numbered a minimum of one hundred students a week, so that the message was brought by way of actual classes to not less than one hundred students each week."

Mr. Geiger explained that the Henry George School of Social Science is chartered by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, which is the Education Department of the State of New York. This gives the School the fortunate advantage that the certificates issued by the School are recognized by the Board of Education as "certificates of alertness." These certificates are required by the Board of Education on the part of teachers in the New York City School System, to give proof that these teachers are qualifying themselves for higher work, and it is one of the requirements of the Board of Education that teachers show such certificates of alertness if they desire higher salaries or advances in position. In the Fall the School expects to send an announcement to some twenty-five thousand school teachers offering to them certificates of alertness free of charge in return for a thirty-hour course in the Henry George School of Social Science. It is estimated that not less than one per cent of those circularized will attend, or some two hundred-fifty school teachers will enroll as students in the Henry George School. This year the School will start in September and the first semester, which will be an under-graduate course, will end in February. The second semester of the post-graduate course will end in June. The Board of Education will give a two raise credit to a teacher who has completed a sixty-hour course, taken in the same year or consecutively.

Rev. Dr. Mather of Christ Church, Brooklyn, is preparing to organize the Christ Church Institute, in which he is going to teach the higher reaches of theology, and for which he will issue degrees that are desired by young ministers all over the city. He believes that not only theology, but a wider range of subjects should be taught. To this end he has offered to Mr. Geiger as Director of the Henry George School of Social Science, the entire management of the social science courses in Christ Church Institute. Mr. Geiger will be expected to deliver a lecture or two each week in that Institute. Besides this, and perhaps of greater importance, Dr. Mather will circularize among the ministers, advising that attendance on their part at the Henry George School of Social Science will entitle them to the degree they desire, and enrollment of some fifty to one hundred ministers is expected from this source.

The Henry George School of Social Science now has its own headquarters at 211 West 79th Street, New York City, where it is going to have classes from eleven in the morning until eleven in the evening, every day of the week. One of the tasks of the School is to make its own teachers and already some half-dozen have offered themselves for this position.

Dr. George Raymond Geiger, son of Director Geiger, Professor of Philosophy in the University of North Dakota and author of "The Philosophy of Henry George," in a light vein expressed his surprise at the unique setting of these commencement exercises. He drew attention to the attire of the audience, (bathing suits, pajamas, shorts, sweaters, sports costumes, etc.) in place of the customary cap and gown, and the unusual setting, the banks of the Mahwah River in-

stead of the customary auditorium. Dr. Geiger said: "Commencement speakers usually have great difficulty in telling just what a commencement means. They seem to think you are commencing life, looking upon education as preparation for life, when life and education are the same thing. This commencement of the Henry George School is a literal and an actual commencement. The School is beginning, it has had one and one-half years of rather experimental work—now it has the building, it will have the expanded staff and the School is really commencing. Most schools give their students facts, information; they are descriptive, objective, they take the attitude, we will give you the facts, you will judge them. This School is unique that in addition to facts and information it gives value, it is critical, it is interpretive." Dr. Geiger brought greetings from the regions of North Dakota and Minnesota and the hope that this would be the first of many, many beginnings.

A great treat was experienced in the talk given by Dr. Frederick W. Roman of Los Angeles, who was passing through New York, preparatory to his annual trip across the continent. Dr. Roman touched briefly on the politics and economics of our country and that of Italy, Germany, Russia, England, China and Japan. He expressed the hope that the determined effort of the Henry George School of Social Science for indoctrinating the young men and women with the philosophy of Henry George would meet with great success.

Mr. Joseph Dana Miller, Treasurer of the Henry George School and editor of LAND AND FREEDOM, an always welcome figure at Single Tax gatherings, expressed his appreciation of the work done by the School up-to-date, and urged support for the School as the most important institution we now have in the Single Tax movement.

Mr. Bill Moore, a student of the School, was surprised at being called upon by the chairman, but gave testimony that the Henry George School was to him an intellectual stimulus, and he expressed the hope that the School will be, to the young men and women who attend, as it has been to him, not merely an outlook on life, but life itself.

Mr. Dorn closed this most interesting meeting at 4:15 p. m., complimenting the management of the School for the splendid work thus far accomplished.

A copy of the Provisional Charter granted to the School by the Education Department of the University of the State of New York was passed among the audience, as was also a printed copy of the address by Mr. Oscar H. Geiger, which was read by Mr. Joseph Dana Miller at the Henry George Congress held in Memphis on October 10, 11 and 12, 1932.

The courtesies of the Mahwah River Yacht Club were at the disposal of the guests for the balance of the day. All in attendance expressed their sincere thanks to Mr. Fairchild for his part in arranging this most delightful occasion.

WHAT a terribly wicked thing it is to hoard gold! That is, to hoard it after some one has dug it out of the earth. To keep the land hoarded with undug gold within it while men who want to dig it out remain idle and hungry is not wrong at all—in the eyes of statesmen and university economists. To them this is wisdom and foresight.

WE elect a President and a Congress. The President's duty seems to be to tell Congress what legislation to enact and the duty of Congress seems to be to say: "Yes, Mr. President." If there is any need of congressmen it must be for some better purpose than that. Why not elect some capable of carrying out that purpose?

The Henry George Lecture Assn.

(United with the Henry George Foundation of America)
538 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

JOHN LAWRENCE MONROE, Director and Treasurer

STAFF SPEAKERS

WILLIAM N. MCNAIR, Bakewell Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
CLAUDE L. WATSON, 538 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
PROF. HARRY GUNNISON BROWN, 403 Garth St., Columbia, Mo.
PERCY R. WILLIAMS, 1310 Berger Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
HON. GEORGE H. DUNCAN, East Jaffery, N. H.
MRS. ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE, 17 West 67th St., New York City.

LOCAL SPEAKERS

CHARLES G. BALDWIN, Munsey Building, Baltimore, Md.
L. D. BECKWITH, Stockton, Calif.
HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Cincinnati, O.
WILLIAM A. BLACK, San Antonio, Tex.
A. A. BOOTH, Seaboard Building, Seattle, Wash.
J. D. BRYANT, Albany, Ore.
JOHN S. CODMAN, 20 East St., Boston, Mass.
GRACE ISABEL COLBRON, New Canaan, Conn.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Pender Island, B. C.
FREDERIC C. HOWE, Harmon-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.
JAMES P. KOHLER, Congers, N. Y.
FRANK STEPHENS, Arden, Del.
WILLIAM MATTHEWS, Spokane, Wash.
RAY ROBSON, 608 Chestnut St., Lansing, Mich.
MISS EDITH SEEKEL, 626 Ethel Ave., Grand Rapids, Mich.
ABE D. WALDAUER, Bank of Commerce Building, Memphis, Tenn.
EDWARD WHITE, Kansas City, Mo.
JOSEPH FORSHAW, St. Louis, Mo.
Chicago Ill.:
HENRY HARDINGER.
WILLIAM H. HOLLY.
THOMAS A. MYER.
GEORGE M. STRACHAN.
HENRY L. T. TIDEMAN.
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New York City:
MAX BERKOWITZ.
B. W. BURGER.
BOLTON HALL.
GEORGE LLOYD.
MORRIS VAN VEEN.

* * *

EASTERN TRIP OF JOHN LAWRENCE MONROE

Michigan, June 2-25

DURING the past four years the Henry George movement in Michigan has been getting organized for a drive against the forces of land speculation which are fast wrecking the State. Duped by land speculation interests, the people have adopted an amendment to the State Constitution limiting the tax rate on real estate to one and one-half per cent and thrusting the greater part of the tax burden upon the working people. Under the same land gambling influence the people have placed upon themselves an unwieldy burden of public debt for the over-expansion of public improvements which have brought speculative profits but to the few. The equivalent of 1,200 fifty-acre farms adjoining the city of Detroit, for instance, have been needlessly subdivided, sacrificing the freedom of growth of the city and placing a deadening load of public debt upon the people. Land speculation

is at the bottom of the banking crisis in Michigan and of the collapse of old established institutions which have had the faith (and deposits) of thousands of families.

Against this needless and disgraceful condition the only people who have boldly raised their voices in constructive opposition are those in the Henry George movement. And their voices are being heard and their influence felt. Michigan now has its three principal cities represented by Henry George organizations, the Henry George Club of Grand Rapids, the Henry George Club of Lansing, and the Prosperity League of Detroit. Each of these sponsored meetings during June and arranged speaking appointments for Mr. Monroe as follows:

June 2 (noon)—Knights of the Round Table, Hotel Pantlind, Grand Rapids. This appointment was arranged by Harry C. White, president of the White Engraving Co., former member of the Michigan legislature, and old guard Single Taxer. Topic: Causes of the Business Depression.

June 2 (evening)—Public meeting sponsored by the Henry George Club of Grand Rapids, Lecture Room, Public Library. Mr. M. Herman Friedrich, secretary of the Henry George Club, introduced Mr. Monroe who spoke on "Taxation and Our Economic Crisis." Miss Annie A. Pollard, assistant librarian, recalled that Henry George, Jr., had spoken on two occasions from the same platform, and invited Mr. Monroe to speak on the life of Henry George before one of the Forum meetings sponsored by the Library during the next season. Among the thirty or more present were James W. Hailwood, pastor of All Souls Church and militant liberal, Dr. John F. Cardwell, John H. Hensen, and J. S. Tindall among the Single Taxers, and a large percentage of young men and women who came to hear the Single Tax discussed.

June 3—Public meeting, McBride, Mich. This meeting, composed of farmers in the McBride district, was arranged by Simeon P. Martin, farmer of Stanton, Mich., and ardent Single Taxer.

June 6—Lions Club, Pantlind Hotel, Grand Rapids. This appointment arranged by Harry C. White. The topic was: "The Menace of the Sales Tax." Among the guests was Ernest Conlon, city manager of Grand Rapids.

June 7—Civic Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce, Hotel Olds, Lansing, Mich. Topic: "Taxation and Our Economic Crisis."

June 9—Rotary Club, Hotel Olds, Lansing. Among those who attended both the Chamber of Commerce meeting and this meeting was Mr. R. E. Olds, automobile manufacturer, famous for the Oldsmobile and Rco. His interest in the movement led him immediately to purchase a copy of "Progress and Poverty."

June 10—Public meeting sponsored by the Henry George Club of Lansing in the Universalist Church. Ray Robson, organizer of the club, presided. Roscoe A. Walters, pastor of the Universalist Church introduced Mr. Monroe who gave his chalk-talk on "Why Unemployment?" Mr. Walter's interest in the Single Tax came with reading "Progress and Poverty" in college. It was re-awakened when he heard Dr. Mark Millikin of Hamilton, O., address a church forum of which he was chairman when in Ohio.

June 11—Forum, Peoples Church, East Lansing. Arranged by Mr. Robson of the Henry George Club of Lansing. Forty minute talk. Many questions and a great deal of discussion.

June 21—Detroit Federation of Labor. Labor Temple, Detroit. Frank X. Martels, president, introduced Mr. Monroe by quoting a passage from the constitution of the Federation urging the taxation of land values and said: "You are in the house of your friends." Topic: Chalk-talk on "Why Unemployment?"

June 23—Henry George Prosperity Dinner sponsored by the Prosperity League, Ft. Shelby Hotel, Detroit. This was the eleventh of a series of Henry George dinners being held in principal cities of the country. Henry C. L. Forler, prominent Detroit attorney, was toastmaster. Ray Robson of Lansing, A. Laurence Smith, secretary-treasurer of the Prosperity League, and Mr. Monroe were speakers. Mr. J. S. Tindall of Cedar Springs made a special trip to be present with his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Burnell Tindall of Ann Arbor. The dinner committee was composed of George W. Barclay, Mrs. Thurlow E. Coon, Dr. A. S. Diack, Rev. Edgar de Witt Jones, F. T. Merrick, Mrs. A. Laurence Smith, and Mrs. Myron B. Vorce. The twenty-five who were present voted to meet again within thirty days to further plans for the adoption of a state "constitutional amendment to abolish taxes and collect the ground rent." The Prosperity League recently reprinted the report of the American Institute of Architects, April, 1932, advocating this programme.

EASTERN CANADA, JUNE 26, JULY 7

Canada, with natural resources as great as, or greater in many respects than, those of the United States, and with a population only one-twelfth as large, is however enjoying the same phenomenon of intense and widespread industrial depression. Picayunish methods of raising revenue for governmental services have been carried to pitiable extremes bringing trying hardships to those least able to withstand them. A sales tax is administered in such an indirect way that an interested observer cannot discover, in passing, how much it is or what machinery is used to collect it. An income tax gouges incomes as low as \$1,000. School children, in order to take their final examinations, must pay as much as \$1.50 per paper to take them! The spectacle of kind hearted principals and teachers putting on plays and entertainments for the benefit of pupils coming from families unable to meet this unusual infliction upon the ambitious is a common one.

With the Dominion under the rule of a Tory government that ridicules and condemns any serious public consideration of ways to end depressions, it is small wonder that there is a warm feeling of friendship and admiration for President Roosevelt among the common people. Prime Minister Henry of Ontario in a recent speech had the audacity to warn the United Church of Canada of dire consequences if its preachers did not desist from constantly preaching the need for a better social order.

A Liberal reaction to such tactics may be expected in the provinces and in the whole Dominion at elections within the next year or two. With the turn over will likely come much real opportunity for Single Tax legislation. The progressive administration of Prime Minister Drury of Ontario, 1921-25, gave local option in taxation, though both Toronto and Ottawa sought in vain to exempt improvements. Upon the return of the Conservative party, local option was repealed by the provincial parliament. A new Liberal administration would likely reinstate the local option law with the pressure of some enlightened public opinion upon this question.

That such an enlightened public opinion will exist is

the purpose of the Single Tax Association of Canada, 68 King Street, E., Toronto, and of such distinguished followers of Henry George as the Hon. W. C. Good, Paris, Ontario, farmer, former member of the Dominion parliament (1921-1925), and official of the United Farmers of Ontario; Arthur W. Roebuck, Toronto attorney, who is slated for a provincial cabinet position in the event of a Liberal victory; and A. C. Cambell, Ottawa, retired editor of *Hansard*, Canada's *Congressional Record*, and a feature writer on Single Tax for the *Ottawa Daily Citizen*.

A recent manifesto of the United Farmers of Ontario demands, "The appropriation of community created values for community purposes, and the consequent securing of public revenues without imposing barriers to trade or burdens on industry." The programme of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (The C. C. F.), Canada's new progressive movement, similarly calls for the socialization of social values.

The Lecture Association has standing invitations for one of its speakers to appear before organizations throughout the provinces of Ontario and Quebec during the next season in a campaign for the adoption of these principles.

On Monday evening, June 26, Mr. Monroe addressed a public meeting in St. Andrew's United Church at Brantford, Ontario, arranged and presided over by Mr. W. C. Good. Rev. A. L. Sanderson and Rev. M. W. Conron, United Church ministers, were among those who expressed their deep interest in the Henry George philosophy and its practical programme.

Mr. L. B. Walling, secretary of the Single Tax Association of Canada, arranged two gatherings of the Single Taxers at Toronto, addressed by Mr. Monroe. Mr. J. H. L. Patterson, president of the Association, presided on each occasion, a noon luncheon on Wednesday, June 28, and a supper at Center Island on Thursday, June 29.

NEW HAMPSHIRE, JULY 8-12

Turning south from Montreal and cutting across the top of Vermont, we come to New Hampshire, with at least four Single Tax nerve centers—East Alstead, East Jaffrey, Contoocook and Portsmouth.

At East Alstead we find a veritable Single Tax colony with these among the members: the Dennett's—Hartley and Mary Chase Dennett; Carleton Dennett and his family; the newlyweds—Heman and Edith Newlin Chase; and Miss Mary Chase. At Alstead, four miles distant, is the house of the gracious Dr. H. Lincoln Chase, S. T., and then a few miles north is Acworth where the Misses Sarah and Mary Potter are glad to do what they can in the way of arranging lecture appointments and public meetings. A Henry George Club is being formed at East Alstead for the study of Henry George's books.

East Jaffrey is famous as the home of George H. Duncan, for twelve years a member of the New Hampshire Legislature and now executive secretary at Washington to Senator Brown, newly elected Democrat from New Hamp-

shire. Mr. Duncan's son, Prescott, one time classmate of Dr. George Raymond Geiger at Columbia, is now in business with his father at East Jaffrey. The younger Mr. Duncan has been identified with the Land Value Tax Association of Portsmouth, N. H., where he established the New England Collection Agency.

At Contoocook is a good group of Single Taxers including John C. Burnham, cousin of Fred T. Burnham, of Newton, Mass., William L. Montgomery, Joseph Hazeltine, and James A. Weast.

Portsmouth, N. H., boasts an active Single Tax organization, the Portsmouth Land Value Tax Association, under the secretaryship of William Craig. This organization plans an aggressive educational campaign which will involve publishing an analysis of what the effect of the Single Tax would be on individual pieces of property.

The Lecture Association has many speaking invitations from these and other cities of New Hampshire during the next year. It is generally agreed that a state-wide Henry George Club would be helpful to the movement and that a series of public meetings throughout the State would greatly facilitate its organization.

Death of Frank C. Wells

FRANK C. WELLS, who died suddenly March 9, 1933 at his home, 416 Caton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., was born July 21, 1867 at Woodstock College, Ontario, of which his father, J. E. Wells, M. A., was then Principal, and in which he received the greater part of his education. Later the family went West and he was associated with his father in pioneer newspapers at Rapid City, Manitoba, and Moose Jaw, Sask.

Returning east he came from Toronto to New York in 1888 and was for many years in the proofrooms of the *New York Times*, the old *Herald*, and the *Tribune*. In 1910 he became associated with *The Electrical World* as a lay editor and so continued for twenty-two years.

In his young manhood he was deeply impressed by the doctrines of Henry George and became an earnest supporter of the Single Tax movement. He was for some years a steady contributor to the *Public* under the late Louis Post, with whom he had a strong friendship, and the *Single Tax Review*, now *LAND AND FREEDOM*.

For three years he conducted a weekly department for the *Sunday Public Ledger* of Philadelphia, under the title "Quotations Familiar and Unfamiliar," consisting in the main of original notes on poetical and prose literature. He was also an ardent book-collector.

He is survived by his widow and three sons.

A BANKING system based on land speculation must lead to disaster. Had more bankers read "Progress and Poverty" there would have been better banking.

Chicago Ready For Big Single Tax Rally

CONVENTION DATES CHANGED TO
SEPTEMBER 25, 26, 27

A BIGGER and better Convention for 1933 is assured by many encouraging reports reaching Pittsburgh headquarters of the Henry George Foundation, where arrangements are now being rushed forward for the Eighth Annual Henry George Congress. Chicago proved itself to be a great convention city when the Congress met there just five years ago and the World's Fair celebration, now attracting great crowds from far and near, makes Chicago a particularly happy choice this year. And Chicago's very live and aggressive Single Tax League is preparing a hearty welcome for our visitors.

Special attention is called to a change in the dates as originally announced. To avoid conflicting engagements which threatened to interfere with the presence of at least several prominent Single Taxers among officials and prospective speakers, it was decided to hold the Convention just one week later than at first planned. The Congress will accordingly open on Monday, Sept. 25 and adjourn on Wednesday evening, Sept. 27 instead of Sept. 18-20. Notice of this change has been given by mail and the committee on arrangements trusts that sufficient notice was given that all planning to attend were able to adjust their schedules accordingly.

Rapid progress is now being made in the formulation of an attractive programme. Among the speakers definitely or tentatively scheduled are Harold S. Battenheim, editor of the *American City* and President of the General Welfare Tax League; Hon. Frederic C. Howe, recently appointed Consumers' Counsel of the U. S. Department of Agriculture; Hon. Francis Neilson, former member of the British Parliament and author of "The Eleventh Commandment," recently published; John Z. White, veteran Single Tax lecturer; Bernarr Macfadden, editor of *Liberty*, and *Physical Culture* magazines; Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati; Frank Stephens of Arden, Del.; Hon. Abe D. Waldauer, Assistant City Attorney of Memphis; Ernest B. Gaston, editor of the *Fairhope Courier*; L. D. Beckwith, editor of the *Stockton Forum*; Fiske Warren of Enclavian fame; J. C. Lincoln of Cleveland; Hon. William N. McNair, now the leading Democratic candidate for Mayor of Pittsburgh; Hon. A. S. Stockwell, member of the Minnesota Legislature; Attorney Benjamin W. Burger of New York City; Charles H. Ingersoll, President of the Manhattan Single Tax Club; Will Atkinson of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Anna George de Mille of New York City, daughter of Henry George; Robert C. Macauley, editor of the *Pennsylvania Commonwealth*; L. P. Straube, editor of the *Federation News*, organ of organized labor; Attorney J. Edward Jones; Henry H. Hardinge

and Thomas Rhodus, all of Chicago, and George E. Evans, of Pittsburgh, President of the Henry George Foundation.

Hon. Edward P. Costigan, of Colorado, now a leading Progressive Democrat in the United States Senate, has been invited to address the Henry George Congress and the committee is hopeful of his acceptance. Prof. John Dewey of Columbia University, who has recently been active as President of the People's Lobby in strongly advocating land value taxation, is also among the celebrities being sought for this Convention. Those desiring convention programmes or later information with regard to the final speaking schedule should communicate with Executive Secretary P. R. Williams of the Henry George Foundation, 238 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh.

President Evans has named a strong Convention Committee representative of the various sections of the country, including the following: Clayton J. Ewing, Chairman; George M. Strachan, Vice Chairman; Charles G. Baldwin, William A. Black, Alfred N. Chandler, W. E. Clement, John S. Codman, Grace Isabel Colbron, Henry P. Boyton, Otto Cullman, Andrew P. Canning, R. A. Cowing, Wm. F. Baxter, Samuel Danziger, Charles R. Eckert, Hon. Oliver T. Erickson, Arthur W. Falvey, James C. Fuller, Bolton Hall, Emil O. Jorgenson, Erwin Kauffman, Fenton Lawson, George Lloyd, John S. MacLean, Joseph Dana Miller, Dr. Mark Millikin, John Lawrence Monroe, John B. McGauran, John Emery McLean, George J. Knapp, Hon. A. B. Pittman, Chester C. Platt, James H. McGill, Jackson H. Ralston, Ray Robson, Miss Charlotte Schetter, Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr., George J. Shaffer, A. Laurence Smith, Carl D. Smith, Wm. H. Sikes, Walter G. Stewart, Frank T. Stirlith, Alan C. Thompson, Henry L. T. Tideman, August Williges and Harry H. Willock. All local arrangements, including entertainment of delegates, radio service, local publicity and registration will be handled by the Chicago sub-committees now being organized under the able leadership of Chairman Ewing, President of the Chicago Single Tax League and Vice President of the Foundation.

While plans will be made for all delegates to visit the many attractions of the "Century of Progress," all sessions of the Congress will be held at the Medinah Athletic Club, conveniently located on Michigan Boulevard, which is placing all of its splendid convention facilities at the disposal of the Congress. Rooms for guests will be available here at the very moderate rates of \$3 for single and \$5 for double rooms, and as far as possible the committee would like all delegates to locate under one roof to facilitate convenience and to reciprocate for courtesies extended by this magnificent club. Special railroad rates are available from all points.

Make up your mind to meet your fellow Single Taxers from far and near at this forthcoming Convention. On account of the World's Fair, there are in effect special rates by rail and other modes of travel.

It is expected that the weather in the latter half of Sep-

tember will be more pleasant than in August so far as a trip to the Fair is concerned.

It is our intention to do honor to any delegates present who were also present at the Single Tax Convention in Chicago in 1893. We believe that a group picture of these should be taken—so that the picture can be shown in the Chicago press.

We will also make a note of the oldest Single Taxers present and of those who have been active for the longest period in the Single Tax ranks.

Mr. C. J. Ewing is offering two prizes: A first prize of \$10 and a second prize of \$5, the money to be used for the purpose of buying books from the Schalkenbach Foundation—these prizes to go to the two States having the best record in the attendance contest. For this contest Illinois is not eligible. Consideration will be given to the total population of the State as shown in Federal census of 1930. Consideration also will be given to the total distance of each delegate so registered; that is the mileage (by shortest rail route) from the home city of the delegate to Chicago. For example, if New York has ten times the population of some other State, then New York must have somewhat in excess of ten times the registered delegate mileage in order to surpass that other State in this contest.

Furthermore, two other prizes are being offered by Fred J. Bahni of Peoria, Ill. Mr. Bahni is well known as a faithful, active Single Taxer of many years standing—and he will attend the Convention. Mr. Bahni, of the Peoria Jewelry Co., is preparing two silver plaques appropriately engraved. These plaques will be presented to the two delegates properly registered, who qualify as follows: 1st. To the American citizen, Single Taxer, who shall have to his credit the greatest mileage distance in travel to Chicago:—In other words from his home (under the American flag) by shortest rail and steamship route. 2nd. To any foreign citizen, Single Taxer, who shall have to his credit the greatest mileage distance in his journey to Chicago via shortest route from his home. These plaques will be appropriate to hang on the wall in an office, or home room.

It is desired to give, at this Convention, all due recognition (at a newspaper and periodical table) to all Single Tax newspapers and periodicals. That all our delegates may be informed as to our newspaper and periodicals—as to their merits, efficiency, and attractiveness. The circulation of our papers should be increased.

It is desired that all newspapers and periodicals, which are friendly to the Georgist cause, may give the fullest and earliest publicity to the above announcements. Also we request that all Single Taxers (to whom these announcements shall come) may tell other Single Taxers of the plans explained above.

At our Convention we expect that the Enclavian plans and accomplishments and projections will be set forth by Fiske Warren, E. B. Gaston, Abe Waldauer and others.

We hope that the Henry George School of Social Science will be represented by a goodly delegation to report progress.

We expect that all other lines of Single Tax activity in America will be ably represented, and progress reported, whether such activities be by lectures, by papers and periodicals, educational work, or in the field of practical legislation.

Is it too much to hope that out of this convention may emerge an immediate and practical plan for an advance?

C. J. EWING, Chairman Convention Committee.

GEORGE E. EVANS, President.

P. R. WILLIAMS, Secretary.

Affairs In Pittsburgh

TWO prominent Pittsburgh Single Taxers, William N. McNair and John M. Henry, both attorneys, are in the forefront in the discussion in the public press as probable candidates for the Democratic nomination for Mayor of that city, and at this time it seems likely that a Single Taxer of clear-cut convictions will be the nominee and that the issue of land value taxation will figure rather prominently in the municipal campaign. The Democratic nominee is conceded the best prospect of winning in the past thirty years. Mr. McNair was the nominee for Mayor twelve years ago and polled a large vote and in 1928 polled nearly a million votes for United States Senator. John S. Herron, until recently President of City Council, is now serving as Mayor for the unexpired term of ex-Mayor Charles H. Klin, who resigned after conviction on charges of malfeasance in office.

Among probable candidates for City Council are George E. Evans, President of the Henry George Foundation and former Mayor William A. Magee, "father" of Pittsburgh's graded tax law, the latter a Republican who has served two terms as Mayor. The primary election will be held September 19.

Up To The Savants

CHEMISTRY is replacing the red hot iron for marking a young steer's flank, but something like an iron law of wages still quietly operates to get out of the hide of the worker all the wealth he produces above a bare living.

Perhaps the savants of the World Economic Conference can explain why wages everywhere tend to a minimum? The correct answer might explain increasing want with increasing wealth.—JOHN J. EGAN in *World Telegram*.

JOSIAH MEIGS wrote to Noah Webster, from Washington City, Dec. 3, 1818: ". . . I think, however, that the *Mania* of emigration has come to a *lucid* interval. In a country so free from burdens & taxes as ours, almost any land will comfortably support industrious and intelligent Cultivators. . . ."

An Operetta on Economics

THE operetta "Grubb's Corner," libretto by Frank Stephens and music adapted from Gilbert and Sullivan by Estelle Hillersohn, was given its third performance June 24, by sixty-three singers, many of them professionals, before a crowded house, the preceding performance having been given in Wilmington. The author's preface may be judged from this quotation from which he said as prologue: "The epoch-making work which we are about to present or perpetrate, is without foundation in history or tradition. It brings together people who never met, in places where they never were, and at times when they were not alive. It includes in its one-day matters seventy years apart, its place is just where we are, Grubb's Corner. Maybe it should be admitted that its purpose is to set forth the peculiar beliefs some few of us hold touching the origin and validity of titles to land in this country, but as we have been saying the same things up and down this State for thirty-eight years without anyone paying any attention to them we will risk their hurting anyone's feelings now."

The plot opens with the coming of the Dutch under Captain David De Vries to seize the land under grant from the Lords States General of Holland. They are followed by a crowd of English noblewomen and swash-bucklers led by Lord Baltimore, coming to seize the same land under grant from King Charles and King James. As they pass on come William Penn and the Quakeresses to claim the same country by grant from the Duke of York. The nature of their proffers may be judged from that of Lord Baltimore:

We offer you just for plain dirt
The kind a papoose makes mud pies of,
Some beads and a calico shirt
For a district an uncertain size of.

Pokerface, the chief, accepts after this suggestion from his squaw Pocohontas; to the air: "Things are seldom what they seem" in "Pinafore:"

Tho' I have no head for numbers
And talk nonsense in my slumbers
No deceit this fact obscures,
What you sell them is not yours.
That for which you get the bribe
Is the land of all the tribe,
If you sell it to these gents
You can pocket all the pence.

The deal is interrupted by the in-rush of Peter Grubb, the original settler, the roughest of pioneers:

Forbear, nor carry out the grab you've planned,
What are you doing, swapping off my land?
Take notice, all these fields you think you've spotted
Are mine because I got here first and—squatted.

Solo:

From "Pinafore" "When I was a lad,"

When first I came to the Delaware shore,
It was some weeks ahead of Lord Baltimore
And I floundered over moor and fen
Some days ahead of William Penn.

I cut my schedule down so fine
That I reached the banks of the Brandywine
Some half an hour or so I claim,
Before these folks from Holland came.

By dropping my kit and hustling quick
I was first to get to Naaman's Creek,
And just ahead of Dutch and Quakers
Mandated some five thousand acres.
And here secure from war's alarms,
I'll stake out hundred acre farms.
I'll rent them fair, as man to man,
And farm the farmers as I can.

And then when Wilmington grows great
We'll make some booms in real estate,
And all by landlord's law will be
For me and my posterity.

Hands Penn his card:

PETER GRUBB, REALTOR,
Grubb's Corner, Delaware.

Duet:

Penn and Peter Grubb,—("Mikado". "On a tree—."

Penn:

The legend I read on your visiting card
Is just this: "Peter Grubb of—Grubb's Corner",
But I can't understand, tho' I've tried long and hard,
How you're Peter Grubb of Grubb's Corner.
Now would you be so good as to kindly explain,
Since there is no Grubb's Road nor even Grubb's Lane,
How there can be a corner where no roads obtain,
To make you Peter Grubb—of Grubb's Corner?

Peter Grubb:

I am only too glad, my good friends, to explain
How I'm Peter Grubb of—"Grubb's Corner"
So many long years ere there's any Grubb's Lane
To cross over and make a Grubb's Corner.
You see just before you arrived at this spot
I cornered the land you each thought you had got,
And that corner in land is the corner I wot
That makes me Peter Grubb of—"Grubb's Corner."

Chorus:

All but Grubb—(Trial by Jury) "With all respect."
With all respect we do object
We do object, we do object.

Peter Grubb:

All the legal quibbles seize you—
No explaining seems to please you.
Chase yourselves, you'll have to scoot—
I have Indians to shoot.
Gentle Hollanders and Sweder
Get out of this—"Auf wieder,"
Boodling Britons, quibbling Quakers
"Raus Mit"—for land-grabbing fakirs—
Throw your parchment screeds away—
I have squatted here to stay.

Chorus:

Ow—ah.

Peter Grubb:

For I grabbed it first.

Chorus:

And a good grab, too!

Peter Grubb:

So you get the worst—

Chorus:

Yes! we certainly do.

Peter Grubb:

Though you're mad enough to bust

You'll obey the law, I trust:

For the law is always just—

And that's one on you—

This is landlord's law, you know.

Chorus:

And it's strong law, too.

Peter Grubb:

It's been so since long ago—

Chorus:

Yes, it's long law, too,

This is landlord's law, we're told,

That who grabs it first shall hold,

So the rest of us are sold—

And it's good law, too.

Schalkenbach Foundation Work

A NEW booklet, suitable for enclosure in ordinary sized envelopes is being prepared by the Foundation. It will contain the speech of Dr. John Dewey over Station WEVD in April of this year, and, in addition will present in its last pages a collection of new quotations from contemporary celebrities. Due to the limited number of pages, it was not possible to include all of the statements that have been made in the past nor during the last few months while the Foundation gathered estimates of the life and work of Henry George. Those statements that do appear are convincing, however, as is Dr. Dewey's strong recommendation to read and study George's two books, "Progress and Poverty" and "Social Problems." This pamphlet can be handed, with pride, to friends who want to know something about Henry George, and it can be used to good advantage as an enclosure in personal correspondence. Single copies are five cents; packages of thirty will be sent for \$1 postpaid.

Following a theory that "Progress and Poverty" ought to interest almost anyone including the elusive "man in the street," if the story of the book is presented in an attractive manner, a folder has been designed describing the book, and containing quotations from famous people. About 2,000 home-owners in Brooklyn and New Rochelle received the folder and a percentage have thus far replied sending for the book. It is too early to ascertain whether the results in inquiries and sales will justify this endeavor, but we know that advertising a book in this manner sends people to the public library and to read "Progress and Poverty," and local bookstores sometimes benefit. More than 2,000 people who presumably knew little or nothing

about Henry George now have a slight acquaintance with his name and his masterpiece. A further experiment will be tried in the Fall with additional special lists.

At the suggestion of Prof. Broadus Mitchell, we procured a list of summer school teachers of history, economics, philosophy and sociology, and sent an assortment of literature to some 350 names. A special offer was made with regard to quantities of "Progress and Poverty" or of "Significant Paragraphs from Progress and Poverty" for classroom use, and as a result we are obtaining the interest of a number of summer school teachers.

The Foundation acknowledges receipt from Mr. Robert Balmer of this city of a group of books and pamphlets connected with the progress of the Single Tax movement in South American countries. The books have been added to the Foundations' library on economic subjects, and are at the disposal of anyone who wishes to refer to them. They include such titles as:

Dr. Andres Lamas—"Biography of Rivadavia" (Rivadavia was the George Washington of the Argentine, and a brave exponent of land reform).

"Public Ownership of Land." C. V. Dominguez.

"After the Avalanche", by Juan Sin ITierra (dedicated to Antonio Albendin.)

"History of Land and Agriculture in Ancient and Modern Mexico."

Accompanied by a letter from the Foundation's president, Mr. Hennessy, several books were sent to prominent men and women during the month, with the compliments of the Henry George Club of New Orleans. "Social Problems" was sent to Mr. Ferdinand Pecora and to Will Rogers; an abridged "Progress and Poverty" was sent to Miss Perkins, Senator Borah and President Roosevelt; a copy of "The Land Question," containing also the "Condition of Labor," was sent to Mrs. Roosevelt.

A result of earlier work of the Club in New Orleans is the editorial that appeared in the New Orleans *Daily States*, a newspaper edited by Mr. J. Walker Ross. The Club asked the Foundation to send a copy of "Social Problems" to Mr. Ross. This was done in January. On June 22, the following editorial appeared in Mr. Ross' paper:

THE DANGEROUS MAN

"The dangerous man is not the man who tries to excite discontent; the dangerous man is the man who says all is as it ought to be."

Henry George said that nearly half a century ago. For nearly two generations we have forgotten or ignored this simple truth, and see to what that has brought us! Let it now be impressed upon our minds so deeply that nothing can hide the warning.

If there is any penalty to communities dominated by so-called civic organizations, it is the price they pay for smug complacency that is set up. God's in his heavens, all's right with the world! Into what disasters have we walked with that bandage tightly tied over our eyes.

Civic organizations are of the breath, bone and body of the upper thin crust. They see nothing except their own special interests. Individually their members are often broad-minded, fair men; collectively, they have a sort of mob psychology that sees nothing, hears nothing, says nothing, except what the mob is immediately intent

upon doing, regardless of the larger effects. The upper thin crust is only a small part of society.

Only a part of the society that we have twisted from all natural benefits. In no group of living organisms do you see a few that are fat while the great majority are lean. You don't see it among the birds of the air, the beasts of the field, the fish of the sea. You don't see it among savage tribes. Sometimes there comes a sickness or a famine that destroys the birds, the animals, the fish or the tribesmen, but you don't see the few benefit while the many suffer. Only we civilized ones have been able to create a society of such unnatural works.

Henry George said that too—nearly fifty years ago; and lo, we only make things worse by creating more distinctions, by increasing the spread of injustice.

And the principal means by which we have done it has been the sanctified hush-hush. It is unpatriotic to say thus and so; it is hurting the town to expose such and such a condition; it is not constructive to cry out against outrage. In that attitude lies the real danger.

The last few years have opened men's minds and men's mouths. May they continue to open.

From Senator P. Frank Morrow of Seattle, Wash., we learn that a Henry George Economic League is being organized in that State. Mr. Morrow tells us that Miss Josephine Nelson will organize the Women's Division of the Henry George Economic League, in the same State.

A letter from Mr. John B. Sharpe, Pittsburgh, is so inspiring that we quote from it as follows:

"The true measures of success of George's teaching is not to be found in the academic approval or the political support which it receives, but rather in the enormous decrease of ignorant criticism and the more tolerant view which the vital diffusion of his ideas has brought about. Ideas and movements involving important social changes often find their darkest hour on the very eve of their success. The institution of slavery never appeared more firmly settled, nor was the price of a slave ever so high as just before the emancipation. In England, forty years after the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*, the number of those who actively adhered to the teachings of Adam Smith were comparatively few, but the thought of the whole nation had been gradually leavened for their later political unfolding. The importance of these teachings may be measured, with some allowance, by the words of Buckle who, in his *History of Civilization* said: 'This solitary Scotchman, by the publication of a single work accomplished more for the happiness of mankind than has been achieved by the delegated abilities of all the statesmen and politicians of whom history has preserved an authentic account.'

"The world today is strewn with discredited economic theories that sought to exist in accord with the fundamental wrong that George pointed out. There is a law of the universe, says Lamennais, 'that fixes for all things their duration, and marks for each one its fatal hour.' The hand of the political clock is about to complete one revolution. It will wrap in shadow a long list of errors. It will also efface that mirage of human illusion that is now being spectacularly spread before the American people by the witch doctors in Washington. The hour that follows may not ring in the accession of our ideas, but it will hasten the time when Single Tax men, as George said, will spring from the ground like the soldiers of Rhoderick Dhu."

ANTOINETTE KAUFMANN

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT says that his farm relief proposal is but an experiment. He is too optimistic. His bill imposes restrictions on industry. Thousands of years of restrictive policies show that restriction always hurts industry. The only experiment about the farm measure is to see how many statesmen are unable to learn anything from experience.

Work of Charles H. Ingersoll

THESE past two months have been well spent in perfecting, writing, circulating and broadcasting talks on the Single Tax. The contents of the talks all revolve around and lead up to the movement he is furthering. He usually has current events as titles; for instance, "An Empire for a Nickel," when the fare question was in large headlines. One of the latest, "Mayor O'Brien and President Roosevelt on the SPOT!" deals with their predicament and the only possible way of remedying it.

His talk, "A Talk to the Businessmen," has already been circulated to about 250 Single Taxers and published and probably many have seen and read it. We have received some very favorable comment due to the mailing and some have offered to use them for propaganda work.

Mr. Ingersoll is constantly adding new stations to his regular schedule and also takes miscellaneous ones, too. WMSG and WMCA are the new regular features and WIP and WEVD the miscellaneous. WEVD, by the way, is a Socialistic Station. That he has been and is kept busy by the radio is evidenced by the schedule below. Those who have received his schedules will be able to note changes of time and also the additions of stations.

Sundays: WWRL, Woodside, 3:45 p. m. (k. 1500); WGCP, Newark, 5:45 p. m. (k. 1250).

Mondays: WILM, Wilmington 2:45 p. m.; WDAS, Philadelphia, 8:30 p. m.

Tuesdays: WAAM, Newark, 3:15 p. m. (k. 1250).

Wednesdays: WBNX, N. Y. City, 12:45 p. m. (k. 1350).

Thursdays: WLTH, N. Y. City, 9:45 a. m. (k. 1400); WWRL, Woodside, L. I., 10:45 p. m. (k. 1500).

Fridays: WMSG, N. Y. City, 1 p. m. (k. 1350).

Saturdays: WHOM, N. Y. City, 12:15 p. m. (k. 1450). WMCA, N. Y. City, 4:30 p. m. (k. 570); WCDA, N. Y. City, 8:30 p. m. (k. 1350).

He has, however, found time to address the following large and eager audiences:

PUBLIC ADDRESSES

North Hudson Kiwanis, Union City, N. J. May 23, 12:15 p. m. This was a typical Kiwanis crowd. I made a 35 minute talk along usual lines and had a half hour informal quiz but failed in getting the whole crowd on adjournment. Interest was perfect and a lot of them asked questions afterward; 60 present.

Debate, Ingersoll Forum, Pythian Temple. May 23, 8:30 p. m. This affair was a failure as a debate, as Atheism, Religion, and Economics don't mix, but as a vehicle for talking Single Tax and for a very interesting question period of an hour it was O. K., although I certainly would prefer a different atmosphere for both. I talked three-quarters of an hour in all and there were about 100 present.

Caldwell (West Essex Kiwanis), N. J. June 1, 12:15 p. m. This is the same crowd that James R. Brown talked to a few weeks before he died. Mr. Triner present. Attendance 65. Talked 30 minutes. We had a half hour intense quiz. Crowd pretty well educated and intensely interested. They expect to arrange a night meeting so we can have plenty of time.

Bolar Springs, Va., Fourth of July Celebration. This being 200

miles southwest of Washington I was obliged to cancel WDAS, Philadelphia broadcast Monday evening to make this appointment, which was in company with Harry W. Olney of Washington. We arrived there about noon and at 2 o'clock had a meeting in their open air pavillion at which there were present about 1,000 more or less shifting and including a total of something like 2,000. My first function was to umpire a Fiddlers' Contest because Henry Ford who was to share this responsibility could not be present. The occasion was a happy one as the people from more than 50 miles around in Virginia and West Virginia enjoyed it and my talk of 25 minutes was well received. Will Atkinson (who got up this meeting) followed with a similar talk. The audience, largely farmers and their families, intensely interested.

A brief idea of the content of the radio talks may be gathered from the following extracts given below. This will show Mr. Ingersoll's method of leading up to the Single Tax theory with in some cases a brief explanation.

EXCERPTS FROM MR. INGERSOLL'S RADIO TALKS

A TALK TO BUSINESSMEN

Now, what's the situation with a realtor, for example? A man wants to build a house; you take him to a nice lot and explain to him that he's not buying land at all but social service: streets, schools, police, fire, post office, etc., and, therefore, he should be cheerful in giving you \$1,000 for 25x100 (you won't, of course, tell him that he has already paid the thousand in taxes that paid for the service he is now paying for the second time)! Then he builds a \$3,000 house, and is taxed on \$4,000; and twenty-five per cent of his investment is SUNK in the cost of the land. Is that good business? Suppose its an apartment, block of stores, or a factory:—The same story, twenty-five per cent of capital sunk; actually I think this must be nearer fifty per cent.

Wouldn't all these good, enterprising folk be that much better off if none of their capital were SUNK? If the land did not cost anything? Wouldn't there be more houses, apartments, stores, and factories built? Wouldn't rents be cheaper? Wouldn't profits be higher and more steady?

TECHNOCRACY—HENRY GEORGE ITS AUTHOR

Now, what is the truth in Technocracy, and where did Technocrats copy it from? Henry George 53 years ago, wrote a book called "Progress and Poverty," in which, in language that Al. Smith can understand, he proved, if logic ever proves, that Progress CAUSED Poverty, he also proved why; and all that Technocracy has to say on this subject of energy, except a multiplication of strange superfluous language and figures, was put in perfect form by George.

MAYOR O'BRIEN AND PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON THE SPOT!

Unfortunately, a workingman, earning \$20 a week, and having, say, a family of four to support, requires every cent to pay for the things which are required—they are a necessity—to keep those four alive and respectable; so what happens, when our so-called normal taxation, comes along and takes away \$10 out of that necessary \$20?

Well exactly the condition we have, happens; this depleted buying power makes him and family half paupers, which is bad enough; but it has a wider effect—called a social effect—it deprives him, and every other worker in the country, of employment, and produces 16,000,000 of what we called unemployed, and twice as many more, half-employed laborers.

Now, we are up to the minute in sizing up the O'Brien and Roosevelt discomfort! That \$10, workman Jones' helpmeet is spreading around over the surface of her family needs, has got to be spread still

thinner! and "as sure as death and taxes," this 30 millions increase of bridge tolls, taxi fares and subway fares, if our experts decide on them; they surely, every dollar, will go, with directness and speed, to increase that already impossible burden, Mr. and Mrs. Jones, and the little Joneses, are staggering and suffering under!

THE DAILY HEADLINES

The reason commonly sighted for calling our governments socialistic is that they tend to take over, or control, public functions like transportation, communication, like telephones and telegraphs, water power, etc.; this is a completely fallacious reason, for, to the extent that governments have taken over such utilities, they are responding to a natural, economic, scientific and wholly democratic urge to draw a much needed line of demarkation between actual and tangible, private and social property and interest.

CAUSE AND CURE OF BUSINESS DEPRESSION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY

Says the man from Mars: I can't understand why anyone needs to ask what causes your depression, unemployment and poverty. It seems plain to me that about half the cause is from the robbery of ninety per cent of your people by the tax system which by doubling the cost of living cuts in half their buying power; then, because of this foolish system of taxing labor and industry, you avoid collecting your social revenue, or land rent, but permit it to create the system of speculating in land, which results in holding it out of use for high prices; and, as it is the only source of employment of both capital and labor, they must go unemployed and that completes your distressing picture. What you people want to do, if you are really not enjoying this distress—as one might think you were from the fact that you are so slow in getting and keeping out of it—is to use nothing but your land values for government, collecting them by a Single Tax upon them alone.

TECHNOCRACY CHALLENGES CAPITALISM

If capitalism wishes to clear its title to all private wealth it must see that this 170 billions of social wealth is restored to society which is identical with capitalism and to do it by using its revenue, economic rent, in place of all existing taxation, for paying the cost of government or social services.

This great 170 billion dollar estate is a part of capitalism's wealth, and just as important to its existence and financial health as the 183 billions standing in capitalism's own name.

Work of Philip Stanley

PHILIP STANLEY is conducting out-door meetings at Borough Hall, Brooklyn, three meetings a week. These are noon meetings. He is also conducting evening meetings on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 86th Street and Lexington Avenue, Manhattan; and Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 96th Street and Broadway, Manhattan.

Great progress has been made at Borough Hall, Brooklyn, and 86th Street and Lexington Avenue, and plans for organization are in process. Meetings number from 500 to 1,000, and people appear to be anxious to receive the message of Henry George. Especially is this true at Borough Hall and 86th Street.

Mr. Stanley has received cooperation from Mr. Bolton Hall, Mr. Ingersoll, Mr. Oscar H. Geiger and LAND AND FREEDOM.

What is needed is literature for sale and free distribu-

tion and if any of our friends anywhere have such material they can do a good service by supplying it to Mr. Stanley. This young man is a recent convert from communism, and is a very effective speaker.

The Labor Problem and How to Solve It

THE essence of a sound economic system is that the means of production shall be privately owned, profits being the stimulus to enterprise; that the opportunity for profit in any particular line will always invite competition, that competition among producers and sellers generally will assure to the public reasonable prices for commodities and services; that market price will, more or less accurately, reveal the true relationship between supply and demand and hence serve to regulate production; that a low price will curtail production, a high price expand it and so bring about its own correction; that the investor, in his own interest, will apply his savings where they will produce the highest yield, which is also the place where they are most badly needed for the good of all. Under our present system it is also presumed that the interests of the workers are adequately protected in the long run since competition among employers will insure that they pay a wage in proportion to the productivity of the worker. If wages should be, at a given time, too low relative to price, the resulting excessive profits will encourage the coming in of additional producers or the expansion of additional plants and so serve simultaneously to lower prices and raise wages until the proper relationship is once more gained.

In short our present system is one of free enterprise and free covenants operating on the principle that the profit motive and self-interest automatically assure a proper balance of production and consumption and a proper distribution of incomes. In such a system the major economic function of government is but to maintain the conditions of competition. It has taken thousands of years to evolve the present capitalist system. Before the advent of capitalism, man suffered periodically from lack of food. Capitalism solved once and for all the problem of production. No thinking person claims that there is today any shortage of food, clothing and shelter. It is the *distribution* of wealth that is faulty.

Cut away the growth which during the ages has attached itself to capitalism, namely, the system that allows the land-owning class to get a greater and greater share of the common wealth and we shall have justice and order in the world. Capitalism and land-monopoly are not essential to each other; on the contrary they are, as you already may have surmised, antagonistic and mutually self-destructive. Which is to say, either capitalism must destroy land-monopoly, or land-monopoly will destroy capitalism.

Man, (of course that term includes woman) I have already stated, needs food, clothing and shelter. Some men have more than they need; most have less than they need.

Wealth, I need hardly explain, means food, clothing and shelter. It is produced by the application of human labor to the raw materials. By raw material we mean the land, the sea, the surface of the earth, minerals and oils under the earth. In short the gift of God or nature to man. The land was here before any of us arrived. It is that by which and from which we live, and is that from which comes, in response to man's labor, all wealth.

If some men have not enough food, clothing and shelter, it must be due to one of three causes only.

(1) Either the Supreme Power failed to supply enough raw material, or

(2) Men fail to change enough raw material into the things they need, or

(3) Wealth is not fairly divided.

Which is it? Let's see.

If the Almighty placed more people on this globe than the globe can support, this is His fault, but we know that we have not begun to exhaust the resources of nature. No one claims there is not enough wheat or fruit or coal or any other of the good things that we need, in the world. On the contrary, farmers, coal operators and other producers claim we have too much wheat, too much coal, too much food, too much clothing. They complain that we are suffering from "overproduction."

Have men not sufficient intelligence and energy to produce what they need?

We have only one more answer, that is, that wealth is not fairly divided.

How is wealth divided in society? It is apportioned into three shares. Men who work get wages, men who help do the work get interest, and men who allow other men to produce wealth get rent. In short, labor gets wages, capital gets interest, land gets rent. These terms wages, interest and rent are mutually exclusive, that is each designates something not covered by the other two.

Do you observe that two classes in society produce wealth while three classes divide it? How long could any game continue if two produce and three divide?

Before labor can get its wages and before capital can get its interest, *land must get its rent*. Now, the quantity of land in the world is fixed. This is the same as to say that the supply of land cannot be increased. True, you can transpose land from one place to another, but you do not thereby increase the quantity. Land, I repeat cannot be increased in quantity. The pressure of population on land, however, is constantly increasing and therefore land is constantly becoming more valuable. (It is estimated that the population of the world is increasing at the rate of 25,000,000 yearly.) Therefore, the price of land, or its rent, is constantly rising, *at the expense both*

of interest and wages. Therefore, the land-owning class is able to get a greater and constantly greater share of the world's wealth. You who have read the *Good Earth* will understand.

Here is the explanation, why, despite constant advances in the productivity of man, despite inventions and discoveries, the great mass of men remain poor. The increasing productivity of mankind reflects itself in increasing demand for land which makes land more valuable and enables the land-owning class (numbering in the United States less than ten per cent of the population) constantly to extract more *and more of the wealth which it has had no part in producing.*

In the United States today, the bare land is capitalized at approximately \$170,000,000,000. I am speaking, mind you, only of the land, not of the improvements in, on, or above the land. This \$170,000,000,000 land value was not produced by the landlords. It is a social product, having been produced by the presence and activities of the 120,000,000 people now residing in the United States. Last year, the land-owners, constituting less than ten per cent of the population of the United States, were able to draw off from the producers approximately \$14,000,000,000 rent for mere permission to use what they termed "their land." From this \$14,000,000,000 the land-owning class rendered no service whatsoever to those who produced the wealth out of the land. They merely permitted labor to produce, and then took from labor as rent, approximately one-sixth of what labor had produced. Which is to say that the producers in six years received only the value of their production of five years. Is it any wonder then that the producers are unable to effect exchanges of their commodities with the producers of other commodities when those who rendered no service first retain for themselves one-sixth of the products of those who do the producing? This is what brings on panics in the United States and every other country where the producer is robbed of a part of his production every few years. We have had thirteen major panics in the United States during the past 150 years.

"But," you say, "did not the landlord invest his money in land and isn't he entitled to a reasonable return on that investment?" Let's see. A man might invest all the money at his command in land at the North Pole, or New York, but unless and until population settled thereon his investment could not sprout a single shoot. There would be no growth whatever; on the contrary there would be depreciation and certain loss. Now, since the investment would not begin to grow in value until population came, it must be clear that whatever growth arose would not be due to the landlord's investment, but to the presence of population. But that growth would appear even if the landlord did not invest, therefore he could have no moral claim to any share of it.

An "investment," so-called, in land differs fundamentally from real investments. If one invests in a house,

he completes the transaction that began when the first man applied his labor to the making of that house. In the price that he pays for it, the investor pays for the labor and materials that went to the making of his house, and the house becomes his absolute rightful property. He and he alone, is the owner thereof, and entitled to the full use and enjoyment against all comers.

Consider, however, an "investment" in land. Here the investor does not pay for the labor and materials going to the making of the land. He buys the power privately to tax the labor of others so long as he, or his successors in interest hold that investment. Land of itself can yield no return to the investor. He can gather no rent off idle acres. Only when "his" land is required by others is he able to get a return on his investment, but for that return *he does nothing nor gives anything of value in exchange. He takes something for nothing; the land user gets nothing for something.*

The attraction of such holdings lies in the expectation that dividends will be "earned" on the investment. Should this expectation be realized, it is material to the issue to remember that those dividends will not be earned by the investor. They will be earned, it is true, but by the toil and sweat of those who must needs use that land in which the investment has been made. These will pay all dividends, and in doing so must submit to be robbed of some portion of the reward due to themselves—their wages, in fact, will be reduced by the amount of those dividends; and they will receive nothing as equivalent for what is taken from them, and passed over to the "investor" in land. The wealth which will have been produced by the users of the land will be divided between themselves and the non-producing dividend-takers.

An "investment" in land does not aid production. It does not afford opportunity for labor, nor does it add anything to the wealth of the community. It is merely a stranglehold upon all industry, and this acts always in restraint of wealth production. It is therefore the direct cause of poverty, and wholly anti-social.

Take Manhattan Island. It is twenty-one square miles in area; the latest and best information is that the Almighty made it, and gave it to the race free of charge. We must admit however that a large number of us are very busy trying to correct the oversight. Today, one acre of Manhattan Island would bring in the open market \$50,000,000 and it did not cost one cent to produce. Remember there is no production cost in land.

Peter Minuit, history tells us, handed the Indians \$24 for Manhattan Island. Even that they did not receive in cash, but in Woolworth beads. The island is the same size today, except possibly here a little filling in, and there a little cutting off. What did Peter Minuit's heirs or those who bought from them, charge last year for the mere permission to use this island, twenty-one square

miles in area, that the Almighty produced and all his children, by their presence made valuable?

Seven hundred millions of dollars! This land rent was collected last year by less than two per cent of the population from the users, the wealth-producers of Manhattan Island. And every year, as the population of the city increases and their activities are widening, this sum automatically becomes greater. The City of New York requires the landowners to hand over about one-half of the land rent, but it permits them to retain the other half which also they had no part in producing. They can speculate in it, that is, buy and sell the privilege of collecting so much of land rent as the city fails to take from them, and that is just what they do. Capitalizing this \$350,000,000 which they have left, "their land" is worth \$7,000,000,000 because that sum invested at five per cent which is the prevailing annual rate for money around New York City for safe investments, will produce \$350,000,000.

In the last analysis, all employment is the application of human labor to natural resources. This is the only fount from which must be drawn everything needed to satisfy human wants.

The beneficiaries of our present land laws are enabled by them to appropriate one-sixth of the total production of the nation (in the form of rent) for mere permission to produce, for that is all one gets, in exchange for the rent of bare land; the title-holder having tendered no other service in production.

Society having failed to collect for its communal needs, the rent of land, now commits a second wrong. Under the guise of taxation, it compels labor to surrender a part of what labor has produced. This further aggravates the situation.

What did Henry George propose?

Simply this: To compel every landlord to pay the full economic rent over into the common fund annually for this privilege which he was holding to the exclusion of the other members of the community who had as much right to it as he had. In other words, George proposed that society collect for all its members all ground rent. Why do this?

Well for the very obvious reason that this ground rent, amounting last year to about \$14,000,000,000 in the United States, and increasing every year as our population and activities increased, was produced by the people collectively and should be used by the people collectively to maintain their collective activities.

The minute you do this you remove from land its speculative value, that is to say, under the Georgian philosophy no one would buy or sell land because every year society would force every land owner to hand over the full ground rent. Obviously no one would buy or sell land if he could not speculate in its rent.

Secondly, George proposed to abolish all taxation, for if the community collects its land rent it will have no need of taking from labor any portion of what labor has produced. That Henry George stigmatized as robbery. In

the limited time I have I cannot develop this point. I could spend a whole hour with you discussing the incidence of taxation. Remove, said Henry George, all the barriers that prevent man from producing and exchanging wealth for each other. Away with tariff walls, stop penalizing industry by taxing it and collect for society the entire ground rent, which society, alone produces.

* * * * *

Shortly, you will depart from these cloistered walls to enter the work-a-day world. I trust you will enter that world with no lowly ambitions. Especially would I hope that you would not waste away your lives piling up *things*, or piling up money, (because money can buy things).

One of my sons is devoting every minute of his spare time to gathering United States stamps. He is seeking commemoratives, regular issues, imperforate stamps, coils and the like. This is all right, *because he is only twelve years old*. I would feel that his life had been wasted if he spent the whole of it gathering stamps. There is no difference between gathering stamps and gathering money. A life devoted to gathering things is an empty life. At the end, there comes the realization that you have accumulated nought but Dead Sea Fruit. As you grow older, and see those whom you have known in the flesh, softly laid away in the cold earth, there forever to mingle with the elements, you cannot help but feel in too many cases, how futile have been their lives, absorbed in accumulating wealth. For wealth is soon dissipated and those who so laboriously garnered it are quickly forgotten. Only those live on who have contributed to the advancement of a great idea.

I would not give you the impression that I am opposed to having you earn your living. The contrary is the fact. Every normal man desires to maintain his self-respect and you cannot do this unless you feel, that, day by day, you are rendering worth-while service to society. A service that is the equivalent, yes and more than equivalent, of the service society is rendering to you. Likewise every normal woman wants to feel that she is not a parasite who must depend on her father, brother, husband or son for her living. Any woman who is keeping a home for her husband and raising their children is doing as fine a job as is her husband who is erecting an Empire State Building or running a business.

There is another and bigger job, however, than earning a living. That job is to work and leave this world a nobler and better place than we found it, that is to contribute to the improvement of economic conditions, to bring order out of chaos in the industrial world; specifically, to help institute an economic system which will, in fact, establish each man and each woman's equal right to exist on this earth without paying tribute called economic rent.

I trust you will work earnestly and hard for that, in the pulpit, in the school room, in the press, on the platform, over the air. The forces of ignorance and evil with which you will have to contend will be numerous and formidable. Victory in the fight to establish economic justice may not

perch on your shoulders. You and I (yes, and our children,) may not live to see the final triumph of economic justice, but come it must, if civilization is to be saved. For today our world is in agony. Millions of willing, able men are denied employment; in consequence they and their wives and children are suffering the pangs of hunger. Out of the depths into which it has fallen mankind cries today for help.

It matters little if *we* do not live to see the final triumph of justice. We at least must work for it to our utmost talent. Working for justice there will come over us a feeling of indescribable satisfaction, a feeling that we have been of service to our fellow men, a feeling that we have justified our existence. For the great thing about economic reform is that it will open the door and make easier all other reforms our old world so sadly needs.

Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.

BENJAMIN W. BURGER.

Henry George

THOSE who knew Henry George personally are happy to have had that privilege. He was one who commanded the same personal respect as did Lincoln. He was a man apart from others. It was felt that he spoke with authority. His first interest at all times was to spread the truth of the natural law which he himself had discovered, and he required of his followers when they called upon him reports of what they were doing to spread that philosophy.

Reviewing briefly the career of Henry George, we find him at first with the responsibility of his family, chagrined and puzzled at the difficulty in finding an opportunity to earn a living. In this he had the same experience of millions of others but instead of accepting the situation complacently as something inevitable this man with greater heart and greater mind felt that the condition was a contradiction to what ought to be, and he took upon himself a solemn vow that he would not rest until he had found the reason for the persistence of undeserved poverty with unparalleled progress and the remedy therefor. This was not a mere prayer for enlightenment. He read everything available which would throw any light upon the subject and as a result of his unparalleled research there came upon his mind as by a flash a complete enlightenment of the whole puzzle.

The problem was made clear to him and, as has been the case with his followers, this gave him a new faith in God, a new vision of what the world might be if natural law instead of inimical man-made laws should be followed. His next task was to place his conclusions in proper form to be given to the world. At last this was accomplished and "Progress and Poverty" was immediately given the reception that is only accorded great books. It was translated into every modern language. This was supplemented by editorial work, by magazine and newspaper articles,

by speeches, addresses, sermons and lectures and by the dissemination of literature through organizations which sprang up in various countries of the world. At last we find him in October of 1897 accepting the nomination for Mayor of New York City.

Henry George was then far from robust and his physician warned him that this act of his would probably cost him his life.—"How better," replied Mr. George, "than to give one's life in this way." The campaign was short but strenuous. Five days before election was to take place we find Mr. George facing an audience of working men. His work was finished. He was to be known by future generations as the one man who had done more than any other to make effective by a working programme the Democratic principle of equal rights for all and special privileges for none together with fulfillment of the Christian's prayer, "Thy will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven." He was to be known as the greatest internationalist of modern times, the greatest liberator, the greatest benefactor of the race. As he faced this audience of working men two things he did not know; one was that he was not to see the light of another day, and the other that he was to be tested by trial. As the cheers and applause subsided, the chairman of the meeting introduced Henry George as "the great friend of labor and Democracy."

Mr. George was very weary but his mind was alert and he caught the inference of special favor involved in that introduction. Should he accept a statement that he was the special friend of any class of men? Why not? There were a dozen different reasons why he should let it pass. To take exception to it might annoy the chairman, it might displease the audience, it might be considered an academic distinction without a difference. There was necessity for haste. There were one or two more meetings to be held that very night. Why split hairs about the meaning of a word? Why quibble about technical terms? He owed a great deal to his committee. They were impatient for him to begin his speech. But no! Henry George was thoroughly honest as Lincoln was honest. He did not know that he was on trial in these last hours of his life but he never faltered. Henry George's sterling honesty would not permit even the slightest suggestion of favor for any one class. Said he, "I have never claimed to be a special friend of labor. What I stand for is the equal rights of all men!" He turned to the audience, exclaiming, "I am for men!"—HENRY WARE ALLEN.

A REAL statesman is one who knows enough to be aware that it is impossible to continue taxing industry at the rate of thirteen billions a year and cure a depression at the same time. How many congressmen can pass that test?

WHEN Congress levies taxes the only forgotten man is the land owner and he does not want to be remembered.

The Policy of Land Value Taxationists and Single Taxers

IN a letter written shortly before his death, John Paul explained at length what he felt to be the political strength and the wisdom of the policy pursued by the Land Value Taxationists and the Single Taxers, sometimes referred to as the "step-by-step" policy. In support of it, he cited Chapter II, Book VIII, of "Progress and Poverty," concerning which he said Louis Post once remarked that many followers of Henry George seemed never to grasp its full import.

Lest the writer—who for long has regarded this policy as bewildering to great numbers of people, and therefore, ineffectual,—should merit inclusion in that group, he reviewed the chapter mentioned with considerable care. As a consequence, he was led to wonder if Post's comment was directed so much to those who share the writer's views, as to Single Taxers themselves.

George had previously reached the conclusion that the cure for the world's economic ills lay in making land common property, that all might share in its value. He here proposed, "as the simple yet sovereign remedy" to bring this about, "to appropriate rent by taxation," and said, "we may put the proposition into practical form by proposing—To abolish all taxation save that upon land values." Unless the writer is mistaken, it is this which George explicitly states is to be "the first step upon which the practical struggle must be made" to accomplish the final purpose.

The reason George used the expression "to appropriate rent," meaning thereby only some of the rent, instead of the expression "to appropriate all of the rent," would seem to have arisen from the fact that he knew there still would be rent uncollected, after enough of it had been taken to make possible the doing away with all other taxes. For him to have proclaimed, with a blare of italics, that the one and only remedy for our economic ills was "to appropriate rent by taxation," when, in almost the same paragraph, he reminds us that "we already take some of the rent in taxation," would have been ludicrous. Certainly, there would have been nothing revolutionary in a proposal to appropriate rent by taxation, in a country where this had always been done. What he did proclaim that was revolutionary, was that we must take *all* of the rent, and that the "first step" towards that end was "to abolish all taxation save that upon land values."

That George did not advocate taking all of the rent at once, was, as he explains, because he thought it wise—in contradistinction to Spencer's proposal to make the government the universal landlord and lease land to users,—to make use of our present taxation machinery, according to "an axiom of statesmanship, that great changes can best be brought about under old forms," and to tax rent sufficiently only to provide for present governmental

revenues, thus making it *possible* "to abolish all taxation save that upon land values." To collect *this much* was to be the *first step* in the *practical* struggle to get it all.

Other than mention of this as the first step, the only suggestion, or intimation, of the efficacy of a gradual, or step-by-step progress towards the final goal, appears in connection with consideration of this balance of uncollected rent, concerning which he has this to say: "Hence it will not be enough merely to place all taxes upon the value of land. It will be necessary, *where rent exceeds the present governmental revenues*, commensurately to increase the amount demanded in taxation, and to continue this increase as society progresses and rent advances." In other words, the *first* thing to be done is to tax rent to the amount of present governmental revenues, so that all other taxes can be abolished, and *thereafter*, where and as society progresses and rent advances, gradually to increase collections of rent until all of the rent is taken.

Since, after fifty years of experience of the step-by-step policy, we are witnessing a widespread movement to cut *down* taxes on land values—in some states legislation providing that it be done, or limiting increase above a certain rate, having been enacted,—might it not be wise to revise procedure according to what, in the writer's judgment, seems to be a perfectly reasonable interpretation of George's proposal; that is, to make the first step, the taxing of rent to the amount of customary governmental revenues, so that all taxation save that upon land values can be abolished?

This policy would, of necessity, direct attention to the concept of land as common property, and away from the concept of land as private property. It would direct attention away from taxes, which people instinctively regard as arbitrary and unjust, to rent, which, as payment for the use of what other people produce, is never regarded as improper or unfair. What confusion arises from the proposal to raise revenues by a Single Tax on land values, accompanied by the necessary explanation that such a tax is not a tax at all, but rent. As a professor of economics was heard to remark: "What difference does it make what you call it—you have to pay it just the same!" What hope of impressing people generally with the fundamental justice of rent collection, when even economists recognize no difference between a rent and a tax?

Is it not reasonable to suppose that George was aware of this prevailing ignorance, when he wrote in this chapter: "When the common right to land *is so far appreciated* that all taxes are abolished save those which fall upon rent, there is no danger of much more than is necessary to induce them to collect the public revenues being left to individual land holders?" The writer is not unaware that this passage carries a possible implication that appreciation of the idea is to be cultivated, by the gradual shifting taxes from man-made things to land values. But, would it not be more direct and forceful, to teach people the truth about property in land, and the meaning of rent,

to that, when fully informed, they would be eager to take the "first step" towards making land common property, by abolishing all taxation save that upon land values?

A like implication might be attributed to the passage: "Now, inasmuch as the taxation of rent, or land values, must necessarily be increased *just as* we abolish other taxes," were it not for the rest of the sentence and the entire context—"we may put the proposition into practical form by proposing—(in italics) To abolish all taxation save that upon land values."

Henry George was not primarily interested in a fiscal system. He was interested in justice. And it seems to the writer that Land Value Taxationists and Single Taxers, in attempting to follow the step-by-step method of accomplishing the results all his followers have hoped for, have retarded, rather than advanced, the cause of justice. They have had a fair opportunity to demonstrate the efficacy of that method. Now, therefore, when organized effort is being expended in the opposite direction, might it not be wise to give united support to another, and, it may be hoped, a more efficient method,—one that will teach people the difference between a rent and a tax, and the true meaning of land as common property? Might it not be wise to acknowledge the futility of continued striving merely to introduce a change in the incidences of taxation, which fifty years of earnest effort has failed to bring forth, and for the future, to devote time and energy to the establishment of justice?

W. R. B. WILCOX.

James A. Robinson Passes

OUR readers will learn with deep sorrow of the death of James A. Robinson, at Los Angeles on June 30. Long an active Single Taxer, though he abhorred the name, and a firm believer in party action, he made many friends and some enemies. But none doubted his great ability. His work as organizer of the Commonwealth Land Party led to the making of many strong friendships here and abroad.

He was a tremendous power in debate. Few will forget the authority he wielded at the Chicago Convention which resulted in the nomination of Robert C. Macauley for president. Here he met the bewildered friends of the "Committee of 48" and overwhelmed them with his powers of argument, his extraordinary gifts of oratory, merging from quick wit and playful humor to superbly eloquent appeal. We think he was the most eloquent speaker we ever listened to. He did not always use this power fairly. He was not above drawing from the great armory at his disposal weapons to overwhelm his opponents where a little tact might have won them over. This is always a temptation to your born orator and is always difficult to resist.

"Jim" Robinson, as his intimates knew him, was past seventy. He was born in New York City and lived for a

long time in Philadelphia. He was a Spanish war veteran. In 1922 he went to California where he has since lived. He leaves a wife and a son grown to manhood, and a brother who is an actor in New York.

His work left a decided impress on the movement. His virile, uncompromising attitude, the great ability with which he expounded our doctrines, make his death a distinct loss to the movement he served so devotedly and unselfishly. He had little faith in the presentation of our doctrines as a tax question. No one had a more fundamental knowledge of our principles and it was the moral aspect of Henry George's proposals that interested him most.

The movement will miss him greatly.

California News

ON June 27, California carried the worst hodge-podge amendment on taxation imaginable. It repeals all preceding constitutional provisions dealing with taxation—the worst features of which were better than the general tone of this "jazz." It was the work of "experts." It provides that the State shall not raise any revenue by taxation of "real estate" in excess of twenty-five per cent of the total revenue required. That is, since there are only two possible sources of revenue—land values and industry—the State is going to filch from industry seventy-five per cent of the State revenue. It gives the legislature power to "soak up" revenue from pretty nearly every conceivable form of enterprise, including the infamous "sales tax." The question must naturally arise in any enlightened mind, "what will become of land values when industry is strangled?"

Yet there is one—just one—spark of wisdom in this tax amendment. It is idiotic in association with the other provisions of the amendment, or perhaps it emphasizes the imbecility of the balance. At any rate it is entirely out of harmony with all the rest of the amendment. Here it is:

"The legislature shall have power to . . . classify any and all kinds of personal property for the purposes of assessment and taxation in a manner and at a rate or rates in proportion to value different from any other property in this State subject to taxation and MAY EXEMPT ENTIRELY FROM TAXATION ANY OR ALL FORMS, TYPES OR CLASSES OF PERSONAL PROPERTY."

I am trying to start a bon-fire and have that capitalized portion enacted into law. (The caps are mine.) Now if the people of this State, in their desperation, will adopt such an amendment, what might they not do, if we could eliminate the "experts."—L. J. QUINBY.

BALANCING the budget is no trick at all to a well balanced mind. But when we hand the job over to unbalanced ones what should we expect?

Bare-Faced Land Gambling

WE have received several advertisements of sites in the Tennessee River Basin in anticipation of the Muscle Shoals development. What can be done to bring to the attention of the administration this orgy of land speculation now beginning? Though the men in Washington are blind to the general relation of the subject here is a specific condition they cannot avoid seeing.

Mr. W. G. Stewart, of Reading, Pa., has written to President Roosevelt calling attention to a circular advertising a free trip to Muscle Shoals in the interest of lot-selling, a bare-faced land gambling appeal to profit by what the Government is about to undertake, a copy of which we have seen. Secretary Howe, "in the absence of the President," writes to Mr. Stewart saying: "I am venturing to bring your letter to the attention of the Tennessee authority."

Reviews of Prof. Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George"

THE "Philosophy of Henry George," the remarkable book from the pen of Dr. George Raymond Geiger, has received a number of notable reviews. We have already commented on William Soskin's review in the *New York Evening Post* and have quoted from that admirable summary from this gifted reviewer.

Floyd F. Burtchett, Assistant Professor of Economics in the University of California, says of the work in the columns of the *Los Angeles Times*:

Although the chapter "Economics and Ethics" seems to be an insertion rather than a fundamental treatment of the philosophy of Henry George, it is probably the most important in the entire book. In it again and again the non-material valuations of life flash forth with a brilliancy that is seldom encountered: Why should there be poverty and starvation in a nation which is blessed with abundance of everything necessary to supply itself with plenty? Those of us who stand apart from the intense struggle of the day and who must view the economic ruins about us with some consternation ask the same question. But, we also query: Will not the new economic structure which is surely rising from our devastated economic order be better? One agrees with the author's epilogue: "There is an urgent, menacing need for human intelligence to become sensitive to the malformations within the social structure."

This volume is commended to every student of our civilization.

Willis J. Abbott in the *Christian Science Monitor* says in part:

This book of Prof. Geiger's is both interesting and useful. His sketch of the life of his subject is an admirable brief story of the fashion in which "a philosopher" had been in turn a sailor and a printer, a journalist and a tramp, and a political candidate powerful enough to have worried Tammany Hall. He might well have added that the philosopher also worried the defenders of privilege in every land, and was able to face the leading economists of England to measure intellects with him—a contest in which he did not come off second best.

A review of less consequence appeared in the *New York Times Book Review* and was answered by John Luxton.

BOOK REVIEWS

A WORK OF ADMIRABLE RESEARCH*

Here is the tale of that peculiar American phenomenon—land speculation. From the pre-Revolutionary days to the Florida of 1924-1926 the exciting story races on, now humorous, now tragic; at one time merely entertaining, at another heavy with portentous implications—(implications, however, which Prof. Sakolski deliberately or unwittingly avoids indicating.) Across the pages of the book parade famous American figures, all of them land speculators: Washington, with his thousands of acres of wild land; Robert Morris (who graces the frontispiece as "America's foremost land boomer") and his 6,000,000 acre of unused land; Franklin, Patrick Henry, Fremont, Sutter, Aaron Burr, Daniel Webster. . . . Even names resounding in Europe, Madame de Stael and Joseph Bonaparte, found themselves playing with that great American bubble, for, as Dr. Sakolski states in his opening line, was not America itself a speculation? Alexander Macom buying the whole Adirondack country for eight pence an acre; speculation in the City of Washington ruining the plans of its early builders; the engineering of the notorious Yazoo frauds and other equally no odorous swindles—all are drawn as with the touch of fiction.

Prof. Sakolski's book is a brilliant example of contemporary economic research. First of all, it presents to us a field which previously had been almost untouched by scholarly efforts, and its presentation is clear, calm and convincing. Then, it is extremely well written. Graphic, not over-wordy, and shot through with a strong vein of iron humor, the book is remarkably entertaining reading. It perhaps might be criticized for occasionally falling into that most modern technique of "over-smartness" but, after all, that may easily be excused when an author is dealing with the unsavory activities of historic big-wigs.

Finally, its niche in modern scholarship is assured by its splendid aloofness. Prof. Sakolski never gets excited. He is telling us and not judging. His bubble-puncturing is quite dispassionate.

Of course it is this last aspect that will irritate those who are more actively interested in land and its functioning in the dimension of economic exploitation. Here Dr. Sakolski permits himself to draw few conclusions, although the ones that he does draw are most suggestive. He finds that land speculation is indeed a bubble, bursting in every case. He admits that land speculation brings no *permanent* benefit to anyone, although he assumes that speculation seems to be valuable in opening up new lands for use. The speculators themselves, shows, ended in almost every case as bankrupts and paupers, the only real lasting fortunes in land being made by those who bought land to hold and not to trade. Perhaps most important of all Dr. Sakolski elaborates the well-known connection between land speculation and the panic of 1837.

The land reformer will wish that the author had expanded somewhat his conclusions. For one thing, a presentation of the connection between land speculation and *all* of our periodic business depressions (the book was published a little more than a year ago) might have been an example of such an expanded conclusion. Again, a more fundamental treatment of land as an agency in the processes of economic production and distribution might well have been included in such volume on land speculation. But such wishes certainly are not criticisms of Prof. Sakolski. He can reply very easily that he was writing such a book, perhaps that he is not even interested in such a book; and a man cannot very well be criticized for something he has not written!

But Dr. Sakolski can be criticized for his rather cavalier reference to Henry George (page 255.) He states that George saw the end but not the benefits of land speculation. Now, it must be confessed that the present reader of the book found no convincing argument or even attempts at convincing arguments, on the part of Prof. Sakolski.

*The Great American Land Bubble, by A. M. Sakolski. Clo. 373 pp. Price \$3.00. Harper and Bros., New York City.

that disclosed any such benefits. It is true that there is the suggestion of speculator's function in opening up wild land for use. But, after all, is not the very criticism of land booms—a criticism which this reviewer certainly has found outlined even with some bitterness in the book—the argument that speculation throws marginal land into use sooner than necessary, forces unneeded improvements and resulting lavish borrowing on the part of local governments, and results finally in a collapse as population refuses or is unable to sustain these artificially swollen land values? Is that not the reason why land speculation is indeed a bubble? Normal demand will throw land into use; ballyhoo is not required. The press of population directs the use of land; not the hoop-la of the land speculator.

Prof. Sakolski also states that had Henry George lived during some of the fiascos of land speculation, such as in the post-Revolutionary days or in the town-jobbing prior to 1837, and had he witnessed the loss of great fortunes instead of seeing the California land boom, his economic philosophy might have been quite different. It is obviously idle to speculate on what George's work might have been had he been a different man. But it does not seem that Dr. Sakolski had seriously underestimated George's contribution by such a remark. He has apparently not permitted himself to regard George's fundamental concepts as anything more than a parochial by-product of a land boom.

But to get back to the book and away from such digressions. "The Great American Land Bubble" is a psychological volume as well as an historical and economic one. It deals with the American spirit as much as with the American speculator. It gives exposition to that perennial urge for gambling which is hardly indigenous to these shores. The Colonials, for example, had little else to gamble with except land. Unfortunately they did not have stock markets. And so they bought land merely to re-sell. Prof. Sakolski's book is thus a picture of American culture and it will certainly take a place in the bibliography of American cultural history. It is none the less a portrait of personalities. Colorful rogues and profound patriots, fools and philosophers—all present themselves here as bubble-blowers.

The work is an excellent piece of historical research. It is diverting, instructive, disillusioning. It is not, and does not pretend to be, a work in economic theory or in economic reform.

GEORGE RAYMOND GEIGER.

UPTON SINCLAIR PRESENTS WILLIAM FOX*

In legal circles the story is told of a Wisconsin murder trial where, after the opening address of the District Attorney, one of the jurymen suddenly arose, put on his hat, and started to depart. When the court interrupted him and sternly demanded a reason for his extraordinary action the Teutonic juror replied: "I want to get away from here quick, before the murderer's lawyer starts to change my mind."

I am reminded of this story on finishing this book. Not that I was convinced of the truth of its charges. On the contrary, I am satisfied that the downfall of the vast chain of movie houses assembled by Mr. Fox cannot be attributed solely to the extravagance and dishonesty of his successors. Generally bad business conditions, I suspect, had much to do with the debacle. It could hardly be expected that a depression which could wreck a two billion dollar Insull public utility, or the Bank of the United States with nearly 400,000 depositors in New York City, or the Chicago-Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad with a capital structure of over 400 million dollars, would leave the amusement field untouched. In short, this is an ex parte, or one sided statement, and must be taken "cum grano salis."

Not that "Big Business," as it is conducted in this year of grace, 1933, in the United States, is incapable of such scoundrelly actions as are here described. I, for one, would like to hear the defense, however, before drawing conclusions.

The accused, among whom is the Chase National Bank of New York City deign, however, not to reply. Certainly they have instituted

no libel action against our author, evidently feeling it the part of wisdom to ignore his book.

Upton Sinclair, as usual, is highly irritating. He repeats his charges ad nauseam; he calls the victim, "The Fox" which I, submit, is in poor taste.

Sinclair's remedy, as usual, is Socialism. Fox on the other hand proposes to abolish "short selling" in the stock market and to forbid national banks to have affiliates and security companies. As to the first of these remedies, it may be said that the better opinion of experts is that it would be ineffectual as well as inadvisable to forbid "short selling;" as to the second remedy, that is now well on the way to accomplishment.—B. W. BURGER.

Correspondence

ASKS FOR A SPECIAL PROGRAMME

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

This summer there will be a notable gathering of Single Taxers in Chicago. There will be a speaking programme that will express the best thought on the World's Economic ills. They will adjourn with a feeling of having a successful session. But until these conferences result in a plan that will get all of us working together in an effective way to attain the Single Tax, a plan that all can work for, the conference will have been little more than a gathering of friends in the cause.

The purpose of this letter is to reach those that see the need of concerted action. A combined force in one locality through the initiative to do what we are trying to do by scattered effort.

What we can accomplish all depends on how the Single Taxers respond to a campaign in a state with the initiative. Our campaign in Missouri got us 48,000 votes here in St. Louis. This was our pioneer work with very limited funds at a time when the people were not asking for a change. With the world in a state of collapse, with no guide out of the plight, we have a great opportunity to unite our force in one state. There is nothing that can stop the initiative petitions and it will make its own publicity. Every signer is a potential voter for it and when we are getting the signers we are campaigning or votes. There is a noticeable desire among us to find some effective plan of team work.

The depression has crippled our resources. To make the load equal to our ability, we could centralize on making a Single Tax city out of St. Louis, Denver, Pueblo, Los Angeles, or Stockton. Colorado has local option in taxation so it would not need a state wide amendment. As all amendments are constitutional, the measure can be made applicable to state taxes as well as local taxes. The slogan should be "A Single Tax City" and make the amendment strong enough so it will be a Single Tax City. We should not fool ourselves, for whatever kind of measure we have, it will be known as the Single Tax.

St. Louis, Mo.

E. H. BOECK.

AGREES WITH BROTHER BOECK

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I wish to commend you most highly for your intelligent review of Prof. Tugwell's book. Personally, I am not at all surprised at the silly mouthings of the average "professor of economics." I honor the notable exceptions, such as Harry Gunnison Brown, John Dewey, etc. I recall one of them—Prof. LeRosignol, hoping that is the correct spelling—of Nebraska University, who, once at the University Club of Omaha, in an address, stated, "Perhaps you will call it pharisaical, but Henry George will never be recognized as an authority on economics for the reason that he was not one of us—meaning he was not a college bred man." At the close, I told him that he had used the correct word—"pharisaical."

Since that day I have often wondered if that is not the idea that slumbers in the back of the heads of most "professors of economics." Yet there is a basic reason why such professors are so numerous. If

*Published by the Author, Los Angeles, Calif. Cloth, 377 pp. Price \$3.

they really knew anything about economics as a science and dared to teach what they knew they would be made to walk the plank. That would be true whether the university were publicly or privately endowed—as a general rule. In the days when the church dominated all social and governmental affairs, it was a certainty that no teachers—except such as might be made of asbestos, if there were such—ever dared to teach the truth about astronomy. That, for the reason that the church maintained certain astronomical notions which the science of astronomy has proven false. So it is in the field of economics.

I heartily concur in the suggestion of E. H. Boeck of St. Louis. It is the most effective means of calling attention to our political philosophy. The people are at present so politically disturbed, we might awaken some morning to find ourselves surprised.

Hollywood, Calif.

L. J. QUINBY.

MICHIGAN'S MUDDLE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In the beautiful but dumb State of Michigan a steal has been perpetrated proportionately far beyond the famous Teapot Dome affair, done openly in broad daylight, its progress reported in the press and the Governor and Legislature assisting and honestly imagining in their ignorance that they were doing a meritorious act. The *Detroit News*, be it said, had a sort of inkling that the act was really unwise and even scandalous, but its protests went unheeded.

This was accomplished through the Moore bill, now (Moore law,) introduced by Senator A. L. Moore of Pontiac, a statesman who is thoroughly honest but obviously lacking other qualities essential to sound statesmanship. On the face of it this law is a measure granting a moratorium to delinquent taxpayers. All taxpayers delinquent for 1931 and preceding years may pay these delinquent taxes in ten annual installments and need not begin doing this until 1935. The effect of this measure is to help every land speculator in the State, who was about to be forced to let go, to hold on indefinitely. It deprives the State of millions of acres which it could have obtained for the delinquent taxes and could have used to end unemployment in the State.

Some of this land is within easy reach of Detroit, some is even in Detroit. The greater part of the country between Detroit and Pontiac, 30 miles away, consists of tracts fronting on some of the finest roads in the country and all held for speculation. Most of these are former farms bought by the speculators on a shoestring on longtime land contracts.

During the boom the prices obtained by these speculators for small parcels amounted to thousands of dollars per acre. But when the crash came all this stopped. Values fell below even the amount paid the original owners. Payments on the land contracts became delinquent, the owners began foreclosing, and no one who is being foreclosed upon will pay taxes for what he is doomed to lose. When the original owners finally re-possessed they found themselves loaded with obligations to pay taxes for many years back, during which the defaulting speculators had been selling at top prices, and some prices over the top. Few of the re-possessing owners could pay these accumulated taxes. It was a magnificent and rare opportunity for the State to resume possession and to offer the land to users at its true economic rent. But Michiganders like other ganders proved themselves to be the nearest thing to geese. They thought this situation to be a calamity to the State. Candidates at last fall's election of both parties promised "relief" for it. The first thing done by the newly elected Democratic Governor Comstock—the same wise guy who started the bank holidays which swept the country—was to urge an emergency measure postponing for a year all tax sales.

Of course, he did not realize that by so doing he was throwing away a chance to end the holidays which the unemployed have been enjoying in this most depressed State of the Union. Jobs, he thinks, have nothing to do with land. They are favors bestowed by those who have something on those who have nothing. So the emergency tax sale postponement measure went through the legislature by an almost unanimous vote. The Moore bill was slated to follow as quickly but

there were few members who, possibly realizing its true nature, succeeded in delaying it. Still it finally did get through and Governor Comstock promptly signed. So that is that. Michigan's unemployed may now keep living on the welfare a while longer.

During this period the Supreme Court of the State made a most undignified spectacle of itself. The tax sale postponement was unquestionably unconstitutional in that it violated some advertising contracts made by the State. The Moore bill did the same. Some disappointed publishers took the matter into court and the Supreme Court by an almost unanimous vote set the unconstitutional measure aside. This seemed to end the then pending Moore bill as well as the act directly ruled upon, and consternation reigned in the ranks of the privileged and speculator-worshippers. But it did not reign long. Senator Moore with some of his followers haled the dignified judge into a private conference. What happened there has never been printed, so perhaps we may assume that it is unfit to print. But this has been printed. The judges, still trying to look dignified, walked straight from the conference room to the bench, mounted it and announced that in rendering their decision twenty-four hours before they had entirely forgotten the depression and the hard times and so had not taken into consideration the emergency that existed, on which account they reversed their decision and upheld the measure that had been declared null and void. This is not their exact language but is near enough.

Governor Comstock is still trying to do more for the speculator and keep the unemployed on their holiday. He has pushed a sale tax measure through the legislature, but is not satisfied with it. The solons did not make it as drastic as he wished. On the whole, Michigan's experience with a Democratic Governor proves that Republican Governors could not be worse.

Detroit, Mich.

SAMUEL DANZIGER.

WANTS TO BE A SOCIALIST

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

While reading Dr. George R. Geiger's book, "The Philosophy of Henry George," for review in *Commerce and Finance*, several weeks ago, I was struck by some very happy expressions which have been running in my mind more or less ever since, and even wandered into my weekly reviews of the business situation. Particularly admirable is his presentation of the ethical nature of Georgist philosophy and the impossibility of eliminating the ethical element from political economy without leaving it the dead and hopeless thing which has been called "the dismal science."

He represents George as seeking "the socialization of land," "the socializing of land values," "the socializing of rent," on the ground that rent is a "social product." In one passage he depicts George as seeking "the transformation of this social product from a social liability to a social asset."

Out of Dr. Geiger's book has come to me an increased repugnance for the old and inadequate nickname of "Single Tax" as a designation of the wonderful Georgist philosophy. It is a name that frequently arouses antagonism and closes the minds of those with whom our appeal should be convincing.

I have always admired the names "Socialist" and "Socialism." I have thought that "Socialist" connotes or should connote, a person who understands political economy, which the Marxian Socialists certainly do not. In this proper meaning of the word, the Georgists rather than the Marxians are the true Socialists, and it grieves me that we have in the past done so much to bring the term "Socialist" into disrepute—and I am glad we have failed.

We aim to socialize social wealth, not only that organized societies may have its own, but that individuals may be left to possess the own in security and prosperity. We are Socialists. Why deny it?

It is high time we ascended Mars Hill, as it were, and proclaimed to the nations: "Men of the world, this Socialism which the Marxians preach without understanding, this we expound unto you!"

We should, of course, distinguish ourselves from the Marxians

socialists, who are unable to distinguish between social wealth and private wealth, but this should be easy. We have a variety of adjectives that would serve this purpose satisfactorily. Here are a few:

Free Socialists. The Marxian Socialist would necessarily regiment the world's workers to greater or less degree. We would set them free.

Land Socialists. Expresses the idea of socializing the land.

Free Soil Socialists. Ditto, but snacks too much of farm land.

Georgian Socialists. The distinction between us and the Marxians could scarcely be made plainer than by the use of this term.

The main point is that we should do something to rescue the noble name of "Socialist" from those who are entitled to it only by pre-emption and who are misrepresenting its true meaning.

Yours for Georgian Socialism,

Clifton, N. J.

STEPHEN BELL.

IS SATISFIED WITH OUR ANSWERS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Many thanks for your kindness in answering my Single Tax questions in your May-June number of LAND AND FREEDOM.

You have clarified my ideas of the theory and principles quite satisfactorily.

Many express surprise that a proposition so logically just and practical as the idea advanced by Henry George, should have hung fire for so many years. At least to the writer, who heard George and read his book nearly fifty years ago, these years seem many.

But as far as the United States is concerned, it seems to me that during the most violent epoch of our pioneer stage it was almost hopeless to expect that anything merely just and right and even in the long run unquestionably for the good of all, should have been cherished with any great enthusiasm.

While we should by no means depreciate the educational value of spreading the Single Tax principles and making the people conscious of their justice, the greatest hope for the immediate future perhaps lies in more concentrated effort towards practical demonstrations, such as a system of enclaves seem to promise.

I would also respectfully suggest that, as Single Taxers, we attend strictly to our knitting and avoid so much controversy and criticism about and of, the numerous issues that tempt us from the straight and narrow way.

We agree as to the expediency and the justice of the appropriation of site-rent by the society that alone produces it. As to other things in general, in common with the rest of humanity, we are apt to differ vociferously and violently.

Washington, D. C.

P. R. WHITMAN.

NOT QUITE DEAD

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I have just finished reading in the *New York Times* of last Sunday, a review of Dr. George Geiger's book by one William MacDonald, in which he advises us that it would be a waste of his time to attempt a refutation of a theory which for all practical purposes has long since been dead, and adds that all that Prof. Geiger succeeded in doing was to erect a monument to its memory. Mr. MacDonald also made the prediction that it would very likely be the last one to be erected.

This summary issuance of a death certificate reminds me of the rick-layer who fell three stories from a scaffold on which he was working. He was picked up by Pat, the hod-carrier, who was working below. Pat laid him carefully in the shade of the building and bathed his head with cold water and did such little things as he could for his comfort while awaiting a hurried call for a doctor.

The doctor soon arrived and found the man bolstered up with his head resting on Pat's knee and everybody around very much excited. The doctor felt for the man's pulse, rolled back his eyelids, listened to heart-beats, and exclaimed; "He's dead!"

Hearing this, the fellow made a desperate pull for his "second wind,"

grabbed a deep breath, opened one eye and faintly gasped; "I'm not!"

Pat, so shocked by his effrontery, gave him a swat across the jaw, and said; "Shut your mouth, you dom fool! Don't the doctor know?"

So the Philosophy of Henry George "is dead!" The doctor says it is. Well, just send along this latest "monument" to its memory. My cemetery is not yet full.

Middletown, N. Y.

Z. K. GREENE.

SOMETHING ABOUT JOHN C. ROSE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I cannot refrain from writing about a friend of mine, Mr. John C. Rose, 1112 Forbes Street, Pittsburgh, Pa., whose devotion to a cause is very touching and inspiring. He is an ardent advocate of Henry George's philosophy.

He devotes all of his time teaching this philosophy, even to the neglect of all other work, regardless of how lucrative it may be. Although he is forced to live in straitened circumstances, he is cheerful, optimistic and enthusiastic.

He has a varied career, having been in turn student, globe-trotter, soldier of fortune, newspaperman and professor. He has an honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the old University of Moscow. He is the author of several books now out of print, and of several books that he hopes to publish.

Mr. Rose, however, likes to consider himself merely as a student of life. He spends most of his time studying life from those approaches glimpsed through philosophy, biology, psychology, sociology, economics, anthropology and history.

He believes that the only true and lasting progress must come through Henry George's philosophy.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

F. W. MAGUIRE.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

THROUGH the kindness of a recent convert to our principles who must be nameless copies of our review in May-June issue of Prof. Rexford G. Tugwell's "Industrial Discipline" has been mailed to every member of Congress.

A THREE-COLUMN article in a Seattle, Wash., paper advocating the Henry George doctrine appears with the signature of P. Frank Morrow, State Senator. He analyses the New Deal which he says is only a "new shuffle." We welcome to our fold this distinguished member of the State Legislature.

THE Cardinal Hayes Literature Committee of the Catholic Church has listed approved books on economics and social science. We are glad to see "The Philosophy of Henry George," by Dr. George Raymond Geiger, among the works so listed.

E. O. CORN, of Dallas, Texas, is a frequent contributor of excellent Single Tax letters to the *Dallas Times-Herald*.

LEWIS H. CLARK, of Sodus, N. Y., writes: "Your painstaking and searching review of Prof. Tugwell's 'Industrial Discipline' under the title 'Worse Than Socialism' is a needed piece of work well done."

C. LEBARON GOELLER, Box 105, Endwell, N. Y., is prepared to print circulars for distribution by Single Taxers at about fifty cents per thousand.

W. R. LESTER, of London, England, writes: "Please accept my compliments for the way you continue to direct LAND AND FREEDOM."

M. L. KATHAN, Walter Oerding and Dr. Richmond spoke before the Christian Endeavor Society at Kathan, Ore., on Sunday, July 9,

and were invited back to speak to the whole society on the following Sunday. This part of Oregon is kept alive by an active group of speakers.

OUR old friend Poultney Bigelow, of Malden-on-Hudson, N. Y., addressed the Henry George Club of Melbourne, Australia, and told of his intimacy with the great economist. The meeting was attended by Mr. Jones, Commissioner of Public Works, who told of his first meeting with Henry George:

"I was dressed in the uniform of a butcher's boy, and was carrying a meat tray. I had read Mr. George's 'Progress and Poverty,' and was an enthusiastic admirer of his genius. When I saw him walking along Spring Street I could not resist speaking to him. He showed no sign of offence, and I still retain an impression of his beautiful personality from the conversation I had with him."

THE *Colorado Tribune* continues to be issued by G. J. Knapp, from Pueblo. It explains our lesson in striking terms and we congratulate Mr. Knapp on the sledgehammer blows he is striking for rent emancipation.

ANNIE CANER is a bright little girl of ten living at Chestnut Hill, Pa. She is so worried by attempts to understand the tariff that she cannot sleep at nights, so she wrote to President Roosevelt and received a nice letter from the President's secretary. The publication of this correspondence caught the eye of Harold Sudell and he wrote a perfectly charming letter to the little lady. In it he explained the Henry George doctrine which will make tariffs unnecessary. We hope Anne will pursue her study of the tariff and soon come to see what a swindle it all is. She is old enough now, and we may add bright enough to grasp some of it and thus sleep more comfortably.

WE have received the Collierville, (Tenn.) *Herald* which contains an article on Fairhope in which Brother Gaston is quoted at length. This is the first of a series of articles on the enclaves in which the people of Collierville will be particularly interested now that that progressive little town is one of them.

C. BARSONY, of Arad, Roumania, wants all the information he can get regarding such progress as has been made in the application of our principles in various countries. His address is Strada Consistorului 21, Arad, Roumania. It is the object to gather together such information as can be had and embody it in pamphlet form.

One of the fine old characters of the Henry George movement was Oren M. Donaldson, formerly of Chicago, more recently of Hollywood. He formerly published *Oak Leaves* at Oak Park. Coming to Hollywood he established *Holly Leaves*. This publication was finally out of his hands and became a national motion picture magazine. Mr. Donaldson was a man of high ideals and of very modest mien. He passed away suddenly on July 3, at the age of 67.

COL. LEONARD P. AYRES, of the Cleveland Trust Company, who is spoken of as "a noted authority," points out that "an effective restraint upon real estate speculation would prove a more valuable safeguard than the restraints of speculation in commodities and securities." Charles G. Merrill of Cincinnati sent Mr. Ayers a letter agreeing in part with the statement, but pointing out that "real estate" includes two factors, land and improvements, and asking Col. Ayers to consider the effect of taxing land values. To this the Cleveland Trust Company replies that they "have not given the matter sufficient scrutiny and long continued study to be willing to venture a definite opinion upon the desirability or undesirability of taxes based on the general principles of Henry George." Nevertheless it would seem that Col. Ayers has an inkling as to what really troubles society.

THE *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* will publish a review of Dr. George Raymond Geiger's "Philosophy

of Henry George," by John C. Rose, of Pittsburgh. We are glad to report that a London edition of Dr. Geiger's work will be published by the Macmillan Company.

"CONGRATULATIONS on another fine number of LAND AND FREEDOM," writes Henry Ware Allen. "I am profoundly impressed with LAND AND FREEDOM, and am happy to become a subscriber," says Lester Elmer Bernd, of Chicago. "I still maintain that LAND AND FREEDOM is the best edited and logically the soundest magazine I receive," writes H. A. Batchelder, of Hartford, Conn.

MANCHESTER BODDY, publisher of the *Illustrated Daily News*, of Los Angeles, in a letter to A. V. Hahn, writes:

"Your land rental theory is sound. I have seen it displayed countless times in books, magazines and newspapers during the past quarter of a century. I have yet to find anyone of consequence opposed to it."

"DAD" has a two column contribution in a recent number of the Floral Park, (L. I.) *Gateway*, in which he paraphrases in free verse with occasional rhymed stanzas, Henry George's famous chapter on Liberty. Personally our thanks are due to the able editor of the *Gateway* for giving so much valuable space over a long period of time to "Dad's" writings.

THE California Legislature defeated a proposal to exempt from taxation small homes valued at not more than \$3,500. This was followed by another bill to exempt homes valued at not more than \$1,500. This too was defeated.

WE have read again the admirable pamphlet by John Salmon, of Baltimore, Md., on American Taxation. This useful pamphlet is published by the Maryland Tax Reform Association, Munsey Building, Baltimore.

PROF. LEWIS JEROME JOHNSON, of Harvard College, has two lengthy articles in the *Boston Post* on the Sales Tax.

HON. EDWARD POLAK, former register of Bronx County, N. Y. City is not idle these days. In a letter to Mayor O'Brien, he instances some of the enormous profits that have accrued to landowners in the city.

JOHN B. MCGAURAN, of Denver, Col., writes that George Knapp has started the publication of a real live newspaper in Pueblo, which we have noted. "Knapp starts out well. Conditions favor him especially the revolt caused by the brigandage of the Building and Loan swindlers. Many thousands in Southern Colorado have been brutally plundered, and Knapp is very astutely taking advantage of this situation. It is very possible he will succeed beyond his most sanguine anticipations." Knapp, it will be recalled, almost succeeded in putting Pueblo on the Single Tax map.

DR. WALTER MENDELSON writes: "I just want to add a line of appreciation for LAND AND FREEDOM and the way you have conducted it these many years."

LUCIUS GARVIN, elder son of the late Single Taxer, ex-Governor Garvin of Rhode Island, received the degree of Ph. D. from Brown University on June 17. His thesis was "Propositions and Facts." He has been a brilliant and thoughtful student throughout the twenty-five years of his life.

LEUBUSCHER & KAYSER, of the law firm of Leubuscher, Kayser, Oliver, announce the removal of their offices to 11 Park Place, N. Y. City, where they will continue the practice of law under the firm name

Leubuscher & Kayser. Mr. Rader will continue to be associated with them in connection with patent, trade mark and copyright matters.

HOWARD T. COLVIN, of Alexandria, Va., writes: "LAND AND FREEDOM is the most interesting periodical that I receive and is read from cover to cover."

HERBERT C. ALLEN, of Asheville, N. C., is not discouraged at the apparent slow progress of the Henry George movement. But he says: "Even if so, and it took a thousand years I would still be found on the winning line." That is the true spirit. He adds: "It is pretty hard to break through in my Southland. I hope our people will wake to the necessity of the Single Tax without compulsion." All right, brother Allen. Eyes on Tennessee!

Labor of Washington, D. C. gives nearly three columns and a half quotations from Henry George, selected by Clyde Tavenner. This is before hundreds of thousands of railroad men in the United States.

THE New York correspondent of the London *News Chronicle*, R. J. Cruikshank, prints a delightful sketch of Cordell Hull, and says of him. "He is the one outstanding figure in America who has never wavered in his passionate belief in free trade."

MR. BOLTON SMITH, formerly of Memphis, Tenn., now resident of New York, writes: "I enjoyed your article on Prof. Tugwell. Poor humanity! How they do hunt for complexity when the truth is so plain to see."

WE have received from Brisbane, Queensland, number three of *Land Values and Progress*, official organ of the Henry George League of Queensland, a paper well printed and well edited.

KATHARINE E. BRADLEY, of Olean, N. Y., now in Washington for a short period, writes: "I read May-June LAND AND FREEDOM from cover to cover. There is no magazine published which has the appeal for me that LAND AND FREEDOM has."

The *American Lumberman* informs us of the death of Abram J. Elias, of Buffalo at the age of 70. Mr. Elias was a student of government and an influential Democrat. He was a friend of the late Horace L. Sague, of Poughkeepsie, and attended many Single Tax conferences.

HOWELL CLOPTON HARRIS, of Cordelle, Ga., continues his contributions of Single Tax letters to the *Macon Telegraph*.

HON. FREDERIC C. HOWE has been selected to head the committee to guard the interests of consumers against increase of prices under the Recovery Act.

DR. T. J. KELLY, of Marathon, Iowa, writes: "I congratulate you on the quality of the latest four issues of LAND AND FREEDOM. But surely satan has been unloosed for a season and we can scarcely hope to escape chaos within the next twelve months."

MRS. THERESE BURGER, of Brooklyn, in her enthusiasm for the work being done by Abe D. Waldauer, of Memphis, wrote to Harlan Eugene Reed, acquainting him with the Collierville experiment. Mr. Reed is a news reporter over WOR. He writes: "This interests me very much. I have been a believer in the Single Tax for twenty years, and if you learn of anything of the sort that happens at the time it is happening I should appreciate it if you send me the items of clippings, as I am very eager to get any Single Tax news."

WE are sorry to learn of the death of Dr. Boyd Cornick, of San Angelo, Texas. Dr. Cornick is the father of our friend Philip Cornick of this city, who is a member of the Executive Committee of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. Dr. Cornick was a friend and correspondent of LAND AND FREEDOM for many years. He had grown gray in the movement for social justice. Some further details of his life and service to the cause will be given in a future number of LAND AND FREEDOM.

AN excellent letter on real estate taxes appears in the Springfield Mass., *Republican* of June 19 from Bolton Hall.

ASHLEY MITCHELL, of Huddersfield, England, will be in New York City the first part of August. He will be cordially welcomed by the friends who remember his previous visit with pleasure.

IN 1784 a convention was called to meet in Jonesboro, Tenn., and delegates from Washington, Greene and Sullivan Counties, which comprised nearly all of what was then Tennessee, were present, and the delegates declared themselves a separate and independent State from North Carolina. The State was called Frankland—"land of free men"—though later the name was changed to Franklin in honor of Benjamin Franklin. Tennessee—"land of free men!" Attention of Abe Waldauer is invited!

AN important series of articles by Fred Pasley appeared during the month of June in the columns of the New York *Daily News* on "Tax Exempt Properties." Much of it includes lands of great value which are exempt for one reason or another, some of which reasons will not bear the closest scrutiny.

THE Tennessee Valley Authority which will manage the Shoals development has several times issued warnings against land speculation in the vicinity of Cove Creek dam. In another brief article in this issue the problem which confronts the administration in this matter is touched upon.

CAMPOBELLO ISLAND which President Roosevelt visited on his vacation is owned by an American company and all the present inhabitants of the island pay rent for the land, though they may own their own homes. The title to the land extends back to 1766 when the grant was made by Sir William Campbell to his friend Captain William Owen, R. N. It is an example of unadulterated landlordism and has so continued through the years.

A RATHER lengthy letter appears in a recent issue of the *New York Sun* on Marx's mistake concerning surplus value from the pen of Raymond V. McNally and is all that might be expected from that clear-thinking economist.

URBAIN LEDOUX, better known as "Mr. Zero," declares his intention of running for Mayor of New York on the Single Tax ticket, taking the platform of 1886 on which Henry George ran for the same office. He fires the opening shot of his campaign in a letter to Mayor O'Brien, in which he says: "Understanding that you are in a static and your controller in a traveling dilemma as to what taxation forceps to use while the Board of Estimate is administering the ether, I would suggest that you study the programme of municipal taxation upon which Henry George stood as a candidate for Mayor of New York City in 1886."

IN our review of Prof. Tugwell's *Industrial Discipline* we spoke of him as the head of the so-called "brain trust." This was a slip. It appears that Prof. Moley is the head. We wait for some one to say that it hasn't any head anyhow, which we rather suspected.

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Please note that this is the
address of the

Henry George School of Social Science

Inadvertently a different address was given in the last issue of *Land and Freedom* which this notice is intended to correct. A full explanation of the error is contained in the article headed Henry George School of Social Science in this issue.

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