

September — October, 1933

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

*An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901*

Henry George Congress

September 25, 26, 27

Mortgages and the End of the Depression

Frank Chodorov

The Economists' Cinderella

Dr. Mark Millikin

A Forgotten Land Reformer

News from Roumania, Malta; Work of the Manhattan Single Tax Club,  
Robert Schalkenbach Foundation; Correspondence,  
News Notes and Personals, Etc.

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00

SINGLE COPIES 35 CENTS

PUBLISHED AT 150 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK CITY

# LAND AND FREEDOM

An International Bi-Monthly Magazine of Single Tax Progress

Published by

SINGLE TAX PUBLISHING Co., at 150 Nassau Street, New York

JAMAICA OFFICE, 147-17 195th Ave., Jamaica, Long Island

JOSEPH DANA MILLER, Editor

HERMAN G. LOEW, Pres., 170 Broadway, New York City

OSCAR H. GEIGER, Treas., 150 Nassau Street, N. Y. City

GEORGE R. MACEY, Sec., 150 Nassau Street, N. Y. City

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE:—In the United States, Canada and Mexico, \$2.00 per year. Libraries and Reading Rooms, \$1.00. Club subscriptions, 5 for \$7.00. Payable in advance.

Entered as second-class matter Oct. 2, 1913, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1897.

## SEPTEMBER—OCTOBER, 1933

VOL. XXXIII

No. 5 WHOLE No. 180

### SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

ENGLAND: J. W. Graham Peace.

GERMANY: Adolph Damaschke, Lessingstrasse II, Berlin.

AUSTRALIA: Percy R. Meggy, Sydney, New South Wales.

NEW ZEALAND: Hon. P. J. O'Regan, Wellington.

DENMARK: Abel Brink, Copenhagen.

BULGARIA: Lasar Karaivanove, Plovdiv.

HUNGARY: Prof. Robt. Braun, Budapest.

MEXICO: Prof. R. B. Brinsmade,  
Av. Centenario 219, San Luis Potosi City, Mexico.

### INDEX TO CONTENTS

	PAGE
COMMENT AND REFLECTION.....	131
REFLECTIONS ON THE RECOVERY ACT..M. J. VanLeeuwen	133
A FORGOTTEN LAND REFORMER.....	135
MORTGAGES AND THE END OF THE DEPRESSION	
.....Frank Chodorov	136
FALSE PROPHETS.....Thos. N. Ashton	139
A GREAT EDITOR PASSES.....	141
SCHALKENBACH FOUNDATION WORK.....	143
A GREAT CONVENTION.....	145
RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS.....	147
COLLIERVILLE SENDS GREETINGS TO THE CONGRESS.....	148
ADDRESS OF ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE.....	149
HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.....	151
WORK OF THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB.....	153
HENRY GEORGE LECTURE ASSOCIATION.....	155
THE ECONOMISTS' CINDERELLA.....Dr. Mark Millikin	156
DEATHS OF ROBERT C. MACAULEY AND GEORGE L. RECORD.....	160
ROUMANIAN NEWS.....	161
YOUTH MOVEMENT DEPARTMENT.....	162
NEWS FROM MALTA.....	163
CORRESPONDENCE.....	164
NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS.....	165

## 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

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

VOL. XXXIII

SEPTEMBER—OCTOBER, 1933

No. 5

## Comment and Reflection

THE breaking down of the theory of laissez faire is assumed as a fact in current economic teachings. To establish the "fact" a natural law known as the law of competition must be assumed as having no existence. But if this is so there is no possible form of society save a socialistic one, or a planned society modeled after the Tugwell-Moley-Roosevelt experimentation.

AT a time when science has accomplished so much notable investigation into the working of natural laws, when so many manifestations of physical phenomena are being brought into harmony with causal relations, it is amazing that the science of political economy lags so far behind, floundering desperately in a sea of confusion. Political economists are in agreement on no fundamental principle. If there are natural laws in the association of men, if there is such a thing as a science of society, if production and distribution are governed by natural laws, the economists give no indication of their nature and operation—indeed no intimation that they exist.

IT is a dangerous sea on which the government has embarked through the ignorance of its guiding pilots of fundamental natural laws of production and distribution. Where we should stop there is no certainty, but it is a certainty where we are heading. It is announced that labor unions will form NRA police to boycott offenders who do not live up to the "code." To all those who cherish any traditional American instincts there is no more hateful word than "boycott." There is no more dangerous instrument wielded by organized groups for any purpose. But when the boycott is used as a governmental or pseudo-governmental weapon the distance that separates us from the teachings of the fathers and our own constitution looms wide as the ocean. In this connection we may say that in the closing hours of Congress Hon. James M. Beck delivered a noble address which if this nation sinks to ruin through the abandonment of our liberties will rank as an eloquent requiem for one more hope of mankind gone to destruction.

TO what lengths these men are prepared to go is clear from what Matthew Woll is reported to have said of the "proper penalties" to be visited on those who fail

to cooperate with the provisions of the Recovery Act. He was asked what was meant by "proper penalties." According to the New York *Herald Tribune* of Aug. 12 he replied: "More penalties would be imposed upon the business houses which evaded the spirit of the Recovery Act than were contained in the laws." This is in effect a threat of mob violence. If not contained in the laws these penalties hinted at must be extra-legal. What form they would take is left undisclosed by this spokesman for the union of government and the labor organizations. But to such a danger point have we come in our history that remarks like these go unrebuked. If there is a spark of manhood left in the American people they will visit it with swift condemnation.

GENERAL HUGH S. JOHNSON is part of the administration. What he says has a certain weight, unlike the threats of Matthew Woll. Concerning the penalties for code violation he says: "When somebody takes one of these blue eagles away from some one because of a clear-cut violation the public will be well informed and it will be a sentence of economic death."

HERE is government pronouncement of ruin on a citizen guiltless of any crime. It is so monstrous a suggestion that one wonders if economic recovery brought about by such means would be worth the cost. For even though liberty feed no mouths, yet men have preferred death to its denial in more heroic times. But we are under no such necessity of choosing. Liberty is the way out; the administration has chosen the way of death, and is now under the necessity of proscribing the penalty of economic destruction for some of its more unfortunate citizens who wish to be absolved from this strange religion of insignias, mumbo jumbo, codes and incantations.

THREE practical economists, not members of the "Brain Trust," we are informed by the New York papers, have been arrested for smearing signs in an effort to provide work and help along President Roosevelt's industrial recovery programme. Thousands of sign-painters are out of work and the simplest way to provide work is to destroy existing signs. This was explained by one of the "economists."

WE condemn these arrests as wholly unjustified. We do not see the difference between the sabotage involved in withholding cultivable lands from use as provided in the Farm Act and the procedure of these three sign-painters, save that in one case the farmers are rewarded for the act and the sign-painters punished. We learn that the authors of the Farm Bill are still at large, that neither Wallace nor Tugwell have been arrested but are occupying high official positions. It seems to make a difference who it is that practices sabotage. But nevertheless we continue to protest against the arrest of these sign-painting economists. Has not the government set the example?

IS it possible to write a book on political economy that nobody will understand? That will seem profound? That the critics will praise in a bewildered way? There is a lot of such achievements, books without number. We have just finished reading one of them, "The New Challenge of Distribution," by Harry Tupper, published by Harper and Brothers. Here and there are paragraphs in which the writer seems to be stumbling right against some fundamental problem, only to shift away again with a quality quite opaque.

THE recipe for writing a wholly incomprehensible work on political economy is simple. Assume in the beginning that there is no such thing as natural laws, that competition is always destructive and wholly evil and that something not clearly defined must be done about it. Above all ignore the genesis of production, the natural processes of distribution, that it is from the land men must produce, and that free access to land determines the resultant character of distribution. Do not mention the land at all, "go right on writing" as if all production were some esoteric thing and wealth could be evolved by planning and not by access to the earth, and you have made a book which will seem profound because so difficult to see to the bottom of it. Reviewers will speak of it in accents of awe. We assure our readers that the recipe is quite simple.

THE Albany *Evening Journal* is not afraid to put in a good word for competition. It points out that a dozen years ago the price of a mechanical refrigerator was \$800. Now a better one can be produced for \$200, and it says that it is hard to imagine any controlled or planned economy which could produce such a result. It would not, brother. And it might be well for the madmen at Washington who are driving us to the inevitable smash to consider it. But they will not. With the best of intentions and eyes closed they are heading for the inevitable chaos.

THESE are the sinister aspects of the national recovery act, to which we again return; the partially concealed threat of intimidation, boycott, and business and social ostracism for those who do not or will not travel in harness. Mark Sullivan heads one of his special articles in the New York *Herald Tribune*, "Observers Fear Intimidation Beyond Reason." We suppose a little intimidation within reason would be all right! And a contribution in the same paper from General Johnson seems to hint that the recovery act is a law above the law, for he says: "Moreover we are going to depend for the success of this recovery programme on a force greater than the law and more powerful than anything else—public opinion." And then follows this threat: "With this force behind us it is not hard to imagine that the recalcitrants and the obstructionists are going to be in an uncomfortable if not in an unpleasant position as the programme proceeds."

IT is perhaps useless to appeal to the Constitution as Mr. Beck has done in the great speech previously alluded to. For the authors of this new departure have frankly invoked a law above the law. Professor Tugwell, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, in a speech made before the New York Western Bar Unit at Rochester is refreshingly candid. Though we were promised that the recovery act would be only temporary Prof. Tugwell tells us, "Today and for tomorrow, our problem is that of our national economic maintenance for the public welfare by governmental intervention—any theory of government, law or economics notwithstanding."

HOW ineffably silly in the time to come will seem all these preposterous codifications, blue eagles, rumored licensing of industries, thinly veiled threats of boycotts and intimidation! All this ruthless setting aside of the fundamental guarantees of liberty and the rights of private business to govern in its own household! We say private business so it may not include those public utilities which may because they are natural monopolies, be brought within the field of governmental regulation, or even public ownership and operation.

"PUTTING America to Work," is the title of General Hugh S. Johnson's article previously alluded to. How can Americans be put to work? Here is a continent with immeasurable natural resources, a great workshop. But it is in large part a closed shop. Americans may go to work only by permission of the owners of all the riches in the earth and under the earth, its fertility, its timber, its stored minerals untouched by the hand of man. As long as the "right" to hold these natural riches idle remains all Americans cannot be put to work. And the curious saturnalia of regulations we are now witnessing in the madhouse at Washington is the direct consequence of ignoring this plain and simple truth.



HERE are a lot of officials and their advisers gathered together. They see something is gravely wrong. They want to do something about it—let us at least give them credit for that. And they begin by ignoring every economic law that has ever been propounded. The law of competition that secures the satisfaction of individual desires and is the very life blood of industry, ministering to the welfare of the whole. They reject this law utterly. The law of economic rent which even if the recovery programme could effect relief would be absorbed by the element in production known as land, going neither to wages or interest. *That* they never seem to have heard of. Unless they recognize the relation of the law of wages to the law of rent—Henry George's great discovery—nothing they can do will be of any permanent benefit.

DO they know that every attempt to regulate wages or prices has failed? Apparently they never heard of that! So they go ahead in their mad way trying everything that has been tried and failed. Only they will not try the one remedy that lies before them. "I do not go all the way with him," said President Roosevelt of Henry George. Which means if it means anything that he goes part of the way with him. We are beginning to doubt. To go part of the way with him would be to do more than can possibly be accomplished by any of the wretched schemes on which he and his advisers have embarked. Is he then a tenderness for the landlord class? Would he rather seek their good countenance than go down in history as the Great Deliverer.

AND what about the tariff? Roosevelt indicated during the campaign his general inclination toward free trade, or at least the lowering of the tariff barriers. What has he done? Were those only brave words? Has he nothing now to recommend? Has he any tariff policy at all? Is he afraid of both the protected monopolists and the landlord interests? Or is it that he just doesn't know?

MAY we conclude with the following verses, which if not poetry are sense, and are addressed to whom they may concern:

Who stood for the rights of man  
In the days when he was young—  
Who built for the better plan  
Of freedom the poets have sung,  
His voice no longer is heard—  
For the older manners and modes  
He has no friendly word—  
He is busy drafting codes!  
Oh what a world it will be  
In which to work and reside  
When mankind finally  
Is sufficiently codified!

## Reflections on the Recovery Act

WE are all ready to assist one hundred per cent to over-come the depression, but how are we going to go about it to do a real job?

Granting that the intentions which prompts the efforts to bring back prosperity to the nation are most commendable, I fail to see how governmental control of labor and industry alone can solve the question of securing greater opportunities for the employment of labor, as long as the ever-increasing land values created by the combined efforts of labor and capital in the production of wealth are being permitted to go wholly uncontrolled into the coffers of those who lay claim to the ownership of the earth, and thus hold the only opportunity for the greater joint application of labor and capital.

Understanding the value and need of land to labor, that labor can not find employment except upon land, or in the transformation of the things which are produced by nature with the aid of labor upon land, be this wealth, or that portion of it which in the form of capital is employed by labor for the further production of more wealth, and considering the proposition of governmental control of industry as it comes to us through the press, the following questions come to my mind:

1. If we all put our shoulder to the wheel of this industrial control action, dividing the work with our brethren, how much more are we going to produce by merely dividing the work with the now unemployed, and how is this increase in production, if there be any, going to be divided so that labor and capital in the form of wages and interest receive greater returns?

2. Will not an increased production with no additional outlet or market for goods tend to lower rather than to raise the value of the increased production, lowering the prices of commodities instead of raising them as hoped for?

3. Assuming that the cost of production is artificially increased as proposed by this raising of wages, etc., is it possible that the demands for the goods produced thereby will be increased, and if so, by what magic can the higher prices of commodities become a greater inducement to secure them? On the contrary, will not the higher prices of things retard the sale and purchase of goods?

4. Will not the increase in compensations to labor equalize the increase in cost? If so, what and where is there any gain?

5. Is it in any way possible without a freer access to the natural opportunities for employment of labor, now fully controlled by either the government or land-holders to produce more and gain a greater degree of independence for both labor and capital, unless the natural resources are proportionately liberated?

6. With the natural resources under complete control by the government or landlords, how may labor find an added opportunity to engage itself for profit without being



obliged to pay tribute to those who have corralled the natural opportunities and means of employment?

7. Assuming that by the proposed arrangement wages are raised and prices advanced, that capitalists and laborers work hand in hand for the amelioration of conditions, will not these desirable aims bring about a greater demand for the use of land and cause an increase in land values in proportion to the increased demand for its use?

8. What, if any, regulation is proposed by the "new deal" which will prevent the landholders from absorbing all of the benefits of this unity of operation of labor and capital, which must logically increase the demand for land?

9. As the results of labor's efforts aided jointly by capital upon land are the only means of production of wealth, then the greater joint efforts of both must logically result in a wider demand for use of land, is not the present set-up of control of labor and industry alone, without any regulations or control by which these producing forces may have a freer access to the source of supply—the earth—without paying an ever greater tribute to the land holders for the privilege of getting to that source of supply, is not all this a rather one-sided affair?

10. Is it fair, just, or equitable, to leave to those who control the natural opportunities for the employment of labor and capital the uncontrolled right to charge whatever it sees fit, or what the traffic will bear, as a tribute from the producing forces of wealth?

11. Is there in the proposition of industrial control any provisions which will prevent the now controlled capitalization of land values, based upon the rental value of land, in accordance with the demand for its use, going wholly to the owners of land?

12. If the cost of production in the form of wages and interest is to be controlled and subjected to governmental supervision, should not land values, as part of the cost which so largely enters into the final cost of the production, also be controlled or regulated, or is there any just and equitable reason why labor and capital should be obliged to bargain with the uncontrolled holders of the natural opportunities, at a capitalization based upon the annual rental value of land for use, which according to late statistics is somewhere near fourteen billion dollars?

13. If by the joint efforts of labor and capital the rental value of land is enhanced, should not that percentage due to this united action find its way back as a reward to the producers in the form of wages and interest, rather than as speculator's profits to those who furnished neither tools nor labor?

14. Does it seem right and just that the government take by taxation private funds for the purpose of entering upon public enterprises and works, where the benefits created go entirely to advance the value of the holdings of the landlords and afford them a greater opportunity to exact from both labor and capital an added price for

the privilege of enjoying the improvements created jointly by labor and capital?

15. Would not the collecting of the economic rent, created by the people collectively, serve to liberate the use of land to both labor and capital, destroy the speculations in land values, free the land, and thereby distribute and stabilize the opportunities for employment?

16. What advantage or gain is there to the nation in expending millions of dollars in draining swamps and irrigating deserts, when millions of unoccupied acres, lying immediately adjacent to our great centers of population, are being kept idle, and out of use? If taxed and thus forced into use, these would afford employment to millions, without the expenditure of another dollar of the taxpayers' money.

17. How can any industrial set-up, even if aided by nation-stirring slogans, be expected to bring about desired results, when the dictates of nature, justice, and equity are deliberately ignored?

18. Why not levy a tax on increased land values resulting from highway construction? This will be a bill for value received, and no honest man understanding could object to that.

19. Is it possible that throwing bananas and coffee into the sea, pulling up every third row of cotton, and paying \$3.00 per acre for weeds in place of wheat, setting fire to hay stacks, and all such other acts of destruction of the things which an all-wise Creator has provided with a benevolent hand for the enjoyment of His children, can possibly serve to bring back prosperity?

20. What is the difference between these acts and the advocates of the I. W. W. extremists?

These and like questions are being asked by men who believe that by the ways of justice to all we may restore prosperity to the country, without the control of industry which must of necessity lead to socialism or worse.

When, and as we learn to think and reason in terms of what is rightfully mine, thine, and ours, then and there only will the question of employment be solved.

As I analyze the proposed control of industry, I fail to find anything in it which will lead the country permanently out of its toils, and can only see a land-holder paradise in the making, as long as labor and capital and their joint productions of wealth are the only factors placed under governmental control and supervision.

M. J. VANLEEUEWEN.

THE Chicago exposition was opened by a ray of light from Arcetur which started forty years ago but easily beat any economic light that may be headed toward Congress.

THE tax on cosmetics is levied on the notion that since "beauty is but skin deep" it might as well be skinned deep.



## A Forgotten Land Reformer

Keansburg, a resort for excursionists and summer boarders on the New Jersey coast, back of a creek running through some low lands, are three graves. On one of these is the following inscription:

"In Memory of George H. Evans.

Born in Hertfordshire, England, March 25, 1805.

Died in Granville, N. J., Feb. 2, 1856.

The great object of his life was to secure homes for all by abolishing the traffic in land and limiting the individual possession of it. As Editor of *The Man*, *The Radical* and *The People's Right and Young America*, he triumphantly vindicated the Right of Each Human Being to a share in the Soil as essential to the Welfare and Permanence of the Republic."

A neighboring stone commemorates the death of his wife Laura in 1850 and states that "she bore without murmuring the privations of her husband in his efforts for the causes he had espoused." A daughter born in 1833 and dying in 1837 occupies the third grave.

George Henry Evans (for that was his full name) came to Keansburg, (now Keansburg) with his brother in 1820. He was a printer and was engaged in various publishing enterprises. In addition to the papers named on the grave there was *The Workingman's Friend* published in New York City. He is mentioned briefly in some biographies. In one he is said to have advocated the abolition of slavery and imprisonment for debt.

The Evans' graves with their inscriptions were shown some years ago to our friend George White of Long Branch. Mr. Ramsay, former mayor of Keansburg, now deceased, and Mr. Ramsay told Mr. White that there was a connection between one of the publications of Mr. Evans and the *New York Tribune* of Horace Greeley. The tradition will not down that Evans and Greeley were closely associated and that the founder of the *New York Tribune* was in strong sympathy with the views of the young English writer. This indeed may be gathered from Greeley's writings. It is even asserted that one of Evans' publications was taken hold of by Mr. Greeley and became the *New York Tribune*.

It would be of interest to LAND AND FREEDOM readers to know if any mention is made of Evans in the biographies of Greeley, and in what way they were connected. Also it would be interesting to have extracts from or facts regarding any of the Evans' publications. The Historical Society of Monmouth County would appreciate any such further information.

Also because Evans was one of our first land reformers it would seem desirable that some effort should be made to restore and preserve for posterity the graves of these devoted souls. The gravestones are of marble and the elements have rendered almost illegible the wording

upon them. Unless the people join in some enterprise of enclosure and caretaking all signs of cemetery use will soon be obliterated.

In the Monmouth County Historical Society is preserved one work printed by Evans in 1837, and entitled "The Moral State of Nations," by John Stewart. On one of the fly-leaves of the book appears a list of the works advertised for sale by Mr. Evans. Among them is "The Rights of Man to Property," price \$1.25, and a pamphlet advertised at 2 cents (author's name not given) bearing the title "Hard Times and a Remedy Therefore."

All traces of Evans' writings have disappeared, though doubtless they exist somewhere. Also all efforts to discover descendants of those related to him have been unavailing. It is for the purpose of eliciting further information regarding him that may be in the possession of some one that this article is printed. Mr. White has been unremitting in his efforts to unearth the facts regarding George Henry Evans and his labors. But it is clearly evident that here was one of the great souls of his time who if he did not see it all realized the real evil at the foundation of society and saw, even as "through a glass darkly," the star that Henry George saw years later.

## Same Old Story

EXACTLY 1900 years ago, in the year 33 A. D., according to the current bulletin of Stone & Webster, Inc., "the whole Roman world, embracing the shores of the Mediterranean and most of Western Europe, was shaken to its foundations by a widespread panic."

The trouble started with the failure of two giant commercial houses. One was the firm of Seuthes & Son, ostrich feather and ivory dealers of Alexandria, and the other the purple dye company of Malchus & Co., centered at Tyre with factories at Antioch and Ephesus.

Runs started on the big Roman banks and several failed. The great Corinthian bank of Leucippus' Sons became insolvent. Financial institutions in Carthage, Byzantium and Lyons folded up. The government, in desperation, passed a law compelling the rich to invest a portion of their funds in farm lands.

In order to obtain money with which to buy real estate, the wealthy were forced to liquidate other assets. Throwing of vast properties on the market further depressed business, even land prices dropping to lower levels than previously ever had been known, while auctions dotted the land and the unemployed roamed over it vainly seeking work. Deflation was in full swing, with all its attendant evils.

The unwise farm land law was repealed. The imperial treasury made available a large amount of money for loans. The historian Tacitus made the terse comment: "Thus was confidence restored."

The world has changed little, in basic economic matters, in 1900 years.—Seattle Times Star.

OUR ground rent is a community product. Instead of paying it as a perpetual pension to parasites, use it all to buy the public utilities' physical property at its scrap value, give every public service free to users, as they now ride free in skyscraper elevators, add free hospitals, and pay all operating costs and future construction from the public fund, ground rent, which grows as free public service grows. This combines the best in the Single Tax and Socialist programmes. It gives Free Land and Free Public Service at the same time, and is guaranteed to be no more insane than the system we now have and must throw into the garbage can of history.—GEORGE CARTWRIGHT.



## Mortgages and The End of The Depression

THE man in the street—the man who never owned a piece of property or knew anything about how real estate transactions are financed,—has been reading a lot recently about the daily stories of bank closings. “Frozen assets” has become a term of trenchant significance to everybody who has a dollar deposited in a bank. It is realized that somehow there is a relationship between these unliquidatable assets and the present business depression, and that their thawing out must be a prerequisite to the return of prosperity. An analysis of the nature of these assets will reveal how cogent this relationship is, and will indicate how natural economic forces are at present operating to right the economic maladjustment.

Nature fights its own battles.

It is the unsalability of the collateral upon which presumably profitable loans were made that causes “frozen” assets. The borrower is unable to pay interest on the loan, and the bank finds no market for the collateral given as security; thus the principal of the loan is impaired. The bank is then in the position where it cannot collect either the interest or the principal, and must continue to carry the loan on its books as an asset with the hope that changing trade conditions will create a demand for the collateral. If the depositors, whose money was loaned, do not demand their money, the bank can continue in this condition of suspended animation.

The question then arises as to whether the collateral will ever, or within a reasonable time, be worth the amount that has been loaned on it. If the banker's judgment of the intrinsic value of the collateral was tinged with a guess as to its future value, then the collectibility of the loan is dependent upon how soon, if ever, his prognosis will prove correct. Therefore, it is the loan upon speculative values that is the plague of bankers and other lenders of money.

Now, of all loans, those made on land values are in the most speculative class. Even a cursory analysis of the methods of financing real estate operations shows that the element of speculation is inherent and hardly divorcible. Since the collateral for such loans is represented by mortgages, we have only to consider how loans are made on these documents to see how expected increases in land values—or unearned increment—must influence the judgment of the lender.

The builder buys a lot for, let us say, ten thousand dollars. That amount may represent the present economic value of the lot; that is, the value that attaches to a piece of land because of the present, not expected, press of population in that particular locality. However, it is only in times of depression that land is sold for its true economic value, and as in such periods very little building is done, very little land is sold. As a general rule the seller antici-

pates in his price the value that will accrue to the lot by virtue of expected increases in population. The selling price of a piece of land is really a capitalization of its annual rental value for a period of approximately twenty years, taking into account the increases in this annual rental value due to expected or proposed socially created improvements in the neighborhood, such as a park, street car line, a subway station, a school. In fact the very structure which the builder proposes to put upon the lot he is buying boosts its price, and he is, in a sense, bidding against himself. It is important to remember, therefore, that the selling price of a lot almost always includes its expected future value; and this is speculation. What part of the ten thousand dollars which our builder must pay for his lot represents speculative value depends on the conditions at the time of the sale; the shrewdness of the buyer, the exclusive character of the lot, the need of the seller for cash, and so on. For the purpose of our inquiry it is sufficient to know that speculative land value enters into the price paid.

The builder expends twenty thousand dollars for a structure on this lot. We shall assume that he borrows for this purpose only fifteen thousand dollars—a sum so modest it would interest the most conservative bank-giving, of course, a mortgage on both land and building as security. To prove our point we are taking the most ideal case, where the builder invests his own capital to the extent of fifty per cent of his enterprise, which is very rare indeed. But, if we can show that the bank is speculative in this rare case, we shall readily realize how much more “frozen” are its assets which consist of ordinary real estate mortgages.

It must be borne in mind that while land values may appreciate, building values always depreciate. Also while rising land values increase the borrowing capacity of the owner, lenders are very prone to overlook or minimize the crumbling character of the other part of the security. So long as our builder is able to pay the interest on the mortgage, no matter what the source of the money, the banker will not question the quality of the collateral. To be sure, the fact that the neighborhood has become more desirable, and that the land has therefore enhanced in value, will enable our builder to either increase his first mortgage or to place a second, even though the building has become dilapidated and antequated. In due time the borrowings are mainly or entirely based upon the value of the land, the building having reached the point where replacement may be more desirable than upkeep. The bank has its money loaned on land values, more or less speculative; the earning capacity of the building, which should be the only source of payments on the mortgage, gradually but surely diminishes. When payments on the mortgage cease the bank forecloses, and finds itself owning a non-income producing lot and an expense-producing building. The depositors' money is “frozen.” The original fifteen thousand dollar loan may have been



creased to twenty-five thousand—it usually is; the original ten thousand dollar lot may have doubled in value. Till the bank takes a loss, and the only hope of the land-owning bank is to induce another builder to put a revenue-producing structure on the land. And, as an inducement, the bank increases its first mortgage—again speculating in the future value of the lot.

So, we see that even in so rare an instance as where the operator invests his own capital to the extent of fifty per cent of the cost of land and improvement, eventually the mortgage loans will be based to a considerable extent on speculative land values. This is due in part to the inevitable wiping out by nature of the value of the improvement, but mainly to the bankers' fetish that land is a good investment. It is true that land is a good investment for those who can hold it for many years, until the increase in population creates an actual value equal to or in excess of the speculative value originally included in the price; but a bank should not tie up its depositors' money for generations. It is true that land cannot be destroyed; but land values are always in a state of flux. In every big city cases can be shown where so-called "hundred" or "cent" locations have in a few years become less valuable due to some change in the trend of population; a new artery of travel, an influx of undesirables into an aristocratic neighborhood, or the mere moving of one big commercial institution to another part of the city. Mortgage loans readily expand with increases in land values, even with expected increases, but do not contract as readily. The security back of every mortgage loan is to some extent a speculative land value.

In the vast majority of real estate transactions, the mortgage loans are very much in excess of the amount invested by the operator, and clever manipulators have been known to finance large building enterprises with bankers' money only. So that at the very inception of the real estate transaction the bank is speculating in land values. At that very moment the "freezing" of bank assets begins.

Speculation in land values during prosperous, or even normal periods is quite safe, for the very simple reason that industry and labor are dependent for their existence on the use of land. The first requirement of a business is a place in which to do business. And again, all the things the business uses in its operations come from the land. Also, the employees must have homes, food, raiment—and Mother Earth provides everything. The more industry flourishes the greater the demand for land, and, therefore, the higher its price. As the price of land goes up mortgage money is more easily obtainable.

Every dollar loaned on the value of land is a tax on industry, for it is industry that pays the interest on mortgages. When business is good, when labor is employed, the returns are sufficient to bear this burden. As the burden increases, profits and wages decrease. The diminishing return to capital and labor causes both to

demand less land to live on, and less of the products of the soil to use. This is exactly what happens during times of depression. When business concerns start to retrench they seek reductions in rents, and their demands are met either by their present landlords or by others who have already lost their tenants. Workers out of jobs move into the homes of relatives who are still able to pay the rent. When wages are reduced the laborer finds it necessary to curtail on his food, and the farmer cannot pay the interest on his mortgage.

When these things happen, as they are happening now, a period of deflation of speculative land values sets in. Since secondary mortgages are based upon land values almost entirely, they are the first to go. These mortgages are sometimes held by banks, but more often by individual investors; but, as it is not uncommon for these mortgages to be hypothecated with banks, it is these "safe" institutions that carry as assets on their books many second and third mortgages, as well as firsts. All the money thus advanced is secured by unearned increment only—a very uncertain and evanescent quantity. Land does not pay interest. When bankers learn that only improvements produce revenue, and that these improvements constantly deteriorate in value, they will have learned the first lesson in avoiding "frozen" assets.

Perhaps the most poignant example in recent times of the effect of land speculation by banks was that afforded by the rise and fall of mortgage values in the agricultural states since the World War. For many generations the hope of our wheat farmers had been "Dollar Wheat"—that is, a market price of one dollar per bushel. Along came the war, and the price of wheat was "fixed" at \$2.65 by Hoover. The dream had been more than doubled in realization. The farmers were not only elated by the unheard of profits, but they dreamed the dream of all who acquire large amounts of wealth, that of ceasing to be producers and of becoming landlords. Aided and abetted by the bankers they proceeded to the realization of this new dream. For farms which cost them a few dollars per acre, or which they had inherited from forebears who settled on land grants, they found buyers willing to pay hundreds of dollars per acre. Multiply, say, four hundred dollars by six hundred and forty (only one section) and you have an amount on which the interest is sufficient to keep a family in luxury in any metropolis in the world. No more work. What a grand and glorious feeling for the man who all his life got up at five in the morning to do his chores. But the war, unfortunately, did not last, and wheat dropped and dropped until it acquired the soubriquet of "two-bit" wheat. At these low prices the purchaser or tenant could not pay the interest on the mortgage made when the land was "sold" at four hundred dollars per acre. The banks foreclosed and became the owners of acreage now worth maybe one tenth of what they had advanced on it. Of course they were insolvent. That's what always happens to banks which speculate too freely



in land. And, by the way, it is these insolvent bankers, and the landlords they created, who are clamoring most loudly for "farm relief"—relief from losses due to their wild speculation.

It might be argued that "frozen" assets do not consist of mortgage loans only. Well, what are the other kind of loans that a bank makes? It makes loans on commercial paper—that is, on the promise of a business man to repay when his assets, such as bills receivable and marketable merchandise, are turned into cash. Any one familiar with sound banking methods knows that a loan of this kind is made only upon evidence that the maker of the promisory note is in possession of at least twice as much in liquid assets as the amount of the loan, that he has a thriving business, that such business has a record of achievement and a reasonable promise of continuance, that he is a man of integrity and proven business judgment. How much more secure is the bank in making such a loan than one on speculative land values? In one case the bank is risking its money on a living, vibrant institution, represented by a human being who is dependent for his livelihood and success upon the continuous goodwill of the bank; in the other case the bank has for its security an inanimated and evanescent quantity. How many bankrupts have, long after their discharge, paid up old bank loans? A man who intends to stay in business cannot afford to let the bank lose money on him; to him the banker's smile is as manna from heaven. But, who cares when a bank loses on a mortgage loan?

Comparatively little of the "frozen" assets from which banks are now suffering is in the form of commercial paper—and that little is due either to the lack of judgment on the part of the bank, or perhaps the personal interest of the banker in the borrowing company. But, there is another form of investment which is a matter of as great concern as mortgages; upon analysis there will be found a great similarity. It is that very safest of all investments to bankers—the bond. Now, a bond (except a government bond, which is a mortgage on its taxing powers) is in essence only a mortgage on real estate. This fact is very apparent in the case of a railroad bond. As for bonds issued by industrial corporations, these could never be marketed if the corporation did not own some kind of real estate—a building, a mine, an oil well, a right of way. This is attested by the prominence given to these holdings in the prospectuses issued by the corporations when offering the bonds for sale. It is true that a bond is first mortgage on the entire business of the corporation—just as any mortgage is a lien on both the building and the land value. And an industrial bond has an advantage over a mortgage in that there is a more ready market for it; most bonds can be sold at a price at all times. But in times of depression the price is low because the holdings the bond represents have depreciated in value, a fact of which the buyers are well aware. Plant-equipment and inventories are worth what it would cost to replace them

at the present market, and public accountants upon whose figures financial statements are issued are very careful for their own reputations not to overvalue these items. But when a corporation needs money, and it does what it creates a bonded indebtedness, its officers' guess as to the value of its realty holdings is likely to be quite optimistic. This optimism is the speculative value of its realty, and embodied in the bond. Bonds are low now because the speculative value is being liquidated.

When a man loses his money in a game of chance, his hoping and wishing cannot recoup his lost fortune. To make a "come back" he must go to work; he must produce new wealth. If he wishes to try his luck again he may be more successful. But his original money is gone forever. And so, speculative values that are being wiped out now are lost forever. The money that is being lost now in mortgage loans will never, never come back. This is so because the values upon which these loans were made were non-existent; they were hoped-for values that would accrue to the land when, or if a growing and industrious population would create them. But the time when these very loans imposed upon the industry of the population diminished their ability to make use of the land, and lessened thereby their demand for it. Hence the expected value, as represented by these mortgage loans, never materialized. The loans were made on hope—and the hope has vanished. The loans are vanishing. These vanishing assets aggregate more than the bank's surplus capital and other assets, failure results.

There is no way out of it. Much is being heard of plans whereby capital might be loaned to banks that possess an abundance of "frozen" assets. This would simply delay the debacle, not prevent it. The ownership of the "frozen" assets would be for a time transferred to the government; the thawing is inevitable. It would take large increases in population, and the industry of at least a generation, to create the land values on which the loans were hypothecated. It is doubtful if any plan contemplating the tying up of capital for so long a period is feasible.

Nor is it desirable. The liquidation of land speculation is a prerequisite to the resumption of industry. To turn again to fundamentals, labor and capital must have land on which to go to work. Nothing can they do without this primary source. It becomes evident, therefore, that cheap land (and by the word "land" economists mean all natural resources) is the greatest incentive to industry. Perhaps the best omen for the return of prosperity is the present liquidation of speculative land values through the wiping out of mortgages. The wiping out of mortgages, or that part of them which represent speculative values only, will bring the rent of land down where labor and capital will not be burdened with a prohibitive exaction of tribute, for the mere privilege of going to work. Since going to work is the cure for, in fact, the very antithesis of, depression, it is obvious that we can



get out of our present economic doldrums until the process of liquidation shall have been completed.

That this process of liquidation is being rapidly completed is evidenced most forcibly in the case of agricultural lands. There land values have fallen almost, sometimes quite, to the point of extinction. It is not uncommon for foreclosed farms to be sold at a price that does not represent the cost of the improvements; the land is thrown in "to boot." I do not refer to farms in the Dakotas, or in Texas, where the inflation did not reach the ridiculous heights it attained in southern Minnesota or in Iowa. Even in the glorious Hawkeye State, where farms sold during the boom years at over five hundred dollars per acre, sales have been made during the past year at fifty dollars per acre—all improvements, of course, included. Because such prices plainly indicate that they are below the cost of labor values, it is very apparent that site values have dwindled to the point of non-existence. We have "free" land.

There can be no question as to the complete liquidation of farm land inflation. No such "reductio ad absurdum" test can be applied in the case of city lands, because there the presence of a congested population is an ever present economic force that prevents the absolute disappearance of values. But the almost total cessation of real estate transactions in all cities seems to indicate that deflation has been practically completed. For, if real estate transactions are most plentiful on a rising market, and decrease with a falling market, then it follows that a stagnant market indicates a total collapse of values. When good buildings in desirable locations are being sold for less than the cost of reproduction, the differential represents only a shrinkage in the site value. The inflation is gone.

That is the hope for an early revival of business. A study of the conditions preceeding each of our previous economic depressions shows that wages fall first; commodity prices follow; the drop in land values, whether in sale prices or rentals, is last. Wages have fallen to a point where they hardly provide a mere existence for the worker. Commodity prices are below the cost of production. Now we have almost "free" land in our agricultural sections, and in the cities "hundred per cent" locations are being rented to merchants on a percentage of their sales. Thus we have the complete trilogy of declining returns attendant upon our former periods of hard times, and heretofore antecedent to a revival. Unless there are forces in our present collapse that are fundamentally different and more disintegrating than those present in the past, we should now see a gradual rise in wages, commodity prices and, of course, land values. As land values rise inflation will naturally follow, and the groundwork for another periodic depression will be prepared.

FRANK CHODOROV.

THE banker innocent of trying to evade his income tax would be much too innocent to protect his depositors.

## False Prophets

IN searching out the cause of our country's course into economic chaos we are indebted to Attorney Selden P. Spencer, of Missouri, and to his speech before the American Bar Association wherein he advises us that:

"It was the American lawyers in the Revolution who, as Governor Colden officially announced, were the 'authors and conductors of the present sedition' and when that 'present sedition' had developed into a free and independent nation, every step of the way of its constant progress has been guided and directed by the American lawyer, active alike in the formation of public opinion and in the enactment and enforcement and interpretation of laws. That position of influence the lawyer has always had in this country.

"In the legislative department, he always has been and probably always will be predominant both in number and in influence.

"In the executive department of government, every President with the exception of three has been either a lawyer or a soldier and of the twenty-seven who have filled that high office, twenty have been lawyers.

"In the judicial department he is supreme, for when the lawyer as advocate and the lawyer as judge has finally submitted and decided questions at issue, no power on earth can change the result and the question at issue may involve any right of the individual, the legality of legislation, the very existence of the government itself. . . .

"Such power is given nowhere else in the world to members of our profession as is vested in the American lawyer."

In claiming for the profession of law all credit arising from the nation's ostensibly firm foundation and apparent progress (up to 1928) there is, or should be, naturally included all responsibility for untoward developments.

Attorney Spencer goes on to quote the eminent lawyer, Lawrence Maxwell, of Cincinnati, Dean John H. Wigmore of Chicago, and the distinguished jurist Andrew A. Bruce of North Dakota; one of whom said:

"We are on sure ground in urging the supreme importance of a broad, general education as an essential part of the lawyer's equipment."

Another said: "the modern law school education calls for mature and well-trained students. More emphatic and obvious than this the professional work at the Bar and on the Bench requires well-educated men."

The third, after referring to the "struggles and ideals and the traditions" which have made our institutions, said:

"A man cannot be a real lawyer, he cannot lead in the great social advance, unless he knows and understands these things. I know of no better place to learn them than in the cosmopolitan American college."

From the Bar Association report of 1919 we learn that forty-seven "leading" law schools were then, and have been for many years, annually turning out these thousands of super-trained and ultra-intelligent lawyer-leaders. Despite this dumping of brains onto the commercial and social, or economic, market the industrial crash of 1929 culminated the preceding centuries of body-politic stomach pains—and the crash came without the slightest deference to, or awe for, the "constant progress (which) has been guided and directed by the American lawyer."

If we may consider the Great American Depression



as a thing apart—as an invisible monster without due reverence for this American mass of legal profundity—its apparent object is to show the futility of the present aims of our great, honorable and weighty intellects-at-law upward to whom the American public long has looked in its humble actions of following its self-appointed prophets. Unfortunately, for the prestige of the profession of law, we cannot consider the depression as a thing apart from the social aims and endeavors of our lawyer-led humanity. As Henry George ably has pointed out, things or conditions may be in sequence or in consequence. Affairs in sequence are not necessarily related one to another. A motor bus followed by a one-horse shay, followed by a barefoot boy with cheeks of tan—an attorney's noon-day lunch at \$1.00 followed by an inebriate's turkish bath at \$2.00, followed by a piccolo player's serenade at 3:00 p. m.—are merely matters in sequence.

When we get into the field of consequences, however, the trend of daily doings is of utmost importance. The great and natural Law of Consequences is not susceptible to the whims and caprices of legal amendment by the master-minds which abound in the lawyer-led executive, judicial and legislative branches of civil government. When, therefore, our lawyer-leaders take over the controls of government they are answerable to the Law of Consequences, and this Law cares naught for the prestige of the forty-seven "leading" law schools nor for their mass production of superior intellects.

Cartoonist Thomas raises a pertinent question which is fast pressing for a public explanation. The cartoonist shows, in a recent issue of the *Detroit News*, a pictorial presentation of Uncle Sam seated at the bench; on the witness-stand is Mr. American Bar Association being subjected to cross-examination by Attorney John Doe for the People. Attorney John Doe asks the witness:

"Why is it that in the United States, where we are practically governed by lawyers who dominate public offices and law-making bodies more than any other group, we have more crime and disrespect for law than in any other country?"

The answer is assuredly not in the evening law schools against which the forty-seven "leading" law schools, and their alumni armies, are making a bitter and ne'er-ending drive. The answer has been unwittingly pointed out by Attorney James D. Andrews in his speech before the American Bar Association in 1918, when he quoted Socrates to the effect that:

" . . . . . it is not ignorance that makes men ridiculous, but knowing so many things that are not true." \*Report American Bar Association, Vol. XLIII, 1918, p. 413, et. seq.

For further elucidation in answer to Attorney John Doe's question to the American Bar Association see Henry George's "Science of Political Economy," page one, et. seq.

Other economic disturbances have visited our nation at intervals since Plymouth Rock was first pressed under foot by disembarking immigrants in search of economic

as well as religious, freedom. These civic-stomach pains should have served as a warning to the superior, law-trained civic-heads of the body politic. Unfortunately, these warnings of economic indigestion have been professionally unheeded except in the vain attempts to make unrelated sequences do the work of natural consequences.

The 1919 meeting of the Bar Association was graced by the presence of a distinguished ex-Chancellor of Great Britain, Viscount Finley. Lord Finley reminded the learned lawyers present that Alexander Hamilton "brought order out of chaos and left you a constitution which is a model for the world." Today Attorney John Doe, for the People, wants to know who brought chaos out of order.—THOMAS N. ASHTON.

## A Great Editor Passes

FRED S. WALLACE, editor of the Coshocton, (Ohio) *Daily Tribune*, one of the two great newspapers devoted to the Single Tax and free trade, the other being the Johnstown (Pa.) *Democrat*, was found drowned in the Muskingum River. He had ended his own life, according to the coroner's verdict. For a long time he had worried over the state of his health and had chosen this method to end it all.

He was a brilliant writer and was widely known for his militant views on the Single Tax. He was converted to the Henry George philosophy about twenty-five years ago through the reading of "Progress and Poverty," and thus had derived his economics from the fountainhead.

Mr. Wallace was born on a farm near Springfield in 1871. He studied law in the Ohio Wesleyan University. When war was declared between this country and Spain he enlisted in the cavalry service. On his return to civil life he turned to journalism and became a cub reporter on the *Springfield Sun*. In 1910 he went to Coshocton. He had been married in 1903 to Letitia May Burns, whom he had known as a school teacher when he was principal of a country school.

The Single Tax movement in Ohio will miss him greatly for he was a writer whose editorials were significant expositions of our philosophy. There was distinction in everything he wrote. And now that he has gone we are glad to know that the paper will fall into good hands. We quote from a letter just received from his son, Robert E. Wallace, formerly connected with the *Cleveland Press* who succeeds him as managing editor of the *Tribune*: "The paper will continue to follow my father's editorial policies as closely as possible. In other words, it will be a Single Tax paper."

We recall Fred Wallace's visit to this office several years ago. Since that time we have kept in touch with him by correspondence. At odd times he made liberal quotations from the columns of LAND AND FREEDOM.

He was popular with his associates on his paper, and this is the highest testimonial that can be paid to the per-



personal qualities of our departed friend. We quote from the tribute printed in the issue of the *Tribune* announcing his death:

"Those who for many years worked for and with Mr. Wallace in his capacity as editor and publisher of the *Tribune* join the great and humble of the city, bowing in grief at his passing."

To Mr. Robert B. Wallace we extend our best wishes for the continued success of the *Tribune*. He can be depended upon to carry on in the spirit of his great father.

## His Last Editorial

The following entitled "The Leak in Our Tax System" was the last word written by Fred Wallace for his paper, the *Coshocton Tribune* in its issue of August 24.

FOR four years business has had to pare to the bone to make both ends meet. Accounting departments during that distressing period have been heavy purchasers of red ink. Business has been squeezed between the upper millstone of mounting taxes and the nether stone of decreased sales. The manufacturers of black ink have not fared as well these four years past as those who have made the red variety. As the Manufacturers' Record recently observed, "American business cannot continue to supply both wages and taxes in the amounts demanded of it by the government."

For the last two years of the Hoover panic it became an acute question of which it should be—a job or more dollars for public treasuries. It seems not yet to have dawned upon any of our governments, federal, state or local, that every dollar taken in taxes means that business must pare a dollar from other expenses. In the average business concern the bulk of the paring has had to be confined to wage budgets—there was no other place to pare. The cut in wages meant either lowered compensation, fewer jobs or both. If recovery is checked or proceeds more slowly than we desire, there is nothing mysterious about the cause—government is taking both from capital and labor more money than our productive processes can stand.

The government's chief aim now is to provide more jobs at better wages. For this purpose it has launched the greatest public works programme in all history. To further this aim it is also enlisting agreements within the various industries. It is appealing to patriotism and sentiment. It is also doing it through official fiat. And while business has given an obedient ear to the commands and entreaties of government it knows that, after all, wages can't be raised when there is no money in the bank. Yet with all its vigorous policies, many of them well planned, it does not yet seem to have penetrated official heads that the greatest boost to its own programme, the surest way to increase employment and payrolls, would be for government itself to cut in two its own demand for money with which to maintain many of its own useless functions.

Every time taxes are increased the cost of commodities is increased proportionately. Every time the cost of commodities is increased consumption of these commodities is decreased. Decreased consumption calls for decreased production and thus the vicious circle is completed which results in industrial depressions, loss of purchasing power, unemployment and want in the homes of million of toilers. If commodities were altogether untaxed and public funds raised from a tax on socially created land values, this endless chain of depression and partial recovery would be forever broken. There would be fewer unemployed, wages would increase, the laborer could buy back what he produces and industry would forge ahead with nothing to fear in the future.

Under that simple programme our whole taxation system could be revamped. At present an enormous percentage of all taxes collected, perhaps 20 to 25 per cent, is spent in collection. The waste of tax money before it gets into public treasuries is frightful. Under the simple plan of exempting everything that is now taxed and placing

the entire burden upon ground rent this appalling waste would be eliminated. There is annually going into the private pockets of landlords something more than \$14,000,000,000, more than enough to supply the needs of every taxing jurisdiction in the nation. At least two and a half billions that are now collected by taxation is a total loss—it never reaches public treasuries.

Why is so simple and far-reaching an expedient as this overlooked by an administration that is trying to put industry back on its feet? Because the vested land interests of the country are more powerful than the administration. There is no other answer.

## New York Honors Dr. Roman

DR. FREDERICK W. ROMAN of the Roman Forum, Los Angeles, was the guest of honor at a dinner sponsored by the Single Tax Central Committee at Town Hall Club, New York City, on Monday evening, Sept. 11. Dr. Roman was greeted by sixty-two Single Tax friends on his brief stay in New York while returning to Los Angeles from a European trip.

Those who attended the dinner were richly rewarded by an intimate and challenging picture of Fascism in Germany and Communism in Russia. It is Dr. Roman's belief that communism is barely holding its own while in many countries the Fascist "man on horse back is just around the corner."

Hitler went into office, Dr. Roman said, pledged to parcel out the land. Now that he is in power, however, he is doing nothing about it and so long as the large land holders support him nothing will be done. "The land system proposed," said Dr. Roman, "has nothing in it for land taxers. Its purpose is to introduce the peasant system of the feudal ages." Adolph Damaschke, the great German follower of Henry George, being a member of the social-democratic party, is silenced by the Nazi reign of terror, while other land taxers are in some instances in concentration camps or in jails.

Dr. Roman denied the implications of the statement that there is no unemployment in Russia in his consideration of the four to six million kulaks who have been driven off their land since the beginning of the collectivist farming under the 5-year plan and who are working at forced labor at starvation wages. Furthermore the millions of idle people on the Volga he said are "as miserable wretches as ever."

While affirming that the only economic order he "can have any faith in is the system that gives the individual the product of his toil," Dr. Roman expressed the fear that the forces of nationalism throughout the world have developed so far as to "make it probably too late to avert another world conflict, after which we'll have to start all over."

Others who spoke briefly at the meeting were James F. Morton of Paterson, N. J., Chester C. Platt of Rye, N. Y., Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City*, Philip H. Cornick, Miss Antoinette Kaufmann, and John Lawrence Monroe. Walter Fairchild was chairman. Miss Betty Cohen and Miss Irene Walford managed the details of the dinner.



## The Cause of Great Depressions

MAJOR depressions, which occur with great regularity at the rate of about five times a century, are due to a certain tendency associated with increase of population and improvement in the means of production, or, in other words, with progress. This tendency is that of the speculative component of land value to rise in the course of a prosperous period to a level at which industry cannot be carried on. Economic land value may be considered as having two components,—the normal and the speculative. As progress attains to greater and greater development, normal land values tend to rise proportionally. This is a natural and beneficent phenomenon. Industry at any given stage of progress is not at all burdened by the economic ground rent load corresponding to that stage.

If that were the whole story, we should have no major, cyclic depressions. Under what we call prosperous conditions, however, the second component of land value appears, superimposed upon the normal component, deriving its existence not from accomplished, existing progress, but from non-existent, expected, future progress. This is the speculative component of land value. It becomes at first a slight, then a difficult, and finally an unbearable burden upon industry. As progress goes on with greater and greater intensity, people become more and more overconfident of its permanence, and the speculative element of land value advances disproportionately to progress, until finally industry is burdened with a load equivalent to a later and more advanced stage of progress, which, at the contemporary stage of progress, it cannot carry. Industries here and there have to curtail operations; their workers lose purchasing power; this means unemployment for still others, and the vicious spiral of depression has set in.

After several years of declining employment, and consequently declining wages, interest, and economic rent, a time at last arrives when the speculative component of land values is greatly reduced. Land value at this time will contain not much more than the component normal to it at the contemporary stage of progress. The bottom of the depression will truly have been reached. Industry having been relieved of the burden which brought it to a standstill, now can and will go ahead again. Another period of activity begins, land values rise again, and the cycle is repeated.

In order to build the Panama Canal, the Americans had first to abolish the yellow fever mosquito. To do away with major depressions, we must abolish the speculative component of land values, by means of the Single Tax. At present, in our real estate taxes, we take a part of economic ground rent into the public treasury. We should take it all, and abolish all other forms of taxation. No part of economic ground rent belongs by right to the individual land owner. It is due not to anything done by

him as a landowner, but solely to the presence and activity of the community. It is in reality the earnings of the community. Good order requires that the earnings of the community, and nothing else, should be received into the public treasury, just as all the earnings of the individual should be received by the individual.

At present, we permit a part of our number to pocket what in reality is the natural and adequate revenue of government, thereby compelling government to violate the individual's right of private property by countless kinds of taxation, in its desperate and harmful struggle for funds.

Under the Single Tax, any increase in land values would accrue to the public treasury. Consequently, no owner would have an incentive to hold valuable, needed land out of use, and the value of land could not go above the level corresponding to the existing stage of progress. The speculative component of land value could not arise, and major depressions would no longer occur.—JOSEPH R. CARROLL

## Social Experiment

COMMENTING upon an editorial in a recent issue of the *Monitor* in which you quote Mr. Floyd Parsons as protesting against the policy of governments in permitting free experimentation to science and engineering while denying to social, political and economic principles the right to progress by trial and experiment, it will be interesting to students of social science to know that in the State of Tennessee through the recent action of its Legislature, an economic experiment of the first importance has been made possible.

This refers to the town of Collierville and embodies the idea of the establishment of a municipal enclave for the collection of its economic rent; in other words, the principle of what is known as Single Tax here embodied.

This was brought about through the introduction of a bill in the State Legislature by its mayor and board of aldermen (House bill 120) the text of which may be found in the current issue of LAND AND FREEDOM) and which was promptly enacted into law.

The following quotations from LAND AND FREEDOM will further illumine the possibilities in social reform of this important enactment.

"The outstanding lesson from those advocating collection of economic rent is that at last a way has been found to permit the operation of municipal enclaves. Thus the movement for land emancipation by enclaves enters a larger and, it is believed, more important phase of development.

"This law may ultimately open the whole State of Tennessee, well as states similarly situated, to an approach to the Single Tax through the enclave method of land emancipation.

"The Collierville law also demonstrates that the legislatures of states will listen with favor to small scale local measures, affecting specific towns or cities, whereas an attempt to put over a general law, without sufficient political organization, and with little general economic education, would likely lead to defeat."

O. A. TOEFFERT, in *Christian Science Monitor*

IF all men were so far tenants to the public that the superfluities of gain and expense were applied to the exigencies thereof, it would put an end to taxes, leave never a beggar, and make the greatest bank for national trade in Europe.

WILLIAM PENN, "Reflections and Maxims."



## Schalkenbach Foundation Work

IN last issue we explained that a new booklet containing a speech by Dr. John Dewey entitled "Steps to Economic Recovery," was being printed by the Foundation. A copy was sent to some six thousand people with the suggestion that additional copies be obtained and sent to liberal-minded citizens. As a result several hundred of our Single Tax friends, as well as some persons outside of the movement who are interested in the work we are doing, are circulating this important little pamphlet. The results are reflected in the rising demand for "Progress and Poverty," and for "Social Problems", the books recommended by Dr. Dewey for earnest and careful reading.

In order to coordinate this demand for George's books with the distribution facilities of the various bookstores throughout the country, the Foundation sent a bulletin notice, with illustrative literature, to 2,600 bookdealers, including those in charge of department store book corners. The response has been very encouraging indeed. Macy's in New York is selling the book at the rate of 15 copies every week or two, and department stores in Detroit, St. Louis and other large cities are sending in orders for ten copies at a time. Needless to say a large discount and prepayment of postage costs is undertaken by the Foundation in order to subsidize this branch of the work, and to make it feasible for the stores to carry the George books.

At a time when professors and teachers are planning the number of textbooks that they will use for courses in economics, sociology and civics, a special letter has been sent to some 1800 teachers in the colleges, enclosing the pamphlet "Steps to Economic Recovery," and recounting the various services of information and book-supply that the Foundation maintains for the direct aid of teachers, in presenting the subject of Henry George and "Progress and Poverty" to students. Few Single Taxers realize the extent to which this work has progressed within the last few years, but it should be a matter for encouragement to all to know that the progress has been substantial, and that there are a growing number of teachers who definitely plan a place in their courses for the study of "Progress and Poverty" and other books by Henry George.

A bulletin has been sent to 5,000 members of economic societies and sociological groups, enclosing the pamphlet "Steps to Economic Recovery." By this means the Foundation is able to reach a very large audience among those people who have shown a renewed interest in the Georgist viewpoint, but who would be unlikely to orient themselves to it unless some special inducement or urging is supplied. The Foundation creates this interest through carefully planned literature and "follow-ups," and hundreds of persons in these groups have been thus led not only to read our books but to identify themselves actively with the Georgist cause.

For example, we find that in response to one of our advertisements a Mr. R. Q. Foulke of Dun and Bradstreet came to this office purchasing "Progress and Poverty." Later in the pages of Dun and Bradstreet's *Monthly Review*, there appeared an article by Mr. Foulke entitled "Three Important Balance Sheet Ratios" which discussed as one of the causes of failure in business "land speculation."

Mr. Foulke said in part:

"In the years of reconstruction and rehabilitation following the speculative panic of 1873—and they were long lean years—there appeared a remarkable volume of English literature from the pen of an economist, a philosopher and a social thinker, a volume which was destined to be translated into almost every language of the world. The power and inherent strength of its thoughtful, restrained persuasion has placed it on a plane which has been reached by few economic treatises. That volume is "Progress and Poverty by Henry George."

Mr. Foulke then explains George's theory of the speculative rise in land values being responsible for business depressions.

The book, "The Philosophy of Henry George," (\$2.50 postpaid) has been in some small demand among Single Taxers, but we have been disappointed in the number of volumes called for. Originally 2,000 copies were printed by the Foundation, and it was hoped that because of the excellence of the material to be found in it, and its peculiar merit as a source book and reference book for teachers and professors, that the demand for it would be a large one. Only 225 copies have been called for thus far. Since in format it is the equal of a \$5 book, and since we cannot emphasize too strongly its great merit, especially for libraries and places where a competent survey of the Georgist movement is necessary, we would urge that wherever the readers of LAND AND FREEDOM may find opportunity to do so, they acquaint friends and librarians with this book, and with the fact that it is obtainable from the Foundation.

Since May, 1933, about 1,500 books of all titles have been sold and distributed; about 15,000 pamphlets and about 25,000 advertising pieces distributed. An average of fifteen letters per day come to the office each receiving individual answer, and attention.

We have news from Miss Josephine Nelson of the Henry George Economic League in Seattle, that the League has been formed for active work, and we learn with pleasure that the son of E. Stillman Doubleday, Mr. W. J. Doubleday, is on the committee, as well as Mr. Morrow, Mr. Erickson and Mr. Fausett.

An interesting visitor at the Foundation office was a Mr. Leslie Crawford who came from Argentine, and who was a friend of Mr. Easton Garrett. Mr. Crawford informs us that the Georgists of Buenos Aires have formed a political party and have gained a number of recruits during the last half year. Mr. Crawford told us that the landowners of northern Argentina are letting their estates go for taxes because the big estates cannot pay their way, due to the depreciation of prices of cattle and agricultural produce and because the land taxes have been raised on



large properties. The result is that the big land owners are disappearing, but opportunity has come to small farmers who are called "chacareros."

ANTOINETTE KAUFMANN, Secretary.

The Executive Committee of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation has engaged in a job that ought to interest the followers of Henry George in every part of the United States. Briefly, the Foundation has undertaken a nationwide search for a scientific proof from public records or otherwise, that the phenomena arising from the extension of lack of purchasing power on the part of would-be consumers, which is called business depression, is directly related to the artificial scarcity of land arising out of monopoly and speculation that prevail in times of so-called prosperity. Henry George has pointed out that what from the side of the businessman is called "business depression" is from the side of the workingman, "scarcity of employment," and that the one always comes with the other and passes away with the other.

It is the idea of President Hennessy of the Foundation, with which his associates are in full agreement, that Georgists should translate their theory into a demonstration by marshalling evidence of unquestionable character, to show that business depressions, their cause and cure, are most intimately related to the land question in all sections of the country. An interesting letter is going out to leading followers of Henry George throughout the country, asking for cooperation in getting together the material evidence that is required on this big subject. The letter follows:

We are engaged in attempting a job that I am sure will interest you, and in which I would like to have your help.

Followers of Henry George for years have been contending that the main causes of business depressions and unemployment are land monopoly and land speculation. The argument to sustain this contention is to be found in Book V, Chapter I of "Progress and Poverty," and in other writings of Henry George. To most of us, I believe, the conviction that George was right has been founded not upon academic theory, but upon our own practical experience and observation.

But the *facts* upon which George and so many of his followers have based their beliefs in this regard have been disputed even by economists who pay tribute to George's high intellect and integrity. A well known and friendly professor recently wrote a letter which is, in substance, as follows:

He declares he has yet to see a convincing demonstration that the effects of land speculation have been such as to make business conditions fluctuating instead of relatively constant. Conceding that land speculation might be a very great evil, he contends that there is no *definite evidence* that its effects account for the undulations of business. Conceding that it *may* account for them, he asserts that *there is nothing by way of evidence* except a bare assertion, that rent increases until somehow and somewhere it checks production, which in turn checks demand. The professor says that George's argument *requires evidence* that the speculative rise in rent really causes people to stop producing goods.

Now we would like to give this eminent professor, who is our friend, the "convincing evidence" which he has never seen. Can you help us to do it out of your observation and experience in your part of the country?

What we want is not any mere repetition of assertion, but concrete

*evidence*, such as the professor as a scientific man might rely upon. The operation of the factors of land monopoly and speculation in the rural regions, as well as in urban territory, should be taken into view wherever the observer or commentator may support his conclusion by references to established facts that may be verified in common knowledge, public records or otherwise.

Among other aspects of the inquiry might be the allegation, where supported by evidence, as to the extent to which the failure of bank mortgage companies, real estate companies, insurance companies, and the ramifications of such failures may be traced to land monopoly and land speculation. The influences of these factors upon the public credit of municipalities in many parts of the country should not be excluded from any competent fact-finding survey in your territory.

The Robert Schalkenbach Foundation in its endeavor to get the material together for subsequent examination, analysis and possible publication in adequate form, earnestly invites you to help us to locate the evidence that will sustain our theory.

Most of us, I believe, have no doubt that George was right. Will you help us to prove it? If you will, please write, giving us the verifiable evidence so far as it applies to conditions in your state.

CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY, President

## But We Must First Clear the Way

SINGLE TAXERS are distinctly divided into two schools. The All-at-Oncers represented by the *Commonweal* and its editor W. Graham Peace of London, and the other group represented by the *Land and Liberty* of London, formerly edited by John Paul, and since his recent death by A. W. Madsen.

Of this school we have in this country, LAND AND FREEDOM edited by Joseph Dana Miller, and several active organizations, among the number the Henry George Foundation of Pittsburgh, George E. Evans, President, and the Manhattan Single Tax Club with Charles H. Ingalls, President.

I have been writing thus far only as to the technique of reform, but as to FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES there are now among the social reformers two distinctly different philosophies. Nearly all the Single Taxers and many Municipal Ownership reformers adhere to most of the principles of what has been called the Manchester School of Economics, as taught by Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill. On many respects Henry George belongs to this school of economics. One of their most significant doctrines is the LAISSEZ-FAIRE or Individualism Alone doctrine. Henry George believed in it and contended that harmony of interest, and general public welfare would accompany free competition. Alexander Pope caught the idea when he said "The state of nature was the reign of God."

CHESTER C. PLATT in Batavia, (N.Y.) *Times*

AT present, in this vicinity the best part of the landscape is not private property; the landscape is not owned. But possibly the day will come when . . . fences shall be multiplied and man-traps and other engines invented to confine men to the public road, and walking over the surface of God's earth shall be construed to mean trespassing on some gentleman's grounds.—THOREAU.

WHAT has God given to one that He has not given to another? Has the common Father of all created out some of His children? You who claim the exclusive enjoyment of His gifts, show the testament which disinherits your brother.—ABBE LAMENNAIS.



## A Great Convention

SEPTEMBER 25, 26, 27

THE Eighth Annual Convention of the Henry George Congress at Chicago was a great success both in point of numbers and enthusiasm. The attendance was larger than that of any previous convention of the Henry George Foundation. And those who attended seemed to feel that great events were looming, that while the clouds were darkest, while Washington is groping in doubt and perplexity, the rising tide of thought everywhere will soon ventuate in a realization of the truth when the vast experimentation in government socialism breaks down and its utter futility becomes apparent. The feeling was general that our opportunity is now, and that feeling was voiced by a number of the speakers.

A few of the "high lights" of the convention may be briefly noted. Clarence Darrow was in fine fettle as he addressed a great audience at the public meeting in the auditorium, every seat being filled. It was a treat to hear him as he pounded away at the economic programme being carried out at Washington, its pig-killing, its plowing under and its monstrous wealth-destruction. One needs not wonder at his power over juries, the success of which has made him the best known lawyer in the United States. Here he tore into the weak defences of the National Recovery Act, and if its absurdities are not already disclosed to the disillusioned public this speech of the great advocate would be all that is required to convince them.

Among other high lights should be mentioned the great speech of Hon. M. H. Harrison, State Senator from Cleveland, O., the fine address of Hon. Abe D. Waldauer, the speeches of Will Atkinson and J. P. Kohler. Nor must we neglect to name Victor A. Rule with his stereoptican views of Chicago, contrasting its great buildings and its slum areas, all of his talk being punctuated with keen, incisive humor and scores of pointed lessons for those who could learn how our crazy taxation system works.

The name of Anna George de Mille must not be omitted from those among the speakers worth hearing. Personality counted here in what she said, but more perhaps in the way she said it.

It was a great pleasure to meet a number whom we have known only by correspondence. Here was W. A. Warren, now living at Beaver Falls, Pa., and recently returned from Russia where he had served for a number of years as an engineer under the Soviet government.

But perhaps we found our chief delight in the delegation of twelve husky farmers from Milk River, Alberta, a near-Single Tax town, of which we hope to give some future account.

The day following the adjournment of the convention was Henry George Day at the World's Fair grounds, and there was both an afternoon and evening session for the public, addresses being given by Will Atkinson, George I. Strachan, J. P. Kohler, Clayton J. Ewing, Thomas

Rhodus and others. These meetings were held at the "Illinois Host House."

Chicago has no press. There are two morning papers, but these are published for the satisfaction, so far as we can see, of the official staff and the lovers of crime news. These are the *Chicago Tribune*, once a free trade or low tariff Republican paper of high character, the other a Hearst-paper of the usual sort. When the last Henry George Congress was held in Chicago we got very little publicity, and the same was true this time. Some day Chicago will have a newspaper worthy of the greatest of Western cities. But not yet.

A word should be said of the Medinah Club and its management. Nothing was left undone to facilitate the proceedings of the convention and to secure the comfort and convenience of the members who were guests at the hotel. We regret that the usual thanks to the management were omitted from the resolutions presented, but that was due wholly to forgetfulness, and so they are given here on behalf of all those who attended.

The convention was called to order on Monday morning by Clayton J. Ewing, chairman of the convention committee, who stated the object and value of these conventions. On the question of resolutions he stated that if a resolution had the support of ninety-five per cent of the delegates it should be submitted, but if it provoked serious opposition of a minority should not be presented for a vote of the conference. In this way a spirit of harmony was established that prevailed throughout.

Chairman Ewing reviewed the Single Tax convention of forty years ago—1893. He said we have had our Moses; we are looking now for a Joshua. Every argument has been presented; the country has arrived at a crisis, and out of this conference it was hoped a spirit would go forth that would resolve for the world its difficulties and establish economic justice.

Another speaker at the opening session was Mr. Wiley Wright Mills, former member of the Chicago city council, who delivered the address of welcome, to which Mr. George Evans, president of the Henry George Foundation, responded, speaking in a hopeful vein.

P. R. Williams, secretary of the Foundation, reviewed the political situation in Pittsburgh where William N. McNair is the Democratic candidate for Mayor. He said that twenty years ago Pittsburgh adopted the graded tax law, and Mayor McNair if elected would be influential in aiding to extend that system. Francis Maguire, assistant secretary of the Foundation, now read his report and it was fine to hear this splendid veteran of the cause express his faith in its early triumph.

Mr. Miller moved the appointment of a committee on resolutions.

A telegram was read announcing the death of Robert C. Macauley on his way to the Chicago convention. On motion of Mr. Williams the convention arose and paid a silent tribute to the memory of our departed friend. The



news had a depressing effect on the session, for Mr. Macauley had been, we believe, an attendant at every one of the congresses from the beginning.

The luncheon of the first day was presided over by Mr. Otto Cullman, who introduced Mr. McNair. The Democratic candidate for Mayor of Pittsburgh said that the contest for political life was not, as he saw it, between two parties but between two schools of thought. He talked interestingly of Spinoza and Franklin. He said Henry George went to the legislature of Pennsylvania and told them that taxes on machinery and stock should be abolished. They saw no objection, so now if a man buys a piece of machinery in Pittsburgh we don't tax him for it. Mr. McNair said his task in Pennsylvania would be to teach the people to get rid of more taxes. His speech was enlivened by playful humor and sound economic sense, but failed to convince Mr. Reiter of Rochester, Minn., who took issue with him. Messrs. Ellert, Waldauer and Kohler endeavored to show Mr. Reiter where he was wrong, for he seemed to believe that the farmer needs other remedies for his ills. This session was interesting since it was the first opportunity to listen to one of the delegates from Milk River, Alberta, J. B. Ellert.

In the afternoon of this day Will Atkinson took the platform, his subject being "Abolish All Taxes." He told of his success in embodying "Progress and Poverty" in the *Congressional Record*. Mr. Atkinson reviewed the story of Dr. McGlynn's excommunication, the Pope's Encyclical, and the answer to the Pope, which George undertook, and for which task he laid aside his work on the "Science of Political Economy." The Condition of Labor, he said, is as fine a piece of English as exists in the language.

Chairman Ewing now announced the meetings at the World's Fair grounds on Thursday, and Mr. Waldauer read the message from the special conference number of the *Collierville Herald*. Emil Jorgensen read a paper by Prof. Harry Gunnison Brown. On motion of Judge Pittman the discussion of Prof. Brown's paper was postponed in order to hear from others on the programme. Mrs. de Mille then addressed the conference, and Dr. Mark Millikin read a remarkable paper which appears elsewhere in this issue.

In the evening of this day Clarence Darrow spoke. In inimitable phrase he scored the Industrial Recovery Act. There was humor and wit in what he said and also a profound sympathy. He was bitter in his invective against the plan of destroying hogs and wheat when people are hungry. Laughter and applause greeted him throughout, and Henry H. Hardinge's talk that followed was no less interesting.

At the opening session on Tuesday John Lawrence Monroe spoke. He read a letter from a German emigrant of many years ago, in which the writer told how every one could find work for himself in America and where good land could be bought for from five to ten dollars an acre.

Then followed a general discussion of Prof. Brown's paper, the speakers being limited to three minutes. Those taking part in the discussion were Messrs. Platt, Waldauer, Hardinge, Rule, Ewing, Allan Thompson, Watson, Atkinson and others.

The reading of Mr. Benjamin Burger's paper by Mr. Rule was listened to with interest. Mr. Rule is a practised elocutionist and it was a treat to listen to him.

Tuesday's luncheon was devoted to a board meeting. On motion of Mr. Miller Mrs. Benjamin Burger was elected to the advisory board, and other vacancies were filled.

At the afternoon session Miss Charlotte O. Schetter presided, and the speakers were Alan Thompson and Thomas Rhodus. A member present asked why we had not made greater progress and Miss Schetter replied that that was what we had convened to find out. Mr. Waldauer offered to explain the reason, and instanced the fact that Christianity has been preached for nearly two thousand years and there were probably fewer Christians in the world than ever.

Mr. Henry L. Tideman, answering a question of his own propounding as to why young people do not join the movement, said the answer is they do, and he then talked of the "youth movement" which has been started by forty young people in Chicago. This movement was destined to spread.

The reading of a paper from Charles H. Ingersoll and the recitation of an original poem by Mr. Hensen concluded the session.

The banquet held on the evening of this day was notable for the high character of the speeches. Addresses were made by Anna George de Mille, Hon. Abe D. Waldauer, Frank Stephens, Henry Hardinge, Clayton J. Ewing, and last but not least, Hon. M. C. Harrison, State Senator from Cleveland, whom right here we nominate for Governor of Ohio.

A handsome silver bracelet was presented to Mrs. de Mille by Mr. Fred J. Bahni, of Peoria, the few words of presentation being made by Henry Hardinge.

Mr. Waldauer told how he became a Single Taxer. That prominent event in the history of our movement occurred when he was thirteen years old. His teacher told him to write something about each of a list of prominent Americans named. One was Henry George. So young Waldauer went to the proprietor of a drug store he knew and asked his friend to tell him who Henry George was. He was told that Henry George was a cigar man. His teacher congratulated him. He then went to a very learned lady who told him that Henry George was the savior of mankind. She told him he had written a book called "Progress and Poverty." She had no copy to lend him, but she gave him Elbert Hubbard's "Little Journeys," and he became interested. He got all the George books and shortly afterwards made his first Single Tax speech.

Mr. Waldauer, speaking of the enclaves and especially



of Collierville, said that despite the foolish things that are being done man was still a land animal. Men are not capable of abstract reasoning and most men have the minds of children of twelve. What they need is a working model and the enclave supplies it. He then analyzed the Collierville act and detailed something of its history. With this our readers are familiar.

On Wednesday morning Hon. Abe D. Waldauer presided and Mr. Green of Hannibal, Mo., spoke on "The Light that Must Not Fail."

Mr. J. P. Kohler told of his first visit to Henry George and his work in the campaign of 1886. There was a debate arranged between Theodore Roosevelt and Mr. Kohler but Teddy failed to show up, so Mr. Kohler was compelled to go it alone.

Young Kohler at this time was a clerk in a bank, but he threw himself into the campaign, speaking night after night. His fellow clerks warned him of the consequences. The vice-president of the bank was George F. Baker who was gathering votes for Abram S. Hewitt, the Democratic candidate for Mayor against Henry George. Mr. Kohler had spoken for Henry George the night before as he now stepped into the office. On taking his seat at his desk he was notified that Mr. Baker wanted to see him. With fear and trepidation he crossed the floor to meet the vice-president.

"I hear you are interested in the labor party and the candidacy of Henry George," said Mr. Baker. Young Kohler expected nothing less than instant discharge. But Mr. Baker continued: "When I raised salaries last week I overlooked you," he said. "Now I want to say that if you do your work efficiently as you have done there is no complaint. Go back to your work."

Mr. Kohler explained that Mr. Baker was a big hearted Republican who had himself worked as a grocery clerk. It was interesting to note that a little later Mr. Baker was active in agitating for the removal of the personal property tax.

Other speakers following Mr. Kohler were E. B. Gaston and Fiske Warren. At the noon luncheon of this day Mr. Miller spoke on the Henry George School of Social Science. His talk on the School appears on another page. Before adverting to the School Mr. Miller talked of the activities being carried on in New York, the work of Charles H. Ingersoll, the Manhattan Single Tax Club and the Schalkenbach Foundation.

He said that there seemed to be an opinion current that the Foundation had unlimited money. He wished to correct this impression. As a matter of fact it had but \$7,000 a year, and with these meagre resources had accomplished a wonderful work. On the Foundation has devolved the publication of Henry George's works which, astounding as it may seem, had passed out of print when the Schalkenbach Foundation took charge seven years ago. No one seemed willing to undertake the publication of a book written fifty years ago for which there

was little demand. During the years of its existence the Foundation has published and distributed over 40,000 of Henry George's books, 250,000 pamphlets and over 700,000 circulars and leaflets. This work officially presided over by Hon. Charles O'Connor Hennessy seems quite wonderful. Credit should also be given for the very efficient work of the secretary, Miss Antoinette Kaufmann, who is known to many of those present through correspondence.

The diners now listened to the speakers of the Milk River delegation, Messrs. Pease, Ellert and Moir.

The afternoon session listened to A. W. Falvey of Omaha, who spoke on organization. He was appointed chairman of a committee to formulate plans for organization in cities and states.

The evening session concluding the three days conference was held in the auditorium and was well attended. Geo. M. Strachan presided. Among the speakers were J. Edward Jones, Victor A. Rule and Western Starr. Mr. Rule's address is mentioned elsewhere.

Those present seemed loath to leave and lingered until midnight for handshakings and farewells. Thus closed what in many ways was the greatest convention ever held in the history of the movement.

## Resolutions Adopted by The Henry George Congress

THE production of wealth is purely a mechanical process and is governed by natural laws. We have carefully adjusted all our processes to these natural laws, the study of which and their application are universal, as a result. This generation has solved the problem of production to an extent undreamed of by our fathers.

The distribution of wealth is a moral problem and answers the question who ought to have it. Here we have ignored the natural laws of distribution and social justice and by special privileges, unjust taxation and monopoly of the earth, we have created a class of multimillionaires and deprived millions of the chance to earn a living. A society so constructed is doomed and even now is tottering; and only by a return to justice can it be saved.

Submitted by A. C. Thompson.

### COLLIERVILLE

Resolved, that the Henry George Foundation express its appreciation of the action of the Board of Mayor and Aldermen of Collierville, Tenn., in securing the adoption of the amendment to the Charter of Collierville, giving it authority to operate a municipal enclave of economic rent; and to the Legislature of Tennessee and the Governor for approving the law. This legislation will go far to place Tennessee in the forefront of progressive States.

### COLLIERVILLE 2

Whereas, the Governor and the Legislature of the State of Tennessee have made it possible for the town of Collierville to become a Single Tax enclave,

Therefore be it resolved, that the members of the Henry George Foundation now in session in Chicago endorse their action and urge them to extend such a plan so as to include the whole State.

Submitted by Mark Millikin.



## ON INDUSTRIAL LIBERTY

In this serious time of planning and effort for liberty, security, and advancement, we reaffirm our faith in the rights of the individual to self-employment and self-development and self-regulation on the land resources, whether rural or urban.

We favor a more localized exercise of political power and that the states, counties and municipalities shall more fully exercise and develop their powers of settling intelligently their local problems of a public character, rather than of surrendering these powers to a more distant and centralized authority.

We favor the fullest development of *voluntary* cooperation in productive effort and cultural accomplishment.

We protest against the crushing burden of taxation now resting with destructive force upon the home owners, farmers, manufacturers, business men, and laboring men; in short upon all forms of productive enterprise.

We protest against these intolerable tax burdens now pressing down with such force upon all branches of legitimate industry—both upon producer and consumer.

We favor a more truly liberal and enlightened policy whereby there shall be in this nation a far greater freedom and opportunity to produce wealth; and an opportunity for those who so produce it to enjoy the fruits of their production—and an untrammelled opportunity to exchange. These elements of freedom are vital and essential (as we view it) to a preservation of our civilization or to any further desirable extension or development of the same.

We favor a far greater production of wealth than we have ever before known and an equitable arrangement whereby this enhanced wealth may be more broadly enjoyed among the producers.

## FOR RELIEF OF LABOR

The site values which naturally attach to land because of population and social improvements differ radically from values attaching to products of labor, both in being apart from individual labor and apart from control of the natural laws of distribution (supply and demand and free competition) which apply to indefinitely producible products of labor.

That the natural distribution of these socially-created site values can be effected only by using them for society purposes; and that the natural and simple way of accomplishing this is by governmental collection of these values in lieu of all taxes on products of labor.

That governmental collection of these socially-created site values, will not only provide for this equitable distribution socially and for the relief of labor, industry, and thrift from unwarranted burdens, but *will remove the basic cause of ruinous speculation* by cutting off a speculative investment in land values which is now supported by an "unearned increment" capitalization approximately equal to that of all labor-created wealth.

Submitted by Walter G. Stewart.

## ON ROBERT C. MACAULEY

Whereas, Robert C. Macauley, editor of the *Pennsylvania Commonwealth*, died on his way to this Congress, to continue his powerful, brilliant and effective work to advance the principles of Henry George.

Now be it resolved, by the Henry George Congress; that we have lost a faithful soldier for the common good, the poor, the lowly, the disinherited of all the earth have lost a powerful friend; he has passed on to hear, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant! Enter thou into the joys of the Lord!" To best honor his memory (to use Lincoln's language) "it is for us the living, to vow increased devotion to the cause for which he gave the last full measure of devotion." It is for us to try to so increase our efforts that his loss may not be too severely felt.

Submitted by Will Atkinson.

## ANDORRA

Resolved, if the complications between the Republics of France

and Andorra are to involve the extinction of the only country in the world which has full free trade it will be a deplorable loss to mankind.

Submitted by Fiske Warren.

## DEATH OF LUCY R. SWANTON

Resolved, that this Congress express its recognition of the loss which our cause has sustained in the untimely death of Mrs. Lucy R. Swanton, who for so many years was an active, inspired and devoted worker in the Women's Single Tax Club of Washington, D. C.

Submitted by Gertrude E. Mackenzie, Charlotte O. Schetter.

## THANKS TO CHICAGO S. T. CLUB

The Eighth Annual Henry George Congress expresses its appreciation of the services of the Chicago Single Tax League in its efforts to make this Congress a great success.

Submitted by Katherine E. Bradley.

## Collierville Sends Greetings!

By TACITUS, JR.

COLLIERVILLE, Tenn., is a small town, with a population of one thousand, twenty-five miles southeast of Memphis. Though small in population, Collierville is great in potentialities. And Collierville sends her greetings to the followers of the Prophet of San Francisco, to the delegates to the Henry George Congress in Chicago.

Collierville is launching a municipal experiment which is destined to attract world-wide attention. It launches the municipal enclave! It is the first town in America to try it.

Collierville is embracing the philosophy of Henry George, and will seek to put his principles into practice, as nearly as conformable with existing law, and with the ability and capacity of her citizens to appreciate and approve his doctrine.

Therein, Collierville takes the lead in the Movement of America to the Stars!

These are days of uncertainty in the world. Governmental expedients and experiments are being tried that are difficult of execution, complex in their mechanism, and bewildering in their implications.

Collierville has chosen the simple way.

It recognizes:

That man is dependent upon land;

That when land is free, men are free;

That socially created values should be taken for social purposes;

That privately created values should be untouched by government, until publicly created values are first absorbed by taxation.

But the constitution of Tennessee requires that all property, real, personal and mixed, be taxed. Hence Collierville resorted to the device of the enclave.

April 21, 1933, will some day be universally recognized as an historic occasion. For on this date Governor Hill McAllister, of Tennessee, signed a law amending the charter of Collierville, and giving it authority to operate an enclave of economic ground rent.

Shortly the town will begin acquiring land. Its Board



of Mayor and Aldermen will rent that land—for economic ground rent. Improvements on enclavial land will be exempt from municipal taxation. Land values will be absorbed for public use. The Single Tax will be applied, municipally, to the area owned by the enclave.

Collierville urges cities in America and the world to study her plans and aspirations, to follow her example.

Collierville asks the followers of the Prophet to "fight the good fight, and keep the faith." What is to be done here can be done throughout the nation.

The way to freedom is not easy. They are free who deserve to be free.

Collierville deserves economic freedom, and means to have it. Collierville faces the future, fearless and unafraid. Collierville invites you to know her aims and aspirations, to share her upbuilding, to help her to hold aloft the Torch of Economic Truth to a dismayed and darkened world.

Collierville sends greetings to the followers of Henry George! Collierville sends assurance that the better day is dawning!—*Collierville Herald*.

This is from the Henry George issue of the *Collierville Herald*. In the same number appear communications and greetings from Chas. O'Connor Hennessy, Judge A. B. Pittman, Frank Stephens, Lois S. Bejack (just raised to the chancery bench), Fiske Warren, Joseph Dana Miller and others. Hon. P. L. Strong, Mayor of Collierville, who writes; "On behalf of myself and the board of aldermen I wish to extend to the Henry George Congress my heartiest greetings and hope they will be successful in their deliberations."

We are glad to see a communication from Edward J. Meeman, editor of the *Memphis Press Scimitar* of whom we have delightful recollections while in Memphis last year. He does not think the Single Tax is a cure-all, but he says:

"I do think that the Single Taxer's conception of land ownership is scientifically correct and morally right; that the earth belongs to all and any individual or group should be considered to have only the right to use a part of it, paying society 'rent' therefore, rather than to have the right of absolute ownership."

Our congratulations to the *Collierville Herald*!

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM.

**A** TAX on beer is as inexcusable as any other tax on industry. The higher the tax the lower the benefit which labor will get from the restored industry.

**S**AYS a press dispatch: "Even the lost civilization of the Mayas had its real estate boosters." So now we know how this civilization came to be lost.

**T**HE prospective ending of prohibition is notice to rumrunners from Canada that their occupation will soon be gone. But Canada is coming to their rescue with new smuggling opportunities. This is sugar smuggling, into Canada not out of it. The Canadian tariff on sugar has been boosted so high that the price of sugar across the border is twice what it is on this side. So opportunity knocks once more at the door of the prospective ex-liquor smuggler. The smuggler is Nature's remedy for asinine statesmen and their works.

## Address of Anna George deMille at the Henry George Congress

**H**ERE we are—a small group of the advocates of a great truth. We have got together to help one another to impart that truth. We have got to preach it in a form that will be comprehended and accepted. This means that we have got to use as many different tactics as there are minds to be reached. But for our general mode of attack we must find the Greatest Common Denominator that may inspire interest in the majority. It was to make this broad appeal that Henry George on occasions stepped from his study or lecture platform into the political arena.

He knew that he could not carry his deepest subtleties to the masses but he could awaken a vast number of voters and inculcate them with a desire for sound economic advancement and with a surer understanding of and faith in Jeffersonian democracy.

Thus while he spent his last strength in a New York Mayoralty campaign, fighting municipal graft and preaching clean government and honest policies to millions of his fellow citizens, the ink was hardly dry on "The Science of Political Economy" that he was writing.

What our greatest Common Denominator is today I know not. That is for us to decide at this conference that we may go forth with a definite programme. But I do know that in making our *big* campaign we must not ignore the *little ways* of campaigning. A sniper carrying off a general may be more efficient in winning a battle than a "big Bertha" shelling a hundred privates.

The enemy is at our very doors—there is no time to waste in petty differences, in arguments as to what name to use in place of the "Single Tax," or attacking the Socialists or other reformers, who are trying for the same goal as we are—no time for anything but winning new converts to the faith. For now is the appointed time!

People are thinking as they have not thought for decades—we must reach them now while they are groping for understanding and help. It is our supreme opportunity. It means tremendous work, boring, fatiguing work requiring patience and tact. Our enthusiasm must not make us intolerant or didactic. We must not demand that our programme be adopted over night, or even that the *understanding* of it be made over night.

We have got to preach our philosophy while we are advocating the fiscal reform.

Many of us are unconsciously waiting for another Joseph Fels to come and back a highly advertised campaign, or another Tom L. Johnson to carry us into the political arena.

We cannot blame old Single Taxers who have fought



through the years for being weary now—though now is the time for that second wind, and the renewed spirit that leads to victory. And now is the time to train and send forth that spiritual heir, that younger man, to go out with the same old courage and perhaps newer tactics into today's front line trenches.

We come to these conferences and have the joy and inspiration of meeting one another, but how many of us go back to our own circles and *really work*?

We are at a vital point now—civilization is standing with her back against the wall. It is for us who know the way to fight as we have never fought before, and whether we decide at this convention what is the Common Denominator—we can each and all return to our homes with renewed enthusiasm and strength for our own particular solo work. For my part I have joined the League for Political Action. I think Single Taxers have flocked alone too long, that much can be gained and little lost if we trail along with those who are going even part of the way in our direction.

Henry George did not see eye to eye with Grover Cleveland, but he campaigned with him because of his free trade leanings. Henry George did not believe in free silver, but he worked for Bryan because of his Jeffersonian tendencies. But in neither of these campaigns did he cease to preach the full philosophy.

So I wish that in a body we could join the League for Independent Political Action even though we do not approve of all the planks in their platform. We could make ourselves felt, could leaven the lump, could prove that we are again to be reckoned with, that we are a living, vibrant force.

Single Taxers seem always to have no money, and what little they have must be given to keep going the activities already started, our magazines, this foundation, our leagues, and above all that splendid work, the Henry George School. That is more important even than my own particular pet, the Essay Contest, which demands not only money but a sympathetic and understanding professor.

Whenever I get to a place of black despondency and walk the floor weeping because we have no money to carry on, because there is no leader with the flaming personality of a Henry George, I have to re-strengthen myself with the memory of his words that "though defeated and defeated we would still go on." I have to give myself new hope chronicled so many times in his experience where having worked his very hardest he came to a blank wall, when lo, a door had opened!

For us this is a glorious gamble. One of us here in this room may sow the seed that is to grow to a mighty tree.

A great adventure, where one of us today may light the very spark that shall ignite, not the conflagration that will destroy civilization, but a light that shall illumine the world!

## The Road to National Recovery

THOMAS RHODUS AT HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

THE prosperity of this country depends upon the purchasing power of the consumer; and more purchasing power is the need of the great majority. Some say, "Increase wages and you increase purchasing power." But increased wages, unless we adopt the right tax system, will increase the cost of production and increase prices; the high prices will off-set the high wages, as high wages will buy no more at high prices than low wages at low prices; so there is no increase in purchasing power if high wages are off-set by high prices.

To solve this problem, we must follow truth and commonsense, step by step. If the price of human effort is low and the price of things is high, the great mass of consumers will have little purchasing power. It is plain, therefore, that purchasing power depends upon and is distributed through relative prices, and that, to solve this problem, we must know how to increase wages and salaries, and the earnings of every useful business man, without increasing prices of other things.

Now it happens that a simple change from the wrong tax system to the right tax system will change the prices of everything; it will increase the price of human effort; but it will reduce the price of everything else. Under the right tax system there will be only one tax; this tax is therefore called the Single Tax. This one tax will tax land only; all improvements will be exempt. By means of this one tax, the ground rent will be taken for all and for public use; other taxes will then be unnecessary and abolished. This will take taxes out of prices.

The right system will increase wages but it will reduce rent and interest and take taxes out of prices; in this way it will take out of prices more than is put in by the higher wages; and while wages will be higher, the price of everything will be lower.

The right tax system will also make employment available to every idle person by increasing production and consumption of goods and by making access to the natural resources free to capital and labor. This will also increase wages and lower rents. Under the wrong tax system, labor-saving inventions compete with the workers and take the jobs, as machines work cheaper than men. This lessens wages and increases ground rent; but under the right tax system labor-saving inventions will be called wealth-producing inventions and will shorten the hours of work, increase wages, make prices lower and increase the purchasing power of human effort. Under these conditions, with everybody employed and working, the total production of wealth and the total purchasing power of the nation will increase enormously; and, with high wages and low prices, this enormous wealth would be justly distributed and the problem would be solved; prosperity would reach everybody and every business.



This is the great secret of prosperity and of the square deal for everybody in the production and distribution of the wealth that is daily being produced; no one can imagine the far reaching prosperity that will result from the right tax system. "Great Oaks from little acorns grow" and mighty forces may be set in motion by one push of an electric button; and the whole economic system governing employment and the distribution of the wealth that is daily being produced may be revolutionized by such an apparently little insignificant thing as a change from the wrong system to the right system of taxation.

## Henry George School of Social Science

JOSEPH DANA MILLER

AT THE HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

WHILE this Henry George Congress is meeting here in Chicago an event is taking place in New York that more than any other thing that is going on in our movement deserves our attention and that more than any other thing should receive our whole-hearted support.

At this very time that we are meeting here, classes in fundamental economics and social science—classes in the Philosophy of Henry George—are being attended by hundreds of teachers, college students and others who, before they are through with these courses will be earnest, intelligent and effective followers of Henry George. Nor will it be long before ministers of all denominations will be attending these courses. But for the sudden passing on of one important man in the theological world this too would now have been a consummation.

Never in the Henry George movement has such a thing been done. Never in the history of the movement has anything of a permanent nature been attempted that contained the promising possibilities of the Henry George School of Social Science.

To those who know the man, Oscar Geiger, and the spirit behind this school, to those who have witnessed this work and heard the testimony of his students, there are no heights that the school may not reach.

Already the cultural center of the movement, the school is destined to become the source of undreamed numbers of new converts (followers and leaders) from the highest calibre of our citizenry—the teachers and spiritual leaders of the people.

Thus, the dream of one man has become the hope of a movement!

I say the dream of one man, but it was more than a dream. Though a dream at first (and he dreamt that dream many years) it became a conviction, and a faith that had never wavered finally transformed the dream into a reality, the conviction into deeds.

In the midst of depression, of economic insecurity, of unemployment, hard times and consequent deepening poverty this man still saw the light of promise in Truth, in Justice and in the Eternal Rightness of Law and Order. To him the stars in their courses still fight against Sisera.

When he disclosed his purpose to me to start a school and to devote to it his entire time and his remaining allotment of life, I told him he was crazy; that conditions in these hard times were all against him and against the success of such a venture; that nobody had any money, and that those who had it once had now lost it.

Our words had no effect. The more we argued, the more sure he seemed to be of the rightness of his purpose and of the certainty of its success, because, he argued, this is exactly the time when the school is needed most. "Where and from whom, do you expect to get the money for such an ambitious scheme?" I asked him. "I don't know," he replied, "but I do know that there is intent and purpose in Nature, that what we mean to do is in harmony and accord with such intent and purpose, and that as long as we do our part unselfishly, intelligently and persistently, the forces behind creation will do theirs. I know that doors will open; that the way will be shown and that help will come, even if I don't know from where."

Against such faith, I felt there was no arguing and so I offered to do my part. His wife has more than nobly (almost superhumanly) done hers. For besides her housework she does all the secretarial work of the school.

I confess I did not know at the time he spoke what he meant by doors opening and the way being shown, but I confess equally that I do know now and that I have seen the doors open and the way being shown.

He paid the money needed for a meeting place, for printing and mailing notices, for advertisements in college papers and for the first general announcements, out of an all too meagre residue of a life's savings; out of which all has come his own and his wife's upkeep during these two years of work and heroic striving.

Today the Henry George School of Social Science is a state-chartered institution; has its own headquarters; its own classrooms; its own library and reading room; space for office work; large handsome signs on building and doors, and all this in one of the best and most accessible locations in the City of New York.

True this was all made possible by one man "sent from Heaven"—*one of the doors that opened*. He insists on remaining unknown (he is a new convert) but he cannot escape the ineffable happiness of knowing that he helped to show the way.

Seeing all this; indeed being a party to it from the beginning, I have become convinced there is no greater power than faith combined with knowledge of Creative Law and an indefatigable will and persistence to be in harmony with that Law and to do its bidding. This is



the faith; this is the knowledge and this the will and persistence (I once called it audacity) of Oscar Geiger, the founder and director of the Henry George School of Social Science.

It is my firm conviction that we can do no better for our cause than to get behind him in his work and in such manner, and to the utmost extent that we are able, help to lighten his task and insure the success of this greatest of undertakings.

## Science and Taxation

THE method of raising public revenue vitally affects the welfare of every man, woman and child. There is probably nothing that more profoundly affects the well being of humanity since mankind began to live together in settled communities. After centuries of civilization much confusion still exists regarding the best methods of raising public funds for the support of governments.

Let us investigate whether science can aid us in finding a solution of this perplexing problem. Science may be described as the discovery of those invariable sequences, or relations we call natural laws. There is a close relation between business depressions and wrong methods of taxation. The charts or diagrams drawn by statisticians showing the recurring cycles of business depressions, may well be compared to the elaborate systems of cycles and epicycles put out by the learned to explain the phenomena of the heavens, before the acceptance of the Copernican theory, which changed the pseudo science of Astrology to the true science of Astronomy. Are there any natural laws, the discovery of which will change the pseudo science of taxation, to an exact science for raising public revenue? As men gather together in settled communities on the earth, two values appear, one attaching itself to the things men produce, the other to the land upon which they live and work. Production value is governed by the natural laws of supply and demand, which is, that as the supply of goods increases, and the relative demand decreases, prices fall; and as the supply of goods decreases and the relative demand increases prices rise. The value which attaches itself to the land is not in the control of the individual. It is a value that arises out of the fact of his mere being and producing in company with other individuals, and embodies both the expression of man's need for land, and the service that society renders to the individual. This value rises and falls only with the movement and productivity of the population. It is high in thickly settled and industrious communities and low where population is sparse and production poor. The value is governed by the law of rent. By rent, is meant what is paid for the use of land only. The sum paid for the use of a building is interest on capital. "Rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application (of labor) can secure from the least productive land in use." This law, of course, also applies to all natural agencies, such as mines, fisheries, etc. and to sites for stores, factories, etc. Are not these laws therefore, natural laws (the law of supply and demand, and the law of rent?) If they are not, then, there can be no natural laws. If they are natural laws they cannot be disregarded without society meeting the consequences. Business depressions and consequent unemployment, are caused by the people's failure to observe and be guided by these natural laws. The violation of natural laws in the social world, does not remain unpunished even though there may be no constables to enforce them or judges to declare them. In order to trace the relations between business depressions and wrong methods of taxation, let us consider the cause of hard times.

Some writers attribute it to overproduction, that, due to labor saving machinery, and improved methods of production, more goods are produced than formerly, and with fewer workers, and consequently there is a large surplus of labor. Other thinkers claim that over-

production is more apparent than real, and the true cause is underconsumption, and that there can be no overproduction until the wants of all the people are satisfied.

The writer agrees with the latter point of view. The problem, then, is to have the consumption of goods balance their production, or, in other words, to increase the purchasing power of the consumers of goods, which, of course, include the great mass of the people. It is not labor-saving machinery that throws men out of employment, for, except in hard times, and where land is kept out of use through speculation, those displaced by machinery could find other work to do. The tendency of machines is to increase the purchasing power of the people, by lowering the cost of production, to stimulate inventive ability, putting more and more wealth within easier reach of the masses of the people. The theory of taxation most in vogue, is that "taxes should be levied in accordance with the ability to pay." This theory is, in reality, communistic. This theory sounds plausible until it is carefully examined. Few would think of applying this method to any other kind of service. Merchants goods usually have the same price to both rich and poor. Taxes should be levied in accordance with the value of the government service rendered. What then is the measure of this service? The greatest governmental service is in the locations where the population is densest, also that is where the greatest land values are. The best methods, then, of, raising public revenue, which is also in accordance with the natural law, is to tax the rental or site value of land into the public treasury, and to exempt improvements or labor products from taxation, or, at least, the full annual rental value of the bare land should be levied on by the government before other taxes are considered. Let us consider the effect of taxes upon labor products and land separately.

Taxes upon labor products increase their prices, as such taxes can be passed on to the consumers. Taxing houses increase home rents. Taxing mortgages increases the interest the borrower has to pay, and is double taxation. The same is true in taxing bond issues. Taxing stock issues is similar to taxing the deed to a house, as stocks are evidences of the ownership of property, and if the property, is taxed in the first place, that is all the taxes it should pay. On the contrary, taxes upon the bare land value, benefit both the tenant and the landlord where the value of the building and improvements is greater than the land value. By exempting improvements the owner would pay less taxes, and this saving would be passed on to the tenants through the operation of the natural law of supply and demand. On property where the land value is greater than the combined improvements and personality value, the owner would pay more. But on the whole, from approximately sixty to seventy per cent of the owners would save money under the "Single Tax" on bare land, because their improvements are more valuable than their land.

A peculiar result of taxing ground rental value, is, that the capital value or selling price of land would be greatly reduced, thus making vacant land more available for use. It would also greatly relieve unemployment, as it would become unprofitable to hold land idle for speculation. Removing taxes from labor products would reduce their prices, and thus would increase the purchasing power of the people.

The consumption of goods would then tend to balance their production.

The answer to the taxation problem, then, is to collect the revenue provided for the government by the natural law, ground rent, and to remove the other burdensome taxes. The people are being taxed heavily by two groups. First by the land speculators through the private appropriation of most of the ground rents, which is included in the selling price of land, (which is land rent capitalized) and second by the government through taxes upon buildings, machinery and personal property.

The tendency of this policy is to cause periodic business depressions, by taxing business nearly to a standstill. Freedom, Equality and Security are man's estate in the intent and scheme of nature. Freedom of access to land will tend to bring about the reign of peace and



good will among men. Take the rent of land for community purposes, and stop the legalized robbery of the community by the land speculators.

Observe the natural law which is the same as the word of God, and let each take his place at the banquet table the Creator has provided for all.—JOHN T. GIDDINGS.

Copies of this pamphlet may be obtained from the author, John T. Giddings, 50 Cole Street, East Providence, R. I., at five cents a copy, 25 copies for one dollar, or 100 copies for \$3.

## A Fable with A Moral

THE family consisted of Father, Mother, and six boys, the oldest, 16 years, the youngest 10 years.

Parents decided to take a two-weeks vacation, therefore mother stocked the pantry with choice food that the boys favored. She was a good cook and an indulgent mother.

After the parents' departure, the two older boys took inventory of the wonderful culinary display and decided to lock the pantry and take charge of distribution. They reasoned that plain food would answer for the needs of the younger brothers, reserving the choice delicacies for themselves. They therefore apportioned sufficient to the others to avoid reprisals in the direction of a revolution, as the youngsters were strong enough to overpower the two racketeers; but they complacently submitted and the two monopolists ate so much rich food that they suffered in consequence.

Is it not true that these greedy lads emulated the reprehensible universal plan of their predecessors, who, in a big way, have robbed mother nature's pantry of the generous supply she provided for all her children, big and little?

Magnify the racket of those two hypothetical boys sufficiently and we can behold and determine the underlying cause of our present economic troubles. Greed and lack of conscience of the big boys on the one hand, and apathy and ignorance, and lack of courage on the part of the masses (the small boys). Let us cease permitting our thought to be falsely directed to excuses and palliatives and give some intelligent thinking to simple fundamentals that a child can comprehend.

Visualize Mother Nature's pantry, full to overflowing and her children lacking in food, and possibly we can determine a solution other than a resort to Soviet or Socialistic doctrines and remedies. Why not make a gesture in that direction, at least, as an intellectual pastime and prove to ourselves that we are not so dumb that we lack the knowledge as to the source of our material supply. It would be equally consistent to permit the monopoly by a few of the sunshine and fresh air as of the earth provided by the Creator, without the aid or suggestion on our part, and ostensibly for all mankind.—F. J. EDDY.

A TAX upon ground rents would not raise the rent of houses. It would fall altogether upon the owner of the ground-rent, who acts always as a monopolist and exacts the greatest rent which can be got for the use of the ground.—ADAM SMITH, "Wealth of Nations," 1776.

## Work of The Manhattan Single Tax Club

THE club activities in July and August have been volunteer speaking engagements reported, the usual volume of correspondence and mailing of literature, assistance to Mr. Stanley in his outdoor meetings and the delivery of 95 broadcasts.

The club has been favored with many visits from Single Taxers including Bolton Smith, formerly of Memphis and now of this city; Dr. J. H. Dillard of Charlottesville, and Abe Waldauer of Memphis.

The Club assisted by John Lawrence Monroe to entertain Mr. Waldauer as the guest of honor at the National Arts Club as reported elsewhere.

Mr. Ingersoll's Radio Broadcasts have been numerous and interesting. The current schedule is below, from which it will be seen that the stations continue much the same. An important addition is WMCA which is one of the largest independent stations. WOV is also a large station.

### RADIO SCHEDULE (Subject to change)

Monday. WLTH, Brooklyn, N. Y., 2:45 p. m. (1400 k.c.)

Tuesday. WILM, Wilmington, 2:30 p. m. WDAS, Philadelphia, 8:00 p. m., (4:00 p. m. Current Events).

Wednesday. WBNX, N. Y. City, 12:45 p. m., (1350 k.c.); WOV, N. Y. City, 4:15 p. m., (1130 k.c.).

Thursday. WLTH, Brooklyn, 9:45 a. m., (1400 k.c.); WWRL, Woodside, 10:45 p. m., (1500 k.c.).

Friday. WOV, N. Y. City, 11:30 a. m., (1130 k.c.); WMSG, N. Y. City, 3:15 p. m., (1350 k.c.).

Saturday. WHOM, N. Y. City, 11:45 a. m., (1450 k.c.), WMCA, N. Y. City, 4:00 p. m., (570 k.c.); WCDA, N. Y. City, 8:00 p. m., (1400 k.c.).

The totals for each station are as follows:

WILM, 9; WDAS, 9; WHOM, 10; WGCP, 8; WWRL, 18; WMCA, 8; WBNX, 8; WLTH, 9; WCDA, 9; WAAM, 1; WMSG, 6.

The grand total of broadcasts is 95, and the total to date this year is 293.

The new subjects are:

We Do Our Part. Can Radio Fans Understand Economics? Back to the Land. Socialization, but NOT Socialism! Can Wages Be Fixed by Law? How to Make Property Rights SACRED. The World Under New Ownership. Government Takes Over Business. If I Were Dictator. U. S. Running on Half Its Capital. Why Not TRY Democracy? Your Bad Bargain in Government.

Mr. Ingersoll is coming closer to the big current events in his talks, utilizing them to drive home the implications and philosophy of land value taxation. He is also studying closely the elements of attractiveness, entertainment and simplicity. His talk "Can Radio Fans Understand Economics?" is typical of this.

We have mimeographed now six talks and will continue to issue them every week or two. Copies or full sets are available free to club members; to others at five cents each.

We would like to arrange with some one in each city having a radio station to deliver these talks and will be glad to assist in securing the time, technique of delivery, etc.

Mr. Ingersoll is now trying out regular current events of varied subjects with several points in mind: (a) income; (b) possibly greater propaganda value; (c) acceptance by larger stations.

The following paragraphs taken from a number of his talks will give



you an idea of the way in which he gives a clear but not boring talk on the Single Tax.

#### Who Will Defend Capitalism?

And Capitalism includes that horrible thing the "profit motive" that has been made the special shame-spot of the Socialistic depreciation of Capitalism; that human beings should have such a degrading impulse as to make a profit! This has actually come to be the point of denunciation and of defence—or admission, by Capitalism—as an evil thing!

Let us see for a moment: It is necessary for people to live, it is desirable for them to live well, it is thought a good idea for them save, and to have facilities to work with, and to own property: and all this must be upset and reversed in order that theorists and sentimentalists, brain trusts,—that is Socialists—may replace our social order, with a new model! Because none of these things could be done without exercising the profit motive.

#### Can Radio Fans Understand Economics?

The Socialists say that men and machines make wealth and the machines being owned mostly by capitalists get away with most of the produce and leave the men to starve; so their very plausible and simple remedy is to take over the machines, and all capital, and run them by the government, for the profit of all.

But the democratic school of economists, statesmen, and philosophers, (of whom there are none among the Socialists), I have named, make a much stronger appeal to me than Karl Marx, the author of Socialism: and this is their statement of Fact and Theory:—Production—which we will call "making things"—is done by two main factors, land and labor—machines and capital are a subdivision of labor.

#### Buying Our Own Property.

Now, this foolish system, as I have said, could only be practiced by that wonderful animal called man and only by us through a degeneracy of our educational system and of our democracy as reflected in our government. In other words, not one of us, individually, using our native horse sense, in place of false ideas of economics that a poisoned educational system hands us we could not buy and pay for something we already owned: but its easy for us to do it collectively by tolerating an insane taxation system that accomplishes this thing that the simplest mind among us, wouldn't stand for.

#### Can Wages Be Fixed by Law?

This Iron Law of Wages is not so fearsome. It's simple (and it is at the same time essentially the law of rent): let's see how simple it can be put. Man must always use land, to which his labor is applied in making things for himself and other human beings. This makes land important and valuable. The value is expressed in land rent (economic rent) so when labor works, it must go to land and pay this rent, out of its produce or wages. So wages are what labor produces less the land rent.

So, the total land rent in the U. S. A., roundly thirteen and one-half billion dollars, reduces the total wages of labor and wages of capital (or interest) by that much; which is quite enough loss to business and the laboring masses to account for our slump with the millions of unemployed, and our pauperism.

#### Socialization But NOT Socialism!

Democracy and Individualism have taken over our existing public services and a control over the partial ones, as I have scheduled them. So these are in no sense tainted with Socialism—they are not even Socialistic. I want to dwell on this point because there's a lot of confusion in the average mind about it. We think everything governmental is Socialistic and so, we say, as long as we now have so much Socialism, why a little—or even a lot—more, won't hurt us, and this is a very big and very vital mistake.

We have socialized our highways, schools and mails, for example, voluntarily and naturally, without any help from Karl Marx, the author of Socialism, because we found it better and cheaper to operate these services publicly than privately. In fact, we were forced by

our modern conditions of living, especially in great cities, to socialize them.

Lectures given were as follows:

Lectures were given as follows:

Eighty-Sixth Street, (Outdoor), July 14. This was to be an organization meeting and Mr. Stanley collected about 50 names and addresses of people ready to form a club. Mr. Ingersoll's talk was first explaining Single Tax and then briefly considering organization which, however, was not effected due to both their inexperience in such work on the sidewalks; but the event is very significant. There were 200 in this audience and as good an audience as can be averaged anywhere.

Burlington, N. J., Kiwanis Club, Aug. 8. At the Metropolitan Coffee Shop; 12:15; 60 present. Very fine crowd; all the leading men in town, including Mayor Holmes, J. R. Cheeseman, proprietor of *Enterprise*; Secretary Dunn and Mr. Ballinger of Ford Motor Co. Mr. Ingersoll was there early and made a number of acquaintances and got the statistics for the town which he used effectively in his talk which was entirely original and informal. Effective in getting complete interest and very fine quiz of three quarters of an hour after talk:

Arden, Delaware, Henry George Anniversary Meeting, Sept. 3, 3:30 p. m. Harry Hetzel, chairman, introduced him with a 15 minute talk. Mr. Ingersoll talked a half hour. Then Henry George 3d, gave a half hour on the moral side which was very fine. And then young Ross recited Chapter XIV of "Progress and Poverty" on Liberty and then two hours of scrapping in which Mr. Ingersoll answered a good many questions. About 100 present; many old timers.

On Sept. 27, he had an evening engagement in Wellesley to speak before the Kiwanis Club. Arranged by Mr. Wentworth.

A luncheon engagement in Providence before Rhode Island Life Underwriters. Arranged by Dr. F. Mason Padelford.

An evening meeting of the Fall River Real Estate Owners at 8:00 p. m. This was arranged by Mr. Thomas Ashton.

## Attendance Prizes go to the Henry George School

THE first prize of \$10.00 for attendance at the Henry George Congress, (distance travelled) offered by Clayton J. Ewing, was won by the Massachusetts's delegation numbering seven who on their way home consulted together and resolved unanimously to give it to the Henry George School of Social Science at New York.

The Memphis delegation won second prize of \$5.00 and held a caucus to decide what to do with it. They also decided to give it to the Henry George School. This is an indication of the direction in which the followers of Henry George are looking for the fulfillment of their hopes.

"AN Ancient Remedy for Modern Depressions" is the title of a series of papers by Henry J. Foley running in *The Gaelic American* published in this city. They are admirably written and we shall give further description and extracts from these articles in Nov.-Dec. issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

THOSE who make private property of the gift of God pretend in vain to be innocent. For in thus retaining the subsistence of the poor they are the murderers of those who die every day for want of it.

POPE GREGORY THE GREAT.



## 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, Coral Gables, Fla.	
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.:	New York City:
HENRY HARDINGE.	MAX BERKOWITZ.
WILLIAM H. HOLLY.	B. W. BURGER.
THOMAS A. MYER.	BOLTON HALL.
GEORGE M. STRACHAN.	GEORGE LLOYD.
HENRY L. T. TIDEMAN.	MORRIS VAN VEEN.
J. EDWARD JONES.	

\* \* \*

### NEWS OF THE HENRY GEORGE CLUBS

Boston, Mass. Thirty-three members were enrolled in the Henry George Club of Boston during July and August. The next session of the Massachusetts legislature in January will find a bill introduced recognizing the Single Tax principle if the plans of John R. Nichols, John S. Codman, Francis G. Goodale, and Thomas N. Ashton are carried out. An educational campaign is expected to be conducted throughout the state during the coming months winding up with a state conference next spring. James B. Ellery, formerly of Erie, Pa., and now of Annisquam, Mass., plans to organize a club in the Gloucester district, while the Single Tax group in Fall River, Mass., under the leadership of Dr. F. M. Padelford, Clinton Padelford, and Thomas N. Ashton are building up a strong sentiment in this vicinity.

Kansas, City, Mo. The Henry George Club of Kansas City, James C. Fuller, secretary, was one of several Single Tax organizations throughout the country to celebrate Henry George's birthday, September 2. A

dinner was held at Engleman's Cafeteria with Charles S. Owsley chairman.

Grand Rapids, Mich. On Aug. 15 the Henry George Club of Grand Rapids adopted a constitution and elected officers and the board of directors. Mr. Harry C. White is president; Dr. J. A. Vanderbosch, vice-president; Mr. Harry Christensen, treasurer; and Mr. M. Herman Frederich, secretary. The following constitute the board of directors: Harry C. White, Dr. Frank C. Jarvis, Dr. J. A. Vanderbosch, Rev. James A. Hailwood, Dr. John F. Cardwell, Harman M. Timmer, W. E. Gibson, James S. Hicks, Dr. S. D. Swantek, Harry Christensen, and M. H. Friedrich. A campaign for membership is already under way. Classes in the economic philosophy programme of Henry George are soon to be arranged.

Seattle, Wash. The Henry George Economic League of Washington, organized by State Senator Morrow, Eugene Way, and A. A. Booth, meets every week with an average attendance of twenty-five to thirty.

Omaha, Neb. In a recent circular letter of the Henry George Club of Omaha, A. W. Falvey, secretary, a rousing call for action is made. "If you do love your country," it reads, "you must accept the challenge and fight, immediately, without urging, long and hard, without stint or favor, to promote the economics of Henry George RIGHT NOW, pledging your lives and your fortunes if necessary. . . . We must organize, ORGANIZE, ORGANIZE!!! with full speed develop leaders, back them up, and then fight like Trojans, to save our political institutions and American ideals."

Mr. Claude L. Watson addressed the Lockport, Ill., Lions Club, June 10, on "The Single Tax and the Present Crisis." This invitation came directly from the Lions International Headquarters in Chicago.

Between July 12 and Sept. 25, John Lawrence Monroe completed his Eastern trip, organizing and interviewing, principally in Boston and New York City with brief visits in Fall River and Springfield, Mass., Troy, N. Y., Philadelphia, Wilmington, Baltimore and Washington, D. C.

## Work of Philip Stanley

OUTDOOR meetings are held daily at Borough Hall, Brooklyn, and evenings 95th Street, 86th Street and 79th Street and Broadway, also 86th Street and Lexington Avenue and Bay Ridge, Brooklyn. All meetings are well attended. Audiences are very responsive in accepting the message of Henry George as the science and solution of problems confronting humanity. Also very eager for literature on Henry George, lack of which is quite a handicap to satisfy the demand.

Will appreciate consignment of all kinds of literature and pamphlets sent to Philip Stanley, care of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, 1182 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Cooperation is acknowledged to Charles H. Ingersoll,



Joseph Dana Miller, Morris Van Veen, Miss Kauffman (Robert Schalkenbach Foundation), Oscar Geiger, F. W. Maguire, and Bolton Hall.

## The Economists' Cinderella, Laissez-Faire

DR. MARK MILLIKIN AT  
HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

THOSE of us whose formative influences go back to the '80 and '90s must feel surprised and perhaps hurt at the criticism from the socio-economists against the system known as laissez-faire. We were brought up to believe that a let-alone policy in speech, religion, immigration, commerce and politics was the only tenable one. We of that time were the most advanced believers and preceptors of natural law that the world had known.

It may be superfluous to expound a bit on natural law to an audience once steeped in the philosophy of Herbert Spencer. And it may be even more needless when one realizes the large per cent of "takes" after an inoculation of Spencerian doctrine. Yet it is doubtful if a good dose of the first edition of Social Statics would find congenial soil in the brain of the average twentieth century citizen. A soil that has been and is being assiduously broken up by the apostates of freedom is no place to plant an acorn. It is the object of this paper to show the younger generation that the principle of laissez-faire is the Cinderella of present day sociology. You well know the story: She was happy until her step-sisters came on the scene. They tried to make a menial of her, and, of course, treated her in a tyrannous way. The one good thing about tyranny is that it generally precedes democracy. So it was in the case of Cinderella. She went to the ball, and, as most of you have terpsichorean memories know, a functioning ballroom is the very apotheosis of laissez-faire. She is good material for a fairy tale parable.

Students of law have separated it into three groups, known as moral, positive and natural. The commandment enjoining us not to steal is a good example of the first, inasmuch as it promotes the interest of the individual and society.

The law, now in extremis, which says thou shalt not crook thine elbow nor put thy foot upon a rail is a good example to be found in the positive group. Sumptuary laws, with or without embellishments, come under this category.

The story of natural law, dealing with those laws which are universal rules of conduct, and which are discovered by reason, is really the story of social philosophy. From antiquity there have always been men who have boldly declared that natural law based on the nature of things was superior to the positive law of the state. Heraclitus, living about 460 B. C., who was fond of speculating on the origin of law, concluded that the laws which were right

were those which were founded on the nature of things, not because they were commanded. This idea was also held by the Sophists, who comprehended the variability of positive laws, declaring that they were made by rulers for their own advantage.

The Stoics came on the scene about the time that the Greek states were breaking up and being taken over by larger political bodies. This tended to obliterate the distinction between the Greeks with their conceited notions about themselves and the persons whom they contemptuously designated "barbarians." This event gave a great impetus to the dissemination of those ideas embraced in the term natural law. Ziegler, in his work entitled, "The Ethics of The Greek and Romans," says something that might be appropriately emblazoned in every legislative hall: "The place of the particular laws of individual states is taken by the general law of the world; the place of members of a nation or city by the human race; the place of native land or city by the entire world."

Seneca and Cicero accepted the doctrine of the Stoics, the former teaching the brotherhood of man, even including slaves. Ulpian, not only accepted the theory of natural law, but went further than the carnivorous Single Taxers here assembled by extending it to all living creatures declaring that they have a common ownership of the elements. Out of the dialectics of the time came a belief in natural justice, natural reason, and natural right. Roman jurists, like the signers of the Declaration of Independence, many of whom were slave holders, antedated our precious document by declaring that from the beginning all men are born free. The Stoics taught that if positive law was contrary to natural law the former should not be obeyed. Many Stoics with an incongruous hilarity, are effectuating this principle by their repeal votes from Portland, Maine to Portland, Oregon. Then as now, the despotism of the state interfered with individual liberty.

The barbarous Germans brought down to Rome a doctrine unknown to the latter and forgotten by the former's present-day descendants. It was a belief in individual liberty, found now only in the prisons of these lands. Like the editors of our Single Tax magazines they regarded the payment of taxes as a sign of serfdom. The Greek and Roman idea was of the sovereignty of the state. The early idea of the Germans was of individual freedom. Now comes feudalism, the product of protest against central authority. The lords were very individualistic, but the serfs on their lands not at all. England gained a lap in the long struggle towards liberty by abolishing serfdom and giving to the lower classes some rights not enjoyed on the continent. At about this time there was a revival of the Roman idea of the power of kings and of Roman law, the latter of which the romance countries adopted.

In the main it may be said that in England the lords and the lower classes were arrayed against the king; in France the king and lower classes against the lords. It



is well to remember in times like these that at no time and nowhere did the idea of natural law die out. Perhaps the one philosophy which most contributed to this was the ever enlarging Christianity. Such oft-quoted statements as "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's," and Peter's statement, "We ought to obey God rather than men," sounded as challenges to the old regime. Thomas Aquinas, (1225-1274) who was perhaps the greatest teacher of his time, concludes that no government can command what is contrary to Natural Law without becoming tyrannical. However, he spoils this by his belief in the infallibility of the pope.

While Christianity may have contributed to the idea of individual liberty, there are many instances in which the inconsistency as exemplified in the teachings of Thomas Aquinas were the means of enslaving the citizen of the middle ages and later.

The leaders of the Reformation attacked the idea of authority that culminated in the pope. They substituted the Bible, which, because it needed interpretation, gave rise to many protestant sects. If there was to be protestantism, toleration followed as a corollary. Once admit that an individual is entitled to freedom of conscience, the way is not far to an acknowledgement of rights in other fields of human endeavor. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Melancthon, Luther, Hooker, Gentilis, Selden, Milton, Hobbes, Spinoza, Montaigne, Bossuet, Fenelon and Locke added dignity and importance to the idea of natural law. The essence of natural law is that there is an essential justice independent of race or creed. Citizens *ought* to be able to enjoy their natural rights. These rights might be denied them in any state, indicating that the state had become tyrannical. These apostles of freedom do not deny that the sovereignty of the state is unlimited. But they ask should it be so in law, positive law? And they answer by declaring that the state is morally bound to observe natural rights.

Skipping the contributions to and elaborations of, old ideas concerning rights made by the English writers, let us turn to something more modern, namely the Declaration of Independence. The members of the French Constitutional Assembly often alluded to the American precedent as a New World creation. This is nothing to marvel at, for our soil had been liberally sown by libertarian ideas since the time of the Pilgrims. It was similar to the increase of rabbits in Australia—a virgin soil, and no natural enemies. We were the first people to draw up a declaration of individual rights with which the state shall not interfere. It is of historic interest to know that we had more to do with the French Declaration of the Rights of Man than had the writings of Rousseau. Scherger, in his volume, "The Evolution of Modern Liberty," says that "in reality Rousseau's political philosophy, which aimed at securing freedom and equality, was destructive to individual rights." He quotes Rous-

seau who asserts that the individual exchanges "his natural liberty for an unlimited right to all he holds and is able to obtain." Thus it will be seen that Rousseau believed that each individual on entering society surrenders his natural rights completely. In this doctrine he differed from Milton and Locke, who held that the natural rights of the individual were inalienable. Parenthetically it looks as though Rousseau, were he living would feel very comfortable under the wings of "the blue eagle;" and that Milton and Locke, were they in the flesh, would be dangling from the talons of the same *avis*. The French people did not realize until the Reign of Terror, nor even our own countrymen in war days what a tyrant a society can be in which the individuals have surrendered their natural rights. We can say that had the doctrine of natural rights been really believed and practiced there would have been no reigns of terror, no wars, no world-wide distress.

Something has happened to the doctrine of laissez-faire. Prof. Laski thinks that it reached its climax about the year 1870. That was twenty years before our great west was considered settled. In this region, that is, the middle west, there were thousands of people who believed in the Jeffersonian doctrine, that that state was best which governed least. Today there are probably more who believe in laissez-faire in this room than you will find scattered about Chicago. That is because Single Taxers are the very apotheosis of a laissez-faire policy. With the waning belief in this doctrine which tacitly implies scepticism in recognition of the "natural law" of the older economists and social philosophers, we might with propriety make a survey of our beliefs with the idea of putting on a campaign for their vigorous persistence.

It is said that Jean Baptiste Colbert, the French nobleman who lived from 1609 to 1683 approached a manufacturer named Legendre, much in the manner of a protectionist congressman, and asked what he could do in his aid. "Laissez-nous faire," "Let us alone," was the reply. Perhaps Legendre was familiar and sympathetic with the doctrine of Marquis d'Argenson, who antedated Jefferson in his statement that "to govern better, one must govern less." He further says, "Let alone; such ought to be the motto of every public power, since the world is civilized."

A similar thought was expressed by Bentham in 1793: "The general rule is that nothing ought to be done or attempted by government; the motto or watchword of government, on these occasions, ought to be—*Be quiet*." . . . The request which agriculture, manufacturers, and commerce present to governments is as modest and reasonable as that which Diogenes made to Alexander: "Stand out of my sunshine."

In 1850 Archbishop Whately in a little book entitled, "Easy Lessons on Money Matters for the Use of Young People," said: "More harm than good is likely to be done by almost any interference of government with men's



money transactions, whether letting or leasing, or buying and selling of any kind. He further said "that every man should be left free to dispose of his own property, his own time, and strength, and skill, in whatever way he himself may think fit, provided he does no harm to his neighbors." In a humorous comment on this, John Maynard Keynes in his little book, "The End of Laissez-Faire," writes: "In short the dogma had got hold of the educational machine; it had become a copybook maxim. The Political Philosophy, which the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had forged in order to throw down Kings and Prelates, had been made milk for babes, and had literally entered the nursery." Probably Mr. Keynes sets the date 1870 as the climax of the laissez-faire doctrine, because in that year Cairnes, in a lecture on "Political Economy and Laissez-Faire" said: "The maxim of laissez-faire, has no scientific basis whatever, but is at best a mere handy rule of practice." Mr Keynes is, as perhaps most of you are, a capitalist. He says: "For my part, I think Capitalism, wisely managed, can probably be made more efficient for attaining economic ends than any alternative system yet in sight, but that in itself it is in many ways extremely objectionable. . . . In the field of action reformers will not be successful until they can steadily pursue a clear and definite object with their intellects and feelings in tune. There is no party in the world at present which appears to me to be pursuing right aims by right methods." Keynes says, without apparently comprehending the potential power of laissez-faire, "We must aim at separating those services which are *technically social* from those which are *technically individual*." What are technically social services? Surely we would say that the administration of justice, the control of the army and police, the administration of railroads, highways, pipe lines, telephone and telegraph systems, the ownership or control of the money issue, the postal system, and especially the ownership or rental of land, with all that it embraces, such as deposits of coal, oil, gas and water, are things and services that ought to be socialized. Why? *Because they are monopolies.* If the idea is repugnant to allow a monopoly to be in possession of a small group, then the only way to establish peace of mind, and keep our "intellects and feelings in tune," is to socialize monopolies. This is sometimes further than the Single Taxer goes, and it is not so far as the Socialist would take us. What a pity that the intellect of the former and the feelings of the latter cannot, under the aegis of the Depression unite, and destroy forever their catalyst.

On the other hand, what are technically individual services? They are services rendered by the Professions, servants, farmers, merchants, etc., where there is no monopoly. Agriculture, in spite of its extent is not a monopoly; nor is business in general. It is well to have in mind that monopoly implies something of which we may only have one in a given community. A monopoly may be national, state or municipal. It is not my con-

tention that this thing known as the Depression would be much weakened if the federal government took over the railroads, or a municipality one or more public utilities though it is my belief that by so doing we would be much nearer the port of economic security. We would save a little of course, but the main gain would be that we had taken a step towards comprehension of the spheres of the masses on the one hand, that is, the government, and the sphere of the individual on the other.

What I say now, is not a discovery; no, discoveries in political ideas are as rare as discoveries in human anatomy. The common frontier of both is the river Lethe. But I do want to lay emphasis with all the fervor of a discoverer on the Jeffersonian doctrine and its forbears, that the government governs best which governs least. In Jefferson's time there were few monopolies: highways, courts, police. The municipalities had only one, namely, the streets. The opponents of laissez-faire philosophy often cite the simplicity of government then as the inevitable accompaniment of a let-alone policy, and try to show that with the great and increasing number of monopolies laissez-faire has less and less excuse to exist. This has become the prevalent view because of poor analytical ability. What a time we Single Taxers are having to establish the truth of the self-evident proposition, namely, that real estate consists of land only; and that the improvements thereon are quite another thing. So it is with the opponents of laissez-faire. They will not or cannot distinguish between governmental activities in monopolistic and individualistic fields. Nearly every columnist asks and answers his readers if democracy is dead; if it is out of style; if it can survive; if rugged individualism passes out with the coon skin cap. It would be easy to quote from the daily press blithe warblings of our syndicate writers who seem to have as little comprehension of the doctrine of laissez-faire as they have of sun spots. The hoi polloi with their eyes and ears attuned to the moan of dying democracy in Italy, Germany, and Russia, and their noses seeking the aroma of the now mythical chicken in every pot, eat greedily of this propaganda. They, to say the least, distrust capitalism, and they look favorably to a form of government which repudiates the earlier idea of individualism. Laissez-faire, is in their vague Utopia to be succeeded by a planned society. This planning in its most ostensible form consists of destruction of crops, slaughtering of animals before they are ready to be most economically utilized. In the negative planning, land thrown out of use by curtailment of crops is not to be used for crops except for cover or consumption on the specific farm. There is no plan by which the millions of unemployed gain access to this juggernauted land. And by prohibiting the use of fertilizers on fields where curtailed crops grow, the tillers of the soil are compelled to go back to the wasteful methods of agriculture practiced by their grandfathers on virgin soil.

Moreover, these economic nihilists, masked as planners



have tacitly assumed that there is such a thing as the wage fund out of which wages are paid. They have also tacitly lent force to the unemployed's slogan, "soak the rich." They insist on prices and wages changing their respective habits of riding on the elevator and walking on the stairs. Granting that it would be very nice to have both ride on the elevator run by a current supplied by the government, yet prices will always show a nimbleness which can never be attained by wages. The idea that wages are the product of labor seems to have given away to the idea that wages are something snatched from the predatory plutocrats.

This being our holy week when we are kind to columnists and magazine writers with university attachments, I shall abstain from using the author's names in the following quotations. Here is an epitome of our socio-economic exodus by one of them: "A great middle-class nation has turned away, disillusioned, embittered from its tradition of individualism and laissez-faire capitalism."

Another writer says, "In the light of America's past, few phases of the Roosevelt administration are more arresting than the deliberate, determined and cheerful abandonment of laissez-faire." The same writer, who has certainly expressed a truth in this statement, tries to assure us that the plan is all right in the following sentence. "What has happened in the last three months, with seeming dramatic suddenness, is neither the scuttling of democracy nor the surrender to socialism nor the application of fascism, but merely the repudiation of obsolete shibboleths of individualism and laissez-faire and a full-throated assertion of the right and purpose of democratic society to readjust its legal machinery to the demands of a new order."

Going back to Keynes again, for I regard him as one of the world's great experts on finance, he advocates governmental interference and regulation in three fields. The first is governmental control of currency and credit and accumulation of business data with the idea of preventing "many of the greatest evils of our time". . . . unemployment of labor, or the disappointment of reasonable business expectations and of the impairment of efficiency and production." Single Taxers will wonder if it ever occurred to this distinguished writer that governmental control or ownership of natural monopolies would stabilize business and, as a corollary, make it safe.

His second field is that of savings and investment. He thinks that there should be "some coordinated act of intelligent judgment. . . . as to the scale on which it is desirable that the community as a whole should save, the scale on which these savings should go abroad in the form of foreign investments, and whether the present organization of the investment market distributes savings along the most nationally productive channels." Certainly to regulate these activities would be a long step from the laissez-faire ideas of our grandfathers.

His third field in which he wants the government to

interfere is in regulating the size of population. To his credit it should be said that he suggested this before Mussolini and Hitler started their human stock farms. Regulation could go no further.

Consider the philosophy of laissez-faire from the biological standpoint. The higher forms of life are characterized by great individualism. This characteristic, not only accompanies them like a shadow, but is best developed in superior specimens. The slaves, the serfs, the "wage slaves" and the unemployed are examples of low individualism. The government, in its bungling, empirical attempt to afford relief instead of opportunity has reduced whatever rugged individualism we possessed to the ragged variety with its appropriate psychology. The poor are too depressed to start an experiment in laissez-faire; the smug rich have no incentive to try.

From the culturist's view-point there is little to be said for the proposed repudiation of laissez-faire. He knows that the mob writes no poems, paints no pictures, ascends not to the stratosphere nor delves in ocean's depths. As a great German chemist said recently in this city one does not use a kit of tools to open a lock, or turn a screw. One uses as the case demands, a key or a screwdriver.

All through history the golden rule has appeared—sometimes embellished, sometimes negatively expressed. The laissez-faire attitude is perfectly compatible with this. A free translation of the phrase means, let me alone; let me develop. What we need today is not repudiation of laissez-faire, but an amplification of the doctrine until it embraces the masses. It is needless to say to this audience that they have not been let alone; that they have not had a chance to develop. So, like the megalomaniacal town booster, I want a laissez-faire that is bigger and better.

The pseudo-economists are treating laissez-faire much as Cinderella's pseudo-sisters treated her. The latter had imagination. She was happy and kindly disposed. She had the desire of self-expression, and with feminine intuition she selected the democratic ball room as her field. The fairy, representative of the forces of nature, helped her in this ambition. Cinderella, regarded in folk lore as symbolical of the dawn, must be home in time to do the day's work. Her punishment came because she violated this natural law. But her beauty and youth were the means of forgiveness as well as advance to the throne.

Perhaps Uncle Sam in his baby days, when he was pleased to don the great coat of Thomas Jefferson and play democrat, believed in fairies. But since he became a man and put away childish things, he has followed the dangerous game of reducing politics to the Nth power—Nero, Napoleon, Nazi, and Nira.

**I**F a big hullabaloo is the way to cure a depression then President Roosevelt is on the right track, otherwise failure awaits him.



## Robert C. Macauley

IT is a real loss that the movement has sustained in the death of "Bob" Macauley, as he was known to his intimates, for many years editor of the *Pennsylvania Commonwealth* and candidate for President of the United States on the Single Tax ticket in 1920.

He died as chronicled in another page on his way to Chicago. He was on the programme as one of the speakers at the convention, so he died, as for so many years he had lived, in the midst of his work for the cause of which he was so uncompromising an advocate. He had given of the best that was in him though he was impatient at times with what he considered the hesitant steps of many of our leaders.

He was a fluent and effective speaker and a writer of clear, forceful and effective newspaper English. For this his journalistic experience and his early employment in publicity work had admirably fitted him. His paper he modestly called a "sales letter," and he had built up a circulation of over ten thousand. He had worked indefatigably, making two or more trips a year to secure subscriptions. The paper had become an effective instrument of propaganda. How really effective it was may be gathered from the thousands of letters received during the years of publication from those who were not Single Taxers but were attracted by the clearness and strength of the "sales letter" that arrived once a month.

In this work he was unique and we doubt if any living Single Taxer would be able or willing to do it. That is perhaps the highest praise that can be given him. And all the time his courageous heart kept pounding away at the frail tenement of his body until it broke under the strain.

"Bob" Macauley had many friends and even those who were not friendly respected and helped him in his work, which was wholly unselfish, and forever directed by a burning passion for justice.

He knew his economics. Few or none knew them better. He was not a patient man, and it must have seemed to many that he was intolerant of those who stopped even momentarily their work for the supreme cause to labor for minor reforms. But this impatience he never showed in the *Commonweal*. And, after all, his intolerance was a real measure of his devotion to the cause which he strove so jealously to guard.

Here was a man not afraid to walk alone, strong, self-reliant and supremely brave.

## George L. Record

THE death of George L. Record at the State Street Hospital in Portland, Maine, removes from the scene one of the out-standing figures in New Jersey politics. He was one of the advisers to Woodrow Wilson and twenty-five years ago served as Corporation Counsel of Jersey City under Mayor Mark M. Fagan.

He deserted the candidacy of William Jennings Bryan

in 1896 and was chairman of the Palmer and Buckner campaign committee in Hudson County, N. J., of which body the editor of LAND AND FREEDOM was also a member. Later Mr. Record joined the Bull Moose party. He was defeated for many high offices, among them that of United States Senator and member of the House of Representatives. He never attained to any of his highest ambitions. But he held many appointive offices, and he was counsel for many municipalities seeking lower rates of service from utility companies. His rapid changes from a Democrat to a Republican and then to a Progressive arose from his hatred of the machines of all parties. But he was at all times a Progressive. He was not a good "mixer" and held himself with a kind of aloofness that estranged him from his political associates. To this in part may be attributed the balking of his ambitions for high office, for which he strove so often but never attained.

Yet we are glad to echo the editorial comment of the *New York Times* which says of him, "His vigilance in the cause of good government was never a mere pose. He was a useful citizen. As a lawyer he stood high."

Mr. Record was a Single Taxer. It is but a few short months ago that he delivered a thought-provoking address before the Henry George School of Social Science at the Pythian Temple in this city. While it is undoubtedly true that he had real faith and knowledge of the Henry George doctrine, his methods of political propaganda seemed at times rather too devious.

At his best and in his early days he was a real orator, able to sway great multitudes with the ardor of his eloquence. But in later years he seemed to have lost much of this supreme quality, though he was never anything but ready and fluent.

He was seventy-three years old but scarcely looked it. A wife and sister survive him. He had no children.

## How To Balance the Budget

THE budget is now taking shape behind the scenes. The country will be fortunate if the struggle to balance it does not inflict further grave injury to its social life.

Here, in the windfall gains of land ownership, is a source of revenue which ought to be made to assist the nation in its present financial difficulties.

The argument against a heavier income tax, whatever it may be worth, does not apply here. For to reclaim for the community values created by communal development cannot possibly be held to "discourage enterprise" or "burden development."

Land values over a wide area will rise without landowners lifting a finger. Why should they receive the reward of others' enterprise?

*Daily Herald* (Labor), London.

I FULLY admit this; I have stated it long ago in Midlothian—I hold it without the smallest doubt; if a time came when the British nation could think that the land ought to be nationalized, and that it were wise to do it, they have perfect right to do it beyond all doubt and question.—GLADSTONE, Speech at Hawarden, 1889.



## Alexander Hamilton Before The Royal Commission

ADVOCATING the substitution of leasehold for freehold in the case of all provincial land and natural resources not already alienated, and the use of site values for municipal revenue, Alexander Hamilton, old-time Victoria resident, appeared before the Royal Commission on municipal affairs here yesterday afternoon.

Mr. Hamilton admitted he was taking a different viewpoint from municipal officials, and said he could see no necessity for municipalities asking assistance from the provincial government, except in so far as the government is receiving tax-free municipal services and conveniences. These services, he maintained, should not be given free.

The municipalities, he said, had always ample values within their own boundaries to liquidate their own expenses, without calling on the province for financial help. For instance, Vancouver property, in round figures was appraised at \$170,000,000 over and above any taxation levied upon it. This was purely a community value, produced by the presence and activity of the community, and in no sense due to anything the title-holders have done in or on it. According to the English calculation of capitalization and rental, the title-holders of this property are reaping an annual harvest of \$8,500,000. This is an absolutely unearned and untaxed income to the holders, which the city fails to draw upon. Victoria, he claimed, was in a similar position.

"Land was created for use and not for purposes of extortion," Mr. Hamilton continued, "and I think it would be an act of wisdom and prescience on the part of the provincial government to withdraw all remaining land and natural resources from sale and offer the same for lease at the annual ground rental value. This would insure a perennial and ever increasing revenue, enabling the government to reduce and ultimately eliminate all confiscatory taxation, and at the same time open up endless opportunities for the application of labor to nature's storehouse without initial cost.

"Initial cost, especially in times of inflated values, constitutes an embargo on production and causes unemployment and depressions."

Victoria (B.C.) *Daily Times*.

## Roumania

I HAVE the pleasure to report that I passed two days in Odorheiu, a city of the well known little people of the Szekely, a race of original inhabitants of Transylvania. The burgomaster of the city, Dr. Imre Rety, is the leader of the political party known as the "Little Farmers of Roumania." This party was formed in April of this year and in May Dr. Rety carried a programme for the study of the Single Tax.

It is interesting to note that here in Roumania were lately formed some peasant parties under the leadership of the former Minister, Dr. Peter Groza. Another is a big peasant party occupying the territory of old Roumania under leadership of former Minister Constantine Argetoinu. I am informed that there are no great differences between the programmes of all these existing parties, and therefore all interested are endeavoring to form a big union for the whole country.

I have furnished Dr. Rety all available information about the Single Tax and its partial realization in many countries, and so he invited all the leading men of his party, to whom I delivered an address in the party hall.

Among them were the baron, Akexis Ugron, manufacturer, three professors, advocates, engineers, etc. I instanced Fairhope as a useful example and was able to give full and I think accurate information about the theoretical teachings of Henry George, as well as the development of the movement in various countries in the world. It caused a vivid impression as I spoke about the unselfish manner in which the work was being carried on and our appreciation of the kindly offices of Henry George followers in London and elsewhere, who so cheerfully furnished me with information. I also spoke of the bequests of the late Joseph Fels and Robert Schalkenbach.

But it is not possible for all to be well informed through a single presentation, and so I am invited to repeat my lecture in the near future, and for this occasion there have been invited a large number of party members. Dr. Groza and Dr. Rety will try to get me an opportunity to speak in Bucharest.

The Hungarian Little Farmers Party possesses at the moment two newspapers, *Hargita* and *A Nep*. Both will publish my articles in series, the first appearance next week in the Hungarian language. Later we will also get a Roumanian newspaper for the same purpose.

Cordial greetings to all the followers of Henry George.

C. BARSONY, Arad, Roumania.

## Dinner to John Dewey and Upton Sinclair

A DINNER in honor of John Dewey and Upton Sinclair was given at the Cornish Arms Hotel on Monday, Oct. 9. About 160 persons were present. Charles H. Ingersoll acted as chairman. Among the speakers were Dr. Dewey, Upton Sinclair, Richard Eyre, Walter Fairchild, Anna George de Mille, Harry Weinberger, George Lloyd, and others. The object of the dinner was to find out how far Single Taxers, Socialists and mid-way reformers could cooperate, and the meeting was a success save perhaps for the purpose for which it was called. But everybody had a good time.

THIS I do boldly affirm, that the same rule of propriety, viz., that every man should have as much as he could make use of, would hold still in the word, without straightening anybody, since there is land enough in the world to suffice double the inhabitants, had not the invention of money and the tacit agreement of men to put a value on it introduced (by consent) larger possessions and a right to them.—LOCKE, "On Civil Government," 1690.

I FIND this vast net-work, which you call property, extending over the whole planet. I cannot occupy the bleakest crag of the White Hills or the Allegheny Range, but some man or corporation steps up to me to show me that it is his.—EMERSON.



# YOUTH MOVEMENT DEPARTMENT

THE Youth Movement of America has been organized with headquarters in Chicago. Walter W. Hecht, Jr., is Chairman of the Central Council. It is spreading to other cities. We know of no more promising organization for the inculcation of the principles of liberty, and shall give a page of each issue of LAND AND FREEDOM to the news of this rapidly expanding organization.

To quote from the declaration of the president, Mr. Hecht, "The Youth of America is non-subsidized, has neither flags, buttons nor colored shirts."

The purpose is to form the American youth movement, planning a campaign first to organize on patriotic (not nationalistic) principles, then to educate its members to the Geogist principles and other items in its national platform, train them through participation in local and sectional fracas and reforms, and then—to do what youth movements set out to do. They hope to reach this last stage by the time the NRA, the greatest and logically the last of all the great props to the existing system, crumbles. They would like to be prepared to step into the breach with the one constructive plan that is drafted according to natural law.

We append the declaration of its temporary manifesto:

The Central Council of the Youth Movement of America believes that the great principles that inspired our forefathers were *Justice* and *Mercy*, and that they desired to found a government which was to secure equal rights for all and special privileges to none.

Youth, until now, has remained silent during our national distresses, feeling as did the youthful Elihu, of whom we find a narrative in the oldest book of Scriptures wherein Job was in his last extremity and had received no helpful counsel from the elders:

Elihu said: "I am young and ye are very old, wherefore I was afraid and durst not show mine opinion. I said, 'Days should speak and multitude of years should teach wisdom but there is a spirit in man and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding.' Great men are not always wise; neither do the aged understand judgment. Therefore I said, 'Harken to me; I also will show mine opinion.'"

Youth cannot help but see that the principles upon which our government was founded have been departed from—there is not a single "inalienable" right guaranteed us by the Bill of Rights of our Constitution which has not been infringed upon and violated by the very officers who are, by their sacred oaths, sworn to uphold this constitution. . . .

It sees a proud and thrifty American citizenry forced to accept charity to keep their families from starving. . . .

It sees young men and women coming out of colleges and universities, well trained and prepared to do good work in the world, but with no opportunity to do that work. . . .

It sees other people, contemplating the future with fear, not daring to marry and bring children into a world of want—an entire generation doomed to an unnatural course of life, bred to a bitter realization of the futility of their hopes and ambitions. . . .

It sees homes and farms lost, life savings swept away, through no fault of the men and women who have worked and saved all their lives that their old age might be provided for. . . .

It sees an economic system failing—great machines lying idle, and idle men trained only to operate them; vast surpluses of food, whilst children starve; immense ships rotting in their wharves and thousands of freight cars rusting and empty on their tracks while the need for distribution of the world's wares becomes a distressing necessity. . . .

It sees a growing monster in the form of communism, attracting thousands who accept it as the only alternative to the present terrorism of privilege—thousands willing to gamble the tyranny they know for a tyranny they cannot help but suspect. . . .

It sees disgusted citizens by the millions, refusing to vote. . . .

Because of These Conditions, We,

THE YOUTH OF AMERICA

demand that the following principles be put into effect at once and rigidly and continuously adhered to:

FIRST: That all persons of the age of eighteen years, native or naturalized, male or female, be permitted to vote and hold office.

SECOND: That the products of human labor be free from taxation.

THIRD: That the natural resources of the country be restored to the ownership of the people.

FOURTH: That there shall exist the utmost freedom of exchange of the products of labor between our citizens and those of every other land!

FIFTH: That there shall be no more wars.

SIXTH: That the first postulate of a true democracy being universal education, this principle must be put into practice, and that steps be taken immediately to assure a national high standard of teaching.

SEVENTH: That each citizen be protected in the full exercise of his constitutional rights, and that the traditional American individuality of spirit and enterprise be recognized as a fundamental of American democracy.

No greater crime can be committed than the stealing of a nation's birthright. And that has been done, and today we suffer. Still greater the forces of privilege mount. And now new terrors arise, waving flags of red that are not our own, crying the names of heroes that are foreign to us, teaching communism, fascism, anarchism—but not patriotism! They offer what we greatly suspect to be only another form of tyranny.

And so we call to all our generation to unite their efforts in defense of their individualism and their country before it is too late. And we appeal to the common sense of other generations to assist us. All creeds, all parties, all races—all may examine their beliefs and ideals and find in them the principles we uphold. Then let them unite—forget the minor issues of the day, and fight the greater fight for those fundamental truths whose establishment will right all wrongs.

We feel that we have urged only principles that are true and eternal.

Therefore we have a firm reliance on Divine Providence for the guidance of this movement in which we hope to bring the Youth of America into concerted action.

(If you wish further information or to offer your services, address the secretary to the Central Council, Youth of America—Marian Mills, 3009 Narragansett Avenue, Chicago, Ill.)

EVERY proprietor, therefore, of cultivated land owes to the community a ground rent (for I know of no better term to express the idea) for the land which he holds.

THOMAS PAINE, "Agrarian Justice" 1795-6.

STATESMEN loud in "fearless" denunciation of unpopular racketeers are afraid to open their mouths about legalized racketeering by land speculators and tariff robbers.



## News From Malta

### LAND AND FREEDOM SEIZED AS SEDITIOUS LITERATURE

IN 1929 Dr. Joseph Orlando celebrated the Jubilee of Progress and Poverty by laying on the table of our parliament a bill to tax land values. Those veterans of our movement who remember the "bitter eighties" will appreciate the statement that Malta is fifty years behind the times.

When parliament was dissolved he sought re-election; but as the local bishops imposed a ban on all who voted for the labor and constitutional parties the elections were postponed. When they were resumed proclamations were suddenly issued, and as suddenly repealed, which made it illegal to hold meetings in sundry places where it is customary to hold them. That favored certain parties and injured others, so in the end all parties at one time or another ignored those ill-advised proclamations. His Excellency the Governor granted forgiveness to all offenders except the meeting held in Dr. Orlando's district. He and other leaders were arrested, found guilty; some being first offenders were warned, the others imprisoned.

In October, 1931, when His Excellency was inaugurated, he said: "My only desire is to see the people of Malta prosperous and happy." In his candlemass speech of 1932 he repeated that statement, adding "that he also wished to enable responsible government to be restored," but in his candlemass speech of 1933 he said: "that which I then told you I wished for has come about and responsible government has been restored."

But Malta today is further from prosperity than it ever has been during the recollection of the present generation. A hundred years ago one-third of Malta was government land, its rent was public revenue. His Excellency and his predecessors have alienated into private ownership more than a half of that land, and have imposed taxes principally on the poor, to recoup that loss.

These acts here, as elsewhere, have created unemployment and poverty.

Thus he confessed that he had ceased even to desire to make the people prosperous. For that change there were two reasons. First he had learned that the only way in which he could make the people prosperous is the way taught by Dr. McGlynn; and secondly that: His Grace the Archbishop "does not in any way approve of Dr. McGlynn's opinion."

Where the sovereignty of God and His justice are established no man is anxious as to how he can get food and clothing and no government fears riots; but in Malta a retired government official, in his evidence before the royal commission, stated that the alternative to this was the passage by His Excellency as president of the nominated council which governs Malta in reserved matters of a

sedition propaganda ordinance, professedly to nip in the bud the plant he had sown.

Under that ordinance he signed warrants for the arrest of six leaders of the labor movement, including Mr. Orlando, on the ground that they had kept in their possession literature which it declared was seditious. But the ordinance expressly stated that those are exempt who have a *lawful excuse* to keep in their possession such literature. That clearly includes all journalists, and the trial brought to light that some of the accused had actually used said literature as basis of their articles against sedition.

He also brought to light that while the middle and lower classes in Malta are expected to know at sight what is seditious literature yet the highest legal talent that the government could buy "retained for further consideration" *Land and Liberty*, *LAND AND FREEDOM*, and other literature which had been seized from Mr. Orlando. Finally they acknowledge that there was nothing seditious in the first two. Other literature was considered seditious and was lodged in court, and included "Set My People Free," and a "Freeman's Citizenship."

ERNEST GEOGHEGAN.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### A VALUABLE WORK\*

Nothing can be more fascinating, more fruitful of profitable conclusions than the study of the ideas that have impelled the human race toward progress. Mr. Whitehead has chosen to adventure among various kinds of ideas, summarizing their history. For instance, there is the chapter on the human soul; on the humanitarian ideal; on freedom; on foresight; the laws of nature; science and philosophy; truth; peace—and many other ideas and ideals of humanity. We have had summations of the philosophic systems of the world, but this is the first time, perhaps, that an attempt has been made to garner and arrange in historical order the growth of ideas along many lines.

The author develops a peculiar difference between ancient and modern thought. He calls attention to the fact that slavery dominated and colored all thought in ancient times. Thinkers accepted slavery as the necessary, obvious background. Modern thought on the other hand does not start from the premise that slavery is a natural human condition, inevitable to a large proportion of the earth's inhabitants. This difference of concept, indeed, this change in the picture of civilization—is highly significant.

Pursuing this trend further, is it not possible that some day there may be a third era in human history when men will look back with pity to our time, and marvel that we had such a set concept of the ownership of land, that for thousands of years private property in land was accepted as a necessary condition?

Georgists have been heard to bemoan the fact that the progress of Henry George's fundamental idea is slow. While not intending to shirk present opportunities, and while fully intending to do all that we can to further the cause of Georgism, the following words are nevertheless comforting, and true to a very large extent:

Mr. Whitehead says:

"The slow issue of general ideas into practical consequences is not wholly due to inefficiency of human character. There is a problem to be solved. The difficulty is just this: It may be impossible to conceive a reorganization of society adequate for the removal of some admitted evil without destroying the social organization and the civilization that depends on it. Even the wisest are unable to conceive the

\*Adventures of ideas, by Alfred North Whitehead. Cloth 8 Vo. 381 pp. Price \$3.50. Macmillan Co., New York and London.



possibility of untried forms of social relations. Successful progress creeps from point to point, testing each step.

"The final introduction of a reform does not necessarily prove the moral superiority of the reforming generation. Conditions may have changed, so that what is possible now may not have been possible then. A great idea is not to be conceived as merely waiting for enough good men to carry it into practical effect. That is a childish view of the history of ideas. The ideal in the background is promoting the gradual growth of the requisite communal customs, adequate to sustain the load of its exemplification."

Students of the Malthusian theory will be intrigued with the chapter that traces the actual history of Europe viewed with the Malthusian doctrine in mind. Mr. Whitehead successfully refutes Malthus, but by a method unlike that used by Henry George.

It is with regret that we find no word about Henry George in this unique history of ideas. The author discusses the sudden arrest of great civilizations, and points out that they burgeoned into fullness through commerce, and that at a certain point, commerce began to fail and an "arrest" set in. Mr. Whitehead says that if we could understand the reason for that arrest, *we would solve the main problem of sociology*. To the man who can so well explain the part that Plato had in conditioning thought for more than a thousand years, it seems strange that George's startling and essentially revolutionary idea that land must be made accessible to all should be ignored. It is this very wall, this very problem of civilization's decay, that each earnest and serious present-day writer stumbles against, yet, like the thinkers of old, who vaguely felt that there was something wrong, and knew not that it was slavery, our modern men know not that the land, absorbed by the few, is the condition that arrests progress, and threatens each civilization.—ANTOINETTE KAUFMANN.

## Correspondence

### DISCUSSES A NAME FOR THE MOVEMENT

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I am always glad to read anything written by that valiant champion of the Single Tax, Stephen Bell.

He suggests many titles or names in lieu of the Single Tax and particularly commends "Georgian Socialism" as his first choice.

Bi-Socialism, a book by Oliver R. Trowbridge, published in 1903, stated it was the proper function of the State to socialize only land values and public utilities and a majority of Single Taxers agree with that concept.

Trowbridge (I hope he is among the living) is or was a follower of Henry George.

Louis F. Post in one of his magnificent editorials in *The Public* maintained that Single Taxers were "Natural Socialists;" that the State by its very nature was socialistic, but should confine its socialistic activities to the socializing of land values and public utilities and nothing else. Of course he recognized the right of the State to maintain peace.

If my memory serves me right Mr. Post's editorial was written shortly after Trowbridge's book was published.

Pseudo-socialism in its various guises, masquerading as "the great political and economic emancipator" would be stripped of all its economic errors, when contrasted with the truths of the Single Tax; i.e. "Natural Socialism;" a name that will induce many to enquire into the philosophy of Henry George.

Chicago, Ill.

ALEX PERNOT.

### UPTON SINCLAIR CORRECTS OUR REVIEWER

EDITOR LAND FREEDOM:

I thank you for your courtesy in sending me the review of "Upton Sinclair Presents William Fox." I quite agree that this is an ex parte statement. It is avowedly that. However, I think it is fair to add that when an ex parte statement has been on the market for exactly six months, as this attack has been, and when no reply is made, we

may claim that the defendants have pleaded guilty before the bar of public opinion.

Your reviewer says he is 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." Your reviewer would have found his suspicions justified if he had read the book more carefully. For example, on page 325 "Of course this collapse of Fox Theatres was in the midst of a general collapse of business, and can't all be attributed to Wiggin and Clarke and Stuart and Otterson!" The exclamation mark in the above was intended to indicate to the reader the absurdity of the idea of overlooking the influence of the depression upon the events narrated.

Also your reviewer thinks that it is "poor taste" for me to refer to "the victim" as "the Fox." This also is fully explained in the book. Mr. Fox continually refers to himself as "the Fox," and I more than once called attention in the book to this habit of his. Very early in the book, page 19, occurs the following:

"A vital part in the life story of William Fox is the story of little Eve Leo. It was an odd coincidence that a Fox should have married a Lioness; they both of them make puns upon this coincidence."

Los Angeles, Calif.

UPTON SINCLAIR.

### VOLTAIRE AND THE PHYSIOCRATS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I have just been reading the July-August issue of LAND AND FREEDOM which is, as usual, extremely interesting. I note there is an article by Mr. Danziger on Voltaire and the Physiocrats. I cannot throw any further light upon the question of whether Voltaire changed his views or not; but you may find it interesting to know that the physiocrats wrote a very able reply to Voltaire's attack upon them. An account of this controversy was given by Prof. Leroy-Beaulieu in his "Treatise on the Science of Finance." An abridged translation of this will be found in *Land Values* for September, 1916, page 99.

It appears to me that the physiocrats had very sound ideas as to the incidence of a tax on the value of land.

London, Eng.

F. C. R. DOUGLASS.

### FROM A CUBAN SUBSCRIBER

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

It gives me great pleasure to be able to congratulate you on your masterly exposition and criticism of the National Recovery Act. Do you think the "brain trust" at Washington will read it?

Mr. Roosevelt has publicly stated that the country demands bold economic experimentation. It seems we are to get plenty of it. However it appears rather childish to experiment when basic laws are known. We need not throw ourselves from twenty story buildings in violation of the law of gravitation to demonstrate that we will be killed.

Oteen, N. C.

EVARISTO MONTALVO.

### PROGRESS IN ROUMANIA

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

According to the pamphlet entitled "The Agrarian Reform in Roumania," which was sent me by Mr. George Anagnostache, Vice-Counsel from Roumania, the land-loving people of that country have effected an agrarian reform.

Previously to the revolution, "not even half owned the land which they worked, while fifty per cent of the cultivated land was in the hands of a very small proportion of large landowners, representing less than 0.56 per cent of the total amount of landowners."

The strong democratic currents which led up to the land reform were prompted by Mr. I. C. Bratiano, who went on the sound principle that "the land must belong to him that works it."

Finally, pressure became so tense that the King of Roumania in



proclamation addressed to the soldiers (March 22, 1917) confirmed the Roumanian cultivators' "right to the land." The large estates were broken up and divided among the people. From all reports the peasants have benefited immensely by this new arrangement.

But the truly significant feature is the fact that the reform was brought about peaceably without violence or bloodshed, or even disorder. The people and soldiers merely demanded land, and the request was granted to them. This demonstrates that the people are the ultimate repository of political power.

In the old days, the people were more prone to violence and bloodshed. Our own American Revolution, and the French Revolution, are striking examples of this fact. But more recently, the tendency has been toward peaceful measures of remedying injustice and other wrongs. The Russian Revolution of 1917 was comparatively bloodless. The recent Spanish Revolution was effected without shedding a drop of blood, and the same is true of the Roumanian Revolution. Our recent change from Hooverism to Rooseveltism had almost the force of a revolution, and we all know it was peaceful.

This is certainly encouraging. While it is true that we cannot have progress without change, these bloodless revolutions demonstrate that we can have change without bloodshed or violence. Perhaps, we are really becoming more civilized. At least, we are taking the initial step in that direction.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

JOHN C. ROSE.

## NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

ARTHUR POWELL DAVIS, whose death at Oakland, Calif., on August 1, is announced, was one of the best known engineers of the west and famous as "the father of Boulder Dam." He was seventy-two years old. He stood for the rights of the people and drew the fire of the power trust. He supervised the construction of over ninety dams, among them the Roosevelt Dam in Arizona, Elephant Butte Dam in New Mexico and Shoshone Dam in Wyoming. His was a useful life indeed and his inspiration in the service of his fellows was an intense conviction of the truth of the doctrines of Henry George. For twenty-one years he was associated with the United States Reclamation Service as director and chief engineer. There was scarcely an engineering project undertaken in this country during those years in which he did not have a hand. His prominence in his chosen field was international.

THE *American Square Dealer* edited and published by John H. Meyer, 2230 White Ave., Fresno, Calif., is a new Single Tax paper which contains much interesting matter.

THE *Houston Post* says thus forcibly: "The history of the centuries is this, that no people can be either elevated or maintained in independence without a proprietorship in the soil, and it is an open question if all our efforts toward the restoration of good times will not prove futile unless the people are distributed on the land, not as tenants but as owners." The *Post* does not state the question with absolute accuracy, but its implications are clear enough.

SAMUEL DANZIGER writes us: "Roosevelt's Industrial Recovery Act seems like a repetition of some of the economic follies of pre-revolutionary France. One of Louis XVI's finance ministers, De Calonne, indulged in similar policies from 1783 to 1786, squandering money on a big public works programme, etc., and was finally forced to admit failure and recourse to Turgot's land taxation essential, a proposal that led to the States General."

IN the death of Mrs. W. I. Swanton the Single Tax movement of Washington, D. C. sustains a severe loss. At the time of her death, in July, she was treasurer of the Woman's Single Tax League of Washington. She was preparing an outline of a book on Taxation

and the Single Tax. She was ever busy on methods for advancing the cause. Many will remember her as present at the Henry George Foundation congresses which she graced with her presence and she will be sorely missed. Funeral services were held at the Church of the Holy City in Washington, Alice Thacher Post presiding. The body was cremated. Mrs. Swanton leaves a husband, W. I. Swanton, two daughters and a son. The sympathies of hundreds who knew her will go out to Mr. Swanton and the family in their bereavement.

THE *Seattle (Wash.) Star* says in the course of an excellent editorial: "You have heard a lot of talk about cheap foreign labor. But American labor is the cheapest in the world on a production basis."

JOHN S. CODMAN, of Boston, has addressed the following telegram to President Roosevelt: "Will support the code whole-heartedly but trust you will take steps to curb profiteering in land prices which will follow stimulation of business and eventually will check prosperity as it has heretofore."

ADELE PARKER is conducting a column in the *Seattle (Wash.) Star*, and though she is not always accurate or fundamental, hits the nail on the head repeatedly. She says: "Profits in land are wholly a drain on business and living standards, as there is nothing given in return for these profits by those who receive them." And then in another issue of the paper she advocates a capital levy! And she favors a tax on banks to promote education! But she is learning, despite the fact that she is what we might politely call "mixed." She quotes the Hindoo proverb, "White parasols and elephants mad with pride are the fruit of a grant of land." We wonder if she got this from Henry George or elsewhere in her reading.

THE *Providence Journal* contains a list of recent accessions to the Elmwood Public Library and describes Dr. George Raymond Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George" as follows: "Gives a complete account of the work, historical background, philosophy and economic significance of the great American thinker, whose Single Tax formula and the social doctrine derived from it fits the mood of many readers today."

JAMES P. KOHLER's name is frequently seen in Single Tax communications to the Miami, Florida, *Daily News*.

THE *Conserver*, published and edited by George P. Dyer at Los Angeles, Calif., is enlarged and much improved in appearance. Its editorial contents are as vigorous as ever. Mr. Dyer's address to the soldiers of the Spanish-American War (Mr. Dyer is a veteran of that war) in the July issue of the *Conserver* is especially to be commended.

EVARISTO MONTALVO, of Havana, Cuba, is temporarily located at Oteen, N. C. The opportunity of meeting Herbert C. Allen, of Asheville, was seized by Mr. Montalvo, and together they conversed on matters of interest to the movement. Mr. Montalvo favors us with an extract from a communication of Dr. Carlos Portela, of Havana, who writes: "I am still overflowing with optimism. My crusade for establishing the great experiment of Natural Taxation and Natural Money is making headway. Mr. programme of economic reforms for Cuba is in the hands of My Sumner Welles and is being favorably commented upon by the Havana papers as well as the rest of the papers throughout the Island."

IN the issue of the *Dakota Free Press* of July 28, Dr. Chas. J. Lavery, of Aberdeen, S. D., has a large display "ad" addressed as an open letter to the South Dakota Legislature urging the adoption of a land value tax in lieu of all taxes.

ASHLEY MITCHELL, of Huddersfield, England, was a recent visitor to the States and met a number of the friends of the movement here.



We were glad to welcome him again. He is one of the strong men of the cause, young, alert, clear-headed. He is hopeful, too. Prominent in the textile industry and with a knowledge of business conditions here and abroad, he foresees the early breakdown of the Roosevelt recovery programme and thinks it may be our real opportunity. He spoke of the late John Paul with real feeling. He quoted these significant words from the departed leader which are worth recording:

"In the times to come Henry George will be hailed as the greatest discoverer of our epoch. He is recognized now as one of the greatest economists and philosophers, but when mankind understands his discovery of the connection between the Law of Rent and the Law of Wages then and only then will Henry George be given the niche in history that he earned. That he is not so appreciated yet is for the reason contained in the saying of Lord Macaulay that if the Law of Gravitation had affected vested interests it would never have been accepted."

THEODORE DREISER received a copy of "Progress and Poverty" from John C. Rose, of Pittsburgh. His secretary replied: "Mr. Drieser has asked me to reply to your recent card. He believes that Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" is the greatest contribution to social philosophy he has ever read. He does not consider it a complete working plan, but he feels that a reading of it would certainly illuminate the mind of any one formulating a life plan for nations."

*Terre et Liberte*, Single Tax organ of Paris, France, contains appreciative notices of the life work of the late John Paul and Antonio Albenin. Much interesting matter appears in this issue from A. Daude Bancel, Sam Meyer, Pavlos Giannelia and others.

*The Workers' Journal*, of Cincinnati, O., says editorially: "Take this tip—the Recovery Act is grinding, grinding hard and contains more pitfalls than a regiment could watch."

EMIL KNIPS in a recent letter to us comments on the *Pennsylvania Commonwealth* edited and published by R. C. Macauley. Mr. Knip writes: "He is doing a great work. It is a handy leaflet to circulate, and is clear-cut and to the point," which commendation we are glad to echo.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, of Victoria, B. C. writes: "LAND AND FREEDOM continues to maintain its high standard. I read it from cover to cover, and after a while I read it all over again."

E. W. DOTY, writing in the *Cleveland Press*, says:

"The cure for suburban land gambling lies in controlled city planning, say you. The cure for any kind of land gambling is not city planning nor any kind of planning, even editorial planning. The cure is to take off all artificial obstacles to land use and all protection to the land gamblers which our laws give."

JAMES F. MORTON passed his vacation in New England, and engaged in hiking, mountain climbing and mineral collection, thus uniting pleasure with business. Mr. Morton is curator of the Paterson, N. J., museum of natural history, so the last mentioned activity is in line with the professional work he is so much in love with.

E. H. BOECK, of St. Louis, Mo., writes: "LAND AND FREEDOM is deserving of all praise and we should extend its usefulness by getting new subscribers."

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES writes an appreciative review in *Unity* of Aug. 7 of Dr. George Raymond Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George." He says in part: "We shall cherish this work as a precious possession. We hope that it will find its way into all American libraries. . . . Henry George has at last found his interpreter to posterity."

CHARLES B. M. KNOWLES, of Brookline, Mass., says: "I enjoy

immensely the reading of LAND AND FREEDOM, and then pass it along to others as opportunity offers."

In the Monroe, (La.) *Morning Herald*, G. B. Cooley comments on an editorial appearing in the New Orleans *Times Picayune*, which the *Herald* reproduces.

WILLIAM N. MCNAIR is the Democratic candidate for Mayor of Pittsburgh, and two candidates for the City Council are George E. Evans and Walter R. Demmler, both well known Single Taxers.

DR. CHARLES L. ANDREWS, of this city, has been a familiar figure at Single Tax dinners for many years. He was present at the dinner given at the National Arts Club to Hon. Abe D. Waldauer on Friday evening, Aug. 25. On Sept. 3 he died at the age of eighty-three. With his strong black hair and beard he never looked more than sixty. He was a son of Stephen Pearl Andrews, famous as a philosopher of anarchism, and a staunch abolitionist.

We learn of the death of Theodore Siddall, at Manila, on Aug. 7. He was for many years a dealer in postage stamps at Shanghai. Several years ago he visited this city, and we spent a pleasant evening with him at a Chinese restaurant. He had married a Filipino girl and he was here on her behalf to consult a famous oculist for her failing eyesight. We asked him if he was going to stay in the United States. He said no, and explained: "In China if anything happened to me she would be taken in by some family (adopted) and provided for. That is something in which I can rest assured. It is the custom among the Chinese. What would become of her here, blind and helpless?" Siddall loved the Chinese people and knew them intimately. He was a friend of A. C. Pleydell, of blessed memory, and a firm believer in the Single Tax.

THE proposition of some of our Washington friends, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Phillips, Western Starr, et al, to petition Washington for the appointment to the Department of Education of a specialist in economics, suggests some obvious reflections. The number of economic specialists who now infest Washington, and the kind of economics likely to be considered for such appointment, makes us shudder inwardly. Bolton Hall correctly says that it would be disastrous to have a specialist on economics in the Federal office of Education and we agree with him. We have a sufficient number already and they are making a pretty mess of things. We are sorry if we dampen the enthusiasm of our Washington friends, but what guaranty have we that the man appointed to such a post would not be Prof. Rexford G. Tugwell or somebody like him?

E. PAUL DU PONT, of Montchanin, Del., in a letter printed in the *New York Times* advises the "brain trust" to apply their brains to curb the land prices in order to keep them within the reach of the people the improvements are intended to benefit. Mr. Du Pont's letter is a grave warning.

*Every Evening*, of Wilmington, Del., gives an account of a large group which gathered to celebrate Henry George's birthday on Sept. 4, at Arden. It devotes much of the space given to the report of the address of Henry George 3rd., grandson of the prophet. Dr. George is an osteopathic physician practising at Ithaca, N. Y. Other speakers were Charles H. Ingersoll and Henry W. Hetzel.

HARLAN E. READ, radio broadcaster and news interpreter, made this announcement of the Henry George Congress over the radio:

"The Single Taxers are going to have a big national convention in Chicago beginning Sept. 25. New Yorkers are particularly interested because Henry George was once a candidate for Mayor of New York City, enjoying a popularity known to few reformers. New Yorkers may be particularly interested also because the city has



arched high and low for some sort of tax remedy that will save the city. Single Taxers offer a way out that is attractive to many. Among those who will talk in Chicago are Frederic C. Howe, Consumers' Counsel of the United States Department of Agriculture, Francis Neilson, once a member of the British Parliament, Bernard MacFadden, once a barefooted physical culturist, now millionaire owner of many magazines, and Mrs. Anna George de Mille, of the famous Hollywood motion picture family, daughter of Henry George. These Single Taxers want to untax buildings and improvements, factories and stores, and everything else that represents industry. They want to drop the income tax and the personal property tax, making the whole burden of taxation fall upon land values and thus giving the community what the community itself creates. Their apostle is Henry George. His great text is 'Progress and Poverty,' which Tolstoi called 'the world's unanswerable book.' Single Taxers from all over the country will attend the Chicago Convention.

We doubt if many Single Taxers are acquainted with Upton Sinclair's "Mountain City." Mr. Sinclair is one of our foremost novelists. He always writes with a purpose. The reforms effected by "The Jungle," which was a vivid picture of conditions in the stockyards, has not been forgotten. His "Boston," a splendid defence of Sacco and Vanzetti, is a thrilling picture of the times which will remain for years to come a revelation of that great social wrong which subsequent disclosures have set in truer light. But "Mountain City" is of interest to Single Taxers. The characters, while skillfully drawn, are not attractive and are not meant to be. One only is really likable and he is an old man, a Single Taxer with a sense of humor and a keen knowledge of conditions. We recommend it to readers of LAND AND FREEDOM as a novel of real interest well worthy of their attention.

An impromptu dinner was given to Hon. Abe D. Waldauer who stopped in on New York Single Taxers on Friday evening, Aug. 25. The dinner was well attended and among the speakers were Chas. H. Rogersoll, Benjamin W. Burger, Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, Eugene Earlan Read, and others. Mr. Waldauer spoke in his usual convincing way of the opportunities opening for the establishment of Single Tax enclaves, and answered questions and objections with force and authority. He was able to point to Collierville and urged on those present the effect that was bound to result from such working models of our principles. He converted most of those present and all of his hearers voted him a powerful advocate. The dinner took place at the National Arts Club, 15 Gramercy Park, this city.

DR. BOYD CORNICK, seventy-seven years old, whose death was announced in last issue, died at his home in San Angelo, July 4, 1933. Dr. Cornick came to Texas in 1890 in search of health. He regained his health and established a haven for many afflicted with the white plague. Dr. Cornick was always the quiet, scholarly, dignified gentleman. His interests and his associations were nation-wide, though his social and economic activities were confined to the State of his adoption. He was a philosopher, a free trader and a Georgist Single Taxer. When the call was sent out for the first Single Tax Conference in Texas in 1916, at Dallas, he was the first to respond with a check to help pay the expenses of that meeting. He was a consistent supporter of this work up until the time of his death. He was not a crusader but lived his life in his community that his name will be one to conjure with for many years to come. His son, Philip Cornick, is a resident of this city and a member of the executive committee of the Robert Schalkenck Foundation.

A. H. WILKINS, ninety-one, and for more than fifty years a resident of Dallas, Texas, died Tuesday, July 25, 1933. William Black, of San Antonio, writes: "I first met Mr. Wilkins in 1916 at the time of the organization of the Single Tax League of Texas. He was a genial, wholesome, soul who made one better for contact with him. He was a consistent Single Taxer, understood the philosophy of Henry George, and never wavered in his convictions. He was a liberal giver for several years and only dropped out of our list when it became some-

what of a burden for him to attend to his own affairs. I personally shall miss the occasional visits with this wholesome spirit."

THE Wilmington *Star* of Sunday, Sept. 3 has a full page article entitled "A Modest Young Man, the Grandson of a Great American, Avoids His Sire's Fame but Carries On the Handed Torch." The subject of this sketch is Dr. Henry George (Henry George 3rd) and outside of a few inaccuracies the article is quite interesting. One of the writer's errors which is somewhat amusing is the statement that Pittsburgh is "for all practical purposes" a Single Tax city, and another is the statement that Henry George centered his hopes in Delaware and that the defeat in that State hastened his death in 1897. It will perhaps surprise the writer of this article to be told that Henry George was not keen about that campaign and was not greatly disappointed at the outcome, which with his usual prescience he foresaw.

A REVIEW of Dr. George Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George" in the *Nation* for Aug. 9, from the pen of Dr. Broadus Mitchell, though short, is on the whole excellent. Perhaps one of the most memorable things which Prof. Mitchell says is this, which is very arresting: "It is easy to understand a little of socialism and so become a convert to it; but one must grasp the whole theory of the Single Tax, or be slow to perceive any of it." We are not disposed to accept this without some qualification, but there is some truth in it.

"WHO is the Taxpayer," is the title of a contribution from Franklin H. Wentworth to the *Townsmen* of Wellesley Hills, Mass.

A PAGE article by William N. McNair, Democratic candidate for Mayor of Pittsburgh, covers the entire page (illustrated) of the Pittsburgh *Sun Telegraph* of Aug. 9. The article states that the ten million Duquesne Light and Power Plant is assessed at only half a million dollars. Mr. McNair asks "Why?" Other illustrations are given which should startle the voters of Pittsburgh.

SIR GEORGE FOWLDS has retired from the presidency of the Auckland, New Zealand, University Council, and the *New Zealand Herald* prints a picture of this leading Single Taxer of that county.

CHARLES CORKHILL, of Reading, Pa., writes: "Every copy of LAND AND FREEDOM seems better than the last."

DENVER Single Taxers celebrated the birthday of Henry George by a dinner at the New Edelweis Club.

H. C. HARRIS, of Cordele, Ga., published in the *Macon Telegraph* a reply to W. H. Harris and explains to the latter gentleman what ought to be done.

SAMUEL M. WOLFE, one time Attorney General of South Carolina, addressing a meeting of the American Bar Association, offers the following:

"The Senate is supposed to contain the pick of the law-making talent of the nation. . . . A distinguished psychologist informs us that a certain legislative body produced 9,000 bills, but that upon applying his brain scope he discovered that the membership collectively possessed only 8-1-2 ideas on all subjects." Evidently the nation is not suffering from an overproduction of ideas!

COQUILLE, Ore., celebrated the birthday of Henry George with a beach picnic. Dr. James Richmond was the principal speaker and asserted that in the years to come Henry George will be recognized as "the greatest of Americans." Present at the celebration were Mr. and Mrs. Bishop, Mr. and Mrs. C. J. Fuhrman, Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Vinton, Dr. and Mrs. Richmond, Mr. R. J. Galbraith, Mrs. Harry Oerding, Mr. and Mrs. Ireland, Avery Combs, Mr. Robert McGilvrey, Mr. Everett F. Seeley, Miss Gladys Williams, Mrs. F. Seeley, and Mr. M. L. Kathan, all of Coquille. Several youngsters were also present.



## Henry George School of Social Science

Chartered by the Board of Regents for and on  
behalf of the State Educational Department,  
The University of the State of New York.

JOHN DEWEY, HONORARY PRESIDENT

OSCAR H. GEIGER, DIRECTOR

211 West 79th Street  
New York, N. Y.

Classes, Free Discussion Groups and  
Correspondence Courses in Fundamental  
Economics and Social Philosophy

### Free Forums

Every Friday 8:30 p. m. at Pythian Temple  
135 West 70th Street, East of Broadway

Social Problem Topics — Able Speakers  
All Questions Answered

The Henry George School of Social Science is  
supported by voluntary subscriptions of  
followers of Henry George

Donations to the School are deductible in  
Income Tax Reports.

## THE PHILOSOPHY *of* HENRY GEORGE

By GEORGE RAYMOND GEIGER, PH. D.  
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

With Introduction by JOHN DEWEY

A complete account of the work, historical background and philosophical and economic significance of Henry George. A discussion of the life and times of George; a comparison of the economic conditions of our day with his; a summary of land value theories in economic thought and of attempts to introduce governmental collection of economic rent, before and after the days of George; an account of the relationships between George and Socialism, and of George's controversies with Herbert Spencer and Pope Leo XIII.

Philosophically, the book clarifies the relation between ethics and economics. It challenges the shift away from values and norms that seem indicative of a good part of social science methodology, and it urges that philosophy must not remain aloof from a handling of social problems. The pragmatic insistence upon the instrumental nature of philosophy is accepted and elaborated, especially as that insistence applies to social and economic issues. A discussion of the place of the natural law and natural rights doctrines in value theories.

In economic theory, the book presents a complete exposition of the theory of land value and of land value taxation, and compares and contrasts such an economic reform with other approaches, especially that of socialism.

The book has a wide appeal for those interested in philosophy, sociology, economics and government.

PUBLISHED BY THE MACMILLAN CO. at \$3.00

Sold under special arrangements by

LAND AND FREEDOM at \$2.50

596 pages 8 vo. with index and analytical table of contents.

## The New Political Economy

By JOHN B. SHARPE

A New and Fifth Edition of this important pamphlet of 32 pages and cover has just been published, and is ready for distribution. Has had a large circulation in England and Australia.

Single copies can be had FREE (postage 2 cents) 5 copies at 25 cents and quantities at 4 cents each, plus carriage.

LAND AND FREEDOM

150 Nassau Street

New York City