

July—August, 1934

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

Death of Oscar H. Geiger

A Message from the School

Helen D. Denbigh

The Tories Go the Limit

Charles O'Connor Hennessy

After Snowden's Valuation

Mervyn J. Stewart

NEWS

The Schalkenbach Foundation—On the March With John Lawrence Monroe

The Manhattan Single Tax Club *and*

Mr. Ingersoll's Candidacy for Governor of New Jersey

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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Comment and Reflection

WE have received the following letter from Benjamin L. Yarnall, of Philadelphia:

"In presenting the Single Tax question here I have come across a number of persons who have been brought up in the Catholic faith, and they tell me that they are forbidden to read anything on that question. They tell me further that Henry George's works are on the Index as forbidden. Another person tells me that the priest came around and ordered all of George's books burned. Is there anything on record as to how the George-McGlynn controversy was settled? I have been telling them that when Dr. McGlynn was restored to the priesthood there was no condemnation of Henry George. Will you kindly let me know the facts in the case?"

CATHOLICS who talk this way are uninformed. It is unnecessary to review the events leading up to the refusal of Dr. McGlynn to go to Rome at the command of Archbishop Corrigan, and the imposition of the minor ban of excommunication imposed on the Doctor for such refusal. It may be said that the question was one of church discipline, not of any economic tenet. On the question of the propriety of Father McGlynn's refusal to obey the order of his ecclesiastical superiors there may be room for difference of opinion, but we hasten to the incident of the visit of the Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Satolli, and the reopening of the case, with which duty he was charged.

AT Monsignor Satolli's direction the doctrinal statement which follows was prepared by Dr. McGlynn and submitted to the four distinguished professors of the Catholic University at Washington. The names of the eminent doctors follow: Rev. Thomas Bouquillon, (Dean of the Theological Faculty); Thomas Gorman, D. D., (later Bishop of Sioux Falls, S. D.); Charles F. Grannan, D. D. and Edward A. Pace, D. D. The statement, an eloquent exposition of our philosophy, was found to contain nothing contrary to Catholic doctrine, and was so declared. Catholics are free therefore to reject or accept it. Following the friendly interposition of Monsignor Satolli, Dr. McGlynn went to Rome and in an interview with the Holy Father reiterated his faith in the canons of his church. He also avowed his belief in the economics of Henry George and was dismissed with the Pope's blessing. He was reinstated with the full honors

of the priesthood, and officiated both at Roundout and Newburgh. Over the body of his great leader he pronounced that wonderful oration with its memorable declaration which thrilled all present: "Here was a man sent of God."

HERE follows the great doctrinal statement of McGlynn which, with the assent of the distinguished doctors of the Washington University, leaves every adherent of the Catholic Church the freedom to accept or reject it. Any statement to the contrary emanating from any source is to be attributed to ignorance of the facts. One cannot but applaud in sincere earnestness the greatness of the Church in making its position clear and in finally sweeping away all the unfortunate misunderstanding that had arisen on what, as we have said, was after all merely a matter of church discipline.

"All men are endowed by the law of nature with the right to life and to the pursuit of happiness and therefore with the right to exert their energies upon those natural bounties without which labor or life is impossible.

"God has granted those natural bounties, that is to say, the earth, to mankind in general, so that no part of it has been assigned to anyone in particular, and so that the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry and the laws of individual peoples.

"But it is a necessary part of the liberty and dignity of man that man should own himself, always, of course, with perfect subjection to the moral law. Therefore besides the common [equal] right to natural bounties, there must be by the law of nature private property and dominion in the fruits of industry or in what is produced by labor out of those natural bounties to which the individual may have legitimate access, that is, so far as he does not infringe the equal rights of others or the common rights.

"It is a chief function of civil government to maintain equally sacred these two natural rights.

"It is lawful, and it is for the best interests of the individual and of the community and necessary for civilization that there should be a division as to the use and an undisturbed, permanent, exclusive private possession of portions of the natural bounties or of the land; in fact, such exclusive possession is necessary to the ownership, use, and enjoyment by the individual of the fruits and products of his industry.

"But the organized community through civil government must always maintain the dominion over those natural bounties, as distinct from the products of private industry and from that private possession of the land which is necessary for their enjoyment. The maintenance of this dominion over the natural bounties is a primary func-

tion and duty of the organized community in order to maintain the equal right of all men to labor for their living and for the pursuit of happiness, and therefore their equal right of access directly or indirectly to natural bounties. The assertion of this dominion by civil government is especially necessary because, with the very beginning of civil government and with the growth of civilization, there comes to the natural bounties, or the land, a peculiar and an increasing value distinct from and irrespective of the products of private industry existing therein. This value is not produced by the industry of the private possessor or proprietor but is produced by the existence of the community and grows with the growth and civilization of the community. It is therefore called unearned increment. It is this unearned increment that in cities gives to lands without any improvements so great a value. This value represents and measures the advantages and opportunities produced by the community, and men, when not permitted to acquire the absolute dominion over such lands, will willingly pay the value of this unearned increment in the form of rents, just as men, when not permitted to own other men, will willingly pay wages for desired services.

"No sooner does the organized community, or state, arise that it needs revenues. This need for revenues is small at first while population is sparse, industry rude, and the functions of the state few and simple, but with growth of population and advance of civilization the functions of the state increase and larger and larger revenues are needed. God is the author of society and has pre-ordained civilization. The increasing need for public revenues with social advance being a natural God-ordained need, there must be a right way of raising them—some way that we can truly say is the way intended by God. It is clear that this right of raising public revenues must accord with the moral law or the law of justice. It must not conflict with individual rights, it must find its means in common rights and common duties. By a beautiful providence that may be truly called divine, since it is founded upon the nature of things and the nature of man of which God is the creator, a fund constantly increasing with the capacities and needs of society is produced by the very growth of society itself, namely, the rental value of the natural bounties of which society retains dominion. The justice and the duty of appropriating this fund to public uses is apparent in that it takes nothing from the private property of individuals except what they will pay willingly as an equivalent for a value produced by the community, which they are permitted to enjoy. The fund thus created is clearly by the law of justice a public fund, not merely because the value is a growth that comes to the natural bounties which God gave to the community in the beginning, but also and much more because it is a value produced by the community itself, so that this rental value belongs to the community by that best of titles, namely, producing, making, or creating.

"To permit any portion of this public property to go into private pockets, without a perfect equivalent being paid into the public treasury, would be an injustice to the community. Therefore the whole rental fund should be appropriated to common or public uses.

"This rental tax will make compulsory the adequate utilization of natural bounties exactly in proportion to the growth of the community and of civilization, and will thus compel the possessors to employ labor, the demand for which will enable the laborer to obtain perfectly just wages. The rental tax fund growing by a natural law pro-

portionately with the growth of civilization will thus be sufficient for public needs and capacities and therefore all taxes upon industry and upon the products of industry may and should be abolished. While the tax on land values promotes industry and therefore increases private wealth, taxes upon industry act like a fine or a punishment inflicted upon industry—they impede and restrain and finally strangle it.

"In the desired condition of things land would be left in the private possession of individuals, with full liberty on their part to give, sell, or bequeath it, while the state would levy on it for public uses a tax that should equal the annual value of the land itself, irrespective of the use made of it or the improvements on it.

"The only utility of private ownership and dominion of land, as distinguished from possession, is the evil utility of giving to the owners the power to reap where they have not sown, to take the products of the labor of others without giving them an equivalent—the power to impoverish and practically to reduce to a species of slavery the masses of men who are compelled to pay to private owners the greater part of what they produce for permission to live and to labor in this world, when they would work upon the natural bounties for their own account, and the power when men work for wages, to compel them to compete against one another for the opportunity to labor, and to compel them to consent to labor for the lowest possible wages—wages that are by no means the equivalent of the new value created by the work of the laborer, but are barely sufficient to maintain the laborer in a miserable existence and even the power to deny to the laborer the opportunity to labor at all. This is an injustice against the equal right of all men to life and to the pursuit of happiness, a right based upon the brotherhood of man which is derived from the fatherhood of God. This is the injustice that we would abolish in order to abolish involuntary poverty.

"That the appropriation of the rental value of land to public uses in the form of a tax would abolish the injustice which has just been described, and thus abolish involuntary poverty, is clear; since in such case no one would hold lands except for use, and the masses of men having free access to unoccupied lands, would be able to exert their labor directly upon natural bounties and to enjoy the full fruits and products of their labors, beginning to pay a portion of the fruits of their industry to the public treasury only when, with the growth of the community and the extension to them of the benefits of civilization there would come to their lands a rental value distinct from the value of the products of their industry, which value they would willingly pay as the exact equivalent of the new advantages coming to them from the community; and again in such case men would not be compelled to work for employers for wages less than absolutely just wages, namely, the equivalent of the new value created by their labor; since men surely would not consent to work for unjust wages when they could obtain perfectly just wages by working for themselves; and finally, since what belongs to the community shall have been given to the community, the only valuable things that men shall own as private property will be those things that have been produced by private industry; the boundless desire and capacities of civilized human nature for good things will always create a demand for these good things, namely, the products of labor—a demand always greater than the supply; and therefore for the labor that produces these good things there will always be a demand greater than

he supply and the laborer will be able to command perfectly just wages—which are a perfect equivalent in the product of some other person's labor for the new value which his own labor produces."

KEEPING in mind the full freedom for the acceptance or rejection of the doctrines of Henry George permitted to those of the faith, it may be of interest to adherents of the Catholic Church to listen to what eminent divines and prelates have said on the land question.

First, Gregory the Great, in these memorable words:

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

And Cardinal Newman, one of the sweetest characters in the history of the Church:

"The history of the gradual, stealthy but really nefarious evolution in which *landlords*, by their own legislative power and their influence over lawyers, changed themselves into *landowners*, needs to be popularized."

Cardinal Manning believed that the Encyclical Letter of the Pope which Henry George answered in "The Condition of Labor" was really aimed at Henry George, but he said that "between the postulates and the deduction Henry George could drive a coach and four," (see "Life of Henry George" by his son.) It should be remembered by non-Catholics that an encyclical letter is not binding on those of the faith, and so Cardinal Manning had a right to express his own convictions.

NOR should we forget the remarkable letter of Bishop Nulty, of Meath, Ireland, to the clergy and laity of his diocese, written before he had read "Progress and Poverty" or perhaps even heard of Henry George. In the course of this lengthy letter Bishop Nulty said:

"The land, therefore, of every country is the common property of the people of that country, because its real owner, the Creator who made it, has transferred it as a voluntary gift to them. *Terram autem dedit fillis hominum.* Now, as every individual in that country is a creature and child of God, and as all His creatures are equal in His sight, any settlement of the land of a country that would exclude the humblest man in that country from his share of the common inheritance would not only be an injustice and a wrong to that man, but, moreover, would be an impious resistance to the benevolent intentions of his Creator."

EVERYTHING that we learn of the physical sciences points to the purposeful operation of natural forces. A faith in these forces born of actual knowledge, brings with it a faith that, if not the immediate fruit of knowledge, is no less real in the domain of what Einstein has happily called "the cosmic spiritual sense." From observation of these natural forces, this irrevocable order of the universe, springs a new confidence in an intelligence that is

above the world. A new reality is given to faith, a faith which is now endowed with all that we comprehend in the word "evidence."

IN the field of economics it is not conceivable that in the forces that are in play we are dealing with a "planless" universe. Here as elsewhere there is a natural order, here as elsewhere natural forces operate. All the laborious efforts at government planning presupposes an artificial, not a natural order of the universe. Substituting for present injustices the observance of a few natural laws that we may recognize in society, we arrive at a conception of government and social development which leaves little room for regulation and regimentation.

WE may anticipate the objection that will be raised. How are these natural laws to be discovered and in what do they consist? We begin by postulating that any system which makes private property of the planet is contrary to natural law and the law of justice. As generation succeeds generation, each must have its freedom to determine the conditions under which it may best thrive and prosper. It cannot thrive and prosper where it finds title deeds plastered over the earth's surface that forbid the free exercise of man's labor save by permission and exactions of the title holders. This is a denial of the right to life. Progress is halted where men must share the fruits of their labor with those endowed with the power of legal blackmail on every unit of wealth produced.

THIS may seem an extreme statement to many. It will not seem so to those who have given thought to the question. There are three partners in the distribution of wealth where there should be but two. The third partner who takes economic rent is an illicit intruder. The landowner as owner of the land makes no contribution to the resources of this ill-assorted partnership. It is true that he is supposed to furnish the land. But he did not make the land and its value is not due to him. Population gives it such value as it has, and this value increases as population increases and diminishes as population diminishes. That it does not go to the people who create it constitutes what Graham Peace calls "The Great Robbery."

PROF. Irving Langmuir, winner of the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1932, comes out with a really interesting proposition, this being that we cannot discover the cause of depressions because it is impossible to improvise an experimental slump. In other words, that as no laboratory demonstrations of a depression are possible, therefore economics is not a science. From which it would follow that nothing is a science that cannot be proved by laboratory experiment.

WELL, it is true that you cannot include so much wealth, so much wages, so much speculation, so much monopoly, and while mixing well, induce a recognizable residue of depression. It is impossible to furnish the proper admixture. Because we cannot produce experimental depressions with the factors involved for actual laboratory experiments we must substitute "wishful thinking." On this any comment would be superfluous, save to say that if Prof. Langmuir were not a great chemist he would make a great figure among the economists, such as they are!

A Great Soul Passes

DEATH OF OSCAR H. GEIGER

IT will be sad news to hundreds of his friends who do not yet know of it to learn of the death of Oscar H. Geiger on Friday morning, June 29, of a sudden heart attack.

He died at his home which was also the home of the School that with indefatigable labor he had built to its present proportions, and to the greater success of which he was looking with that hopeful vision that was part of his nature. It was an augury of the future that the student body numbering some eighty pupils, young men and women who have learned of their teacher the vision and practicability of a new and just social order, declared to the very last among them, "The School must go on." The debt they owe to the teacher must be repaid. The truth which they have learned must be passed on to others.

His death was a great shock to those who knew and loved him. The noble qualities of his mind, the supreme devotion, and the sacrifice he had made, were known to many who were close to him. He had done this, for he felt, as many of us did, that he was on the eve of a great achievement. He had, what so many of us seem to lack, imagination. His vision pictured the School growing year by year, until it should exercise a compelling influence upon public thought, on the leaders of opinion.

And this was, we are convinced, no idle hope. It is not yet too late for those who remained cold to the call of Oscar Geiger and the School to step into the breach and save the greatest adventure ever begun in the interest of the movement. God knows that he asked nothing for himself. As pure in heart as in mind, as beautiful and serene a character as ever walked the earth, he gave his all, and by his intensive labors hastened his end. "Those who will live for it—if need be die for it." "That is the power of truth." And Oscar Geiger did not shrink from the possibility. "The School must go on," he said to us when urged to relax and seek recreation.

It is not yet too late, we repeat, to make the vision of our friend a reality. Not yet too late, for he has left a group of disciples touched with fire that was all his own who comprise the nucleus of a new army that is forming. And they stand ready to "carry on." And those who are

known to cherish a belief in the cause, who for any motive have held back, have still their opportunity.

To Oscar it will not matter now. He is with the saints. And though something of the sweetness and light has departed, though the world is temporarily poorer for his going, he has left in his life and work much that is destined to bear fruit. Not all of his dream has been realized but he had passed the threshold. Something of the inner beauty of that palace of light and truth, the glorious structure of a new civilization for a freer race of men and women, he had seen and made others see. Perhaps that was achievement enough for any man.

We have said that to him it does not matter now who helps or who, standing idly by, refuses help. But perhaps it does. Oscar Geiger believed—he said *he knew*—that the individual consciousness does not die with death. This was a part of his faith on which to all save a few he was nobly reticent. And another faith he held, equally, we fear, as remote from popular apprehension, that the truth for which he gave his life is part of a natural law as irrevocable as that the sun will rise tomorrow. Civilization may go down, but the simple truth of Henry George, which is the truth of God, is implicit in creation.

Oscar Geiger has done his work—nobly has he done it. He will rest now, but perhaps he will rest better if those to whom he meant so much, not only the students he guided with gentle ministration out of the dark into the light, but we who are older in the movement, give to this truth a renewed devotion. That is all we can do for him now—pure soul, unsullied spirit!

HIS LIFE AND WORK

Oscar Geiger was sixty-one years old but seemed much younger, for he had kept his spirit young. He had studied for a rabbi and was for a time superintendent of the Deborah Orphans Home here. Later he declined a call as pastor of a Unitarian Church in Boston. Then he drifted into the theatrical business and became bookkeeper for Koster and Beal and other managers.

Later he entered the fur business and founded a house of his own which rapidly attained a standing in the retail trade. He became an authority on the subject of fur and later served as buyer for a number of houses here, Loeser's in Brooklyn, and Arnold Constable in Manhattan. No one in the fur trade was more highly respected for his knowledge and probity. On the very eve of assuming the work of the Henry George School he had received a flattering offer from an established fur house which entailed an assured competence and a share in the business. This was declined.

His work in the Henry George movement is known to readers of LAND AND FREEDOM. He was a member of the Committee of Forty-Eight which was swallowed up by the Farmer-Labor Party, and he was the keynote speaker at the Chicago convention, which fizzled out. But you recall how in the finest speech ever made by Mr. Geiger

he held that convention for a brief space in the hollow of his hand. *Almost* that great convention was on the point of being swayed by this speech to declare for the only remedy that would have held them together, and perhaps the course of history would have been changed. Certainly the Committee of Forty-Eight would have been saved. But the politicians were too strong, despite the well intentioned purposes of the leaders who did not know what they wanted. But we were all proud of Oscar Geiger for that magnificent appeal which had almost won out.

Mr. Geiger is survived by his wife, to whom the cause her husband served owes almost as much, and his son, Prof. George Raymond Geiger, author of "The Philosophy of Henry George."

THE SERVICES AT THE SCHOOL

The funeral services in the School, 211 West 79th street, on Sunday afternoon of July 1, at which perhaps a hundred and fifty or more were gathered, were conducted with dignity by Hon. Lawson Purdy, who read the Lord's Prayer and the great chapter from "Progress and Poverty," the Problem of the Individual Life. He closed with Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar," and paid a fine personal tribute to the great dead.

There was hardly a dry eye in the crowded rooms of the School, but it was apparent that those present mingled with their sorrow an intense determination that the cause for which our friend gave his life must not be allowed to die. His words, "The School must go on," seemed ringing in their ears even as his body was lowered in the earth.

ADDRESS OF

HON. CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY

Mr. Purdy then introduced Charles O'Connor Hennessy, who spoke as follows:

If the spirit of Oscar Geiger is hovering near us today, in this school room, as well may be, I am sure he would be disposed to admonish anyone chosen as I have been to speak on this occasion, to say little in personal eulogy except it be related to the cause for which, in a more than figurative sense, he gave his life.

But it should be recorded none the less that this good man who has passed from our mortal sight was a fine gentleman, a scholar and a lover of his kind. He was a gentleman, I mean, in that sense of being a gentle, manly man, brave enough to live his life according to high principles of duty and justice at whatever cost. Of such on Judgment Day I am sure will be formed the host of the True Anointed of the Lord.

Oscar Geiger's greatest attainment was as a teacher of the truths of political economy as Henry George had revealed them in his immortal writings; truths which are now of the most vital concern to humanity; portentous truths which have been unperceived or neglected or distorted by most of the teaching professors of our time. It was Oscar Geiger's part to saturate his fine mind with George's philosophy and economical teachings, and reveal them persuasively and convincingly to the minds of others.

I recall the great tribute paid to Dr. John Dewey by the teaching profession upon the occasion of his seventieth birthday, a few years ago. At that time Dr. Kilpatrick, Professor of Education at Teacher's College, in expressing the gratitude of teachers said something to the effect that Dr. Dewey had helped them to see truth more broadly, more deeply, more clearly and more truly than anyone else. Some of us here recently had the privilege of hearing a number of students under Oscar Geiger earnestly testify to the same idea as applied to him. He had helped them to see the breadth and depth and clarity of George's revelations. Mr. Geiger listened to this testimony at a notable public gathering over which he presided, and I am sure he was made very happy by it. For had not his great teacher, Henry George, declared that it is given to few men to sow the seed and know that it will grow.

The teachers headed by the President of Yale, who were so justly extolling John Dewey on his seventieth birthday, were considering him as a world-honored expositor of educational theory. But as a great philosopher he would no doubt tell us that the thing that is taught is always more important than any process of teaching it. So I deem it no disparagement of his intellectual eminence to say that the things he taught about education, however true, may be of far less importance to humanity than the things that have been taught in the Henry George School of Social Science by Oscar Geiger. Not only in New York but elsewhere throughout the country, and even in lands across the sea, there are now a growing number of educated men and women who believe that civilization is in the shadow of a great menace, and that there is now no need in the world so great and so pressing, if it be not too late, than the need for the sowing of the seeds of George's teachings in the minds of men.

We are told that a few hours before his death Oscar Geiger was listening here to President Roosevelt's eloquent radio address to the nation, on the evening of June 28, which concluded with the inspiring invocation to all of us "to make and keep this country of ours a God's Country."

I think there must have been sadness in the heart of our departed friend on hearing these words sent from the White House, into the homes of listening millions of our people. Perhaps Oscar Geiger, like some others of us, was thinking of President Roosevelt as a humane and courageous man struggling valiantly but in vain with the greatest problems and anxieties that have ever confronted a President of the United States. I do not know what Oscar Geiger thought when he turned away from the radio the other night, but he may well have been both sad and fearful.

Not long ago he expressed to me the conviction, shared by many of us, that the President with all his worthy zeal for the relief of distressed millions in a land of plenty, was wasting himself as well as the substance of the nation in doctoring symptoms rather than dealing with the cause and cure of a great social disease. Not in that wise, we fear, can any God's Country be attained.

Oscar Geiger knew his Henry George, and no doubt recalled that his great prophet had reminded us more than once that the lesson of the centuries demonstrates to all who have eyes to read and brains to think that a social structure whose foundations are not laid in justice cannot endure. And he knew his Old Testament too, with its proverbial admonition to the nations that:

"Where there is no vision the people perish;
but he that keepeth the law, happy is he."

I believe Oscar Geiger *was* happy, in spite of the personal sacrifices and privations he endured for the faith that was in him. Because, caring very little for material rewards, he hungered and thirsted greatly after righteousness. And, thus exalted, he was true to his vision—and *he kept the law*.

AT THE GRAVE

Our friend was buried at Woodlawn Cemetery. Here Stephen Bell spoke as follows:

There is no occasion to grieve for Oscar Geiger. His life in a very real sense was an unusually full one. He beheld with extraordinary clearness that vision of the civilization that will be when men are fit for it, when humanity shall have grown to mental and spiritual maturity, and to have beheld that vision is well worth having lived even a life of hardship and self denial and self-sacrifice. Who of us would part with that vision for any earthly consideration? Who of us have not regarded with commiseration those who never saw it? Let our grief be for those he has left behind—for the noble woman whose loving sympathy has been his support and consolation in his uphill struggle to establish his Henry George School of Social Science, and for his son, who in his book has pointed out to us elements of strength and beauty in the work of the Prophet of Civilization that many of us may have overlooked or forgotten.

And let our grief be for ourselves, too, for we have lost a wise leader, peculiarly gifted in the art of imparting to others the knowledge, understanding and wisdom of life which he had himself gained—a born and trained teacher. Who is there amongst us who, having realized the work that he was doing in his School, have not sung with renewed appreciation the old hymn:

"This is the thing I long have sought,
And mourned because I found it not?"

This Henry George School of Social Science, in which so many have had their conceptions of the "Dismal Science" gloriously transformed into a science of hope for all humanity must be made a fitting monument to the memory of its founder as well as to the memory of the Prophet of Civilization himself. Let its sustaining gifts, endowments and benefactions be known as the Oscar Geiger Foundation Fund, and let them not be small.

There are still left some of us who were electrified 37 years ago when John S. Crosby declared: "If those mute lips could speak, they would say, 'Talk not of me, but of my principles and work, and carry them on to fruition.'"

Thus would Oscar Geiger speak to us. Let us then take up this work and carry it on, not, as too often in the past we have done, as a threat to the existing constitution of society, but as a calm, intellectual appeal to reason for an amendment to that constitution which is approved on the highest plane of morality and reason, and which will prove a blessing not only to that vague "greatest number," but to all.

DEFENDING the New Deal as a cure for economic ills President Roosevelt said on April 24: "We have got to discover the right and the wrong way." The President still has to discover that the right way to cure an evil is to remove its cause and that all other ways are wrong ways. The pretended economists of the Brain Trust need the same instruction.

Let Us "Move Forward"—Together

A MESSAGE FROM THE HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL

"**T**IME is an element in this"—was an expression heard frequently in our school group-meetings, as we worked to send out our Student Message to the followers of Henry George, asking them to join with us in forming a Henry George Fellowship.

It was on April 19 that that expression was first used. As our message centered around seed-growing and the spring, it was felt that the message must be out before the summer.

Seven weeks later the message had gone out, answers were coming in, and at our Commencement Dinner, on June 7, Mr. Hennessy, president of the Schalkenbach Foundation, in his address said:—"And now the Great Adventure on which Oscar Geiger embarked three years ago has come to a successful issue"—meaning that the student support was assured, and the future bright for our great teacher and leader. For that he was great, and good, we *know*.

Three weeks after that happy evening, the illness which had at times given him sharp, sudden warnings struck swiftly in the night, and within two hours thereafter his great soul passed on.

That is not yet a week ago, as I write. Yet some of the students and friends of the School hurriedly called together, true to their belief in the spiritual quality of this work, and encouraged by his belief in them as leaders-in-training under him, convinced that his spirit will lead them yet to "Move Forward" in this great cause for the ultimate freedom of man, are communicating to the Trustees of the School their desire to serve, voluntarily if need be in any capacity, in this emergency. *For the School must go on.* The sign in our leader's own beautiful handwriting which greeted us always on classdays—"Door Open" must still greet those for whom we seek to provide free scholarships and all those who will in the future seek the truth he taught there, which his students and the leaders chosen will share with them. There were fourteen of these students and friends present on Tuesday, July 3, when this determination was voiced, and in a certain two minutes of that meeting, \$1,050.00 was subscribed for the work next year. One of the student-council members, a teacher, offered his time during the summer to further increase this amount, by personal appeals to those present at the commencement Dinner, who thereby showed their interest in the cause, and received the inspiration of that meeting, and who will be *certain* to fee with us a conviction of the need to maintain this School—the Power-House, and Light-House too,—of this great Henry George Fellowship. He asks that those of us who can provide him with other names of personal friends

whom he might influence communicate those names to him, if addresses are in New York or vicinity. He is Mr. Max Berkowitz, and may be addressed at the School.

The hope behind this is that we may begin to provide adequately for a director and paid staff to carry on the work as soon as may be.

Returning to our thought of this Great Adventure upon which Oscar Geiger embarked three years ago, these words of Ulysses from the Odyssey come to mind:—

"For my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the western stars, until I die.
It may be that the gulfs will wash us down,
It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
And see the great Achilles, whom we knew."

Only there was no "may be"—in his understanding of the journey to the Happy Isles, for there he believed he *would* see the great Achilles whom he knew, and followed in this Great Adventure. And I, for one, believe he now has seen him, and trust to a spiritual leadership of both these great-hearted souls in the widening and working-out of our growing Henry George Fellowship, with this School as its centre in America.

Join with us, join now and know a peace that passes understanding, at having lined up with the forces of Ormuzd against Ahriman—the Prince of Light against the Powers of Darkness.

"Strong soul and high endeavor, the world needs them now."

Let us "Move Forward"—together—and **Send Aid to the School.**

HELEN D. DENBIGH,

President of the Student Alumni Council,
Henry George School of Social Science,
211 W. 79th Street, New York City.

IN the art of getting revenue by a tax on wealth the bandit, Dillinger, is an expert. He knows how to enforce the rule about taxing in accordance with ability to pay and he does it. And the government which gets its own revenue by methods based on principles similar to Dillingers is trying to punish him. It would be more consistent to put him in charge of public revenue collecting.

MARK TWAIN once advised a diet of whales to a person in need of brain food. On considering the person's deficiency he added however that the whales need not be more than of average size in his case. Had Mark been advising the Brain Trust he would not have suggested whales, but the need, as in Jonah's case, of the special creation of a fish enormous enough to supply the requirements.

A LEGISLATOR who does not scruple to vote for a dishonest tax law can not be relied upon to be scrupulous in other matters.

Address at Commencement Dinner of the Henry George School, June 7, 1934

By HELEN D. DENBIGH

MR. GEIGER, leader of the newly formed Henry George Fellowship, Members of that Fellowship and Friends:

It is with a deep appreciation of the significance of our presence here tonight that I shall speak of our School and some of its most recent activities.

The Henry George School of Social Science is a school where devotion to an idea prevails; where sincerity pervades the atmosphere, and facts are faced; a place where selfishness is ruled out; where faith revives and reason reigns.

It is a place which has frequently seemed to me, since I found it last October, to be the *sanest* spot in this city. It carries healing in its message, which would bring Peace, Joy, Opportunity and Security to men. Of this, its student body has become convinced under the patient, skilled, wise teaching of the Henry George theory by the director, Oscar Geiger.

In the words of an observer, Frank Chodorov, "The Henry George School of Social Science is the hope of the continued life of our movement."

Is it any wonder that a feeling should spring up of the value of and need for fellowship with the other students attending, in some cases, other classes in the School,—as we realized the new point of view we were *all* getting and sensed the fine spirit of generosity, and understanding in this or that one, and began to appreciate the sterling qualities of others?

How interesting for instance it was to learn that one student had brought twelve of his friends to the course; that another had induced fifteen of his business acquaintances to come with him that they might study this theory together; that a third had given of his best efforts for weeks to help young students find their way to the Free Discussion Group.

Is this kind of thing usual?

Its very unusualness points to power somewhere.

In the message? In the teacher?

In *both*, in this most fortunate of Schools.

As an outcome of this feeling of a need for Fellowship the *spirit of service* to this great cause was born, for we soon learned how much the School,—and so the whole Henry George movement—needed us.

On Thursday, April 19, exactly seven weeks ago tonight—a date which may become historic in this movement—there was held in the main classroom of the School a meeting of the Part II Students.

It was found to be their common feeling that at the School itself there burned a light, which might become

the strongest of influences to pierce the darkness of men's minds at this crisis in the world's history.

We realized we had a leader, consecrated to the ideals of this great American Social Philosopher, Henry George, —a leader equipped by heart and mind, and soul, and training. Yet this very work for mankind was in peril from lack of funds! and this light might fail.

No. Round him there rallied this group of his student-friends determined to help forward this work. Twenty of them became members of the Student Alumni Council, organized to act as a strong, vigorous advisory body, interesting itself in the physical ways and means of the School, and by them a message was prepared and sent out on May 28, inviting five thousand known followers of Henry George throughout the nation to join them in forming a Henry George Fellowship,—the purpose of which is:—

"To draw into closer bonds of Unity and Effort the true followers of Henry George, to the end that others may be enabled to see the star they see—that star that foretells the Dawn of a Day when their cause for the ultimate freedom of man shall triumph."

A call to answer to the Muster Roll of this Fellowship was a part of this invitation. (And may I tell those of you who have responded to this already, how gratefully your response has been received! It is a proof that the dreamers have not dreamed in vain!)

Announcement was also made of a plan for contributing towards whole or partial Free Scholarships at the School—to be offered to unemployed teachers, ministers, college students and others.

It is early to predict results, but I am told the response is greater to date than to that of any previous appeal, covering the same amount of time.

Our School has a library in the building stage and I wish to request for it books, and yet more books!

The granting of our permanent charter to take the place of our provisional one by the University of the State of New York, will come up in three more years, and is partly dependent upon our having a well equipped library. Mr. Bolton Hall, Chairman of the Library Committee, will gratefully accept such books as were designated in the circular that followed the message, and which are also most completely described in the May-June issue of LAND AND FREEDOM in that splendid article on our School, which I read with great pleasure last night.

One more school activity in the making remains to be mentioned—and that a most pregnant one. Some of the students intend to continue next year at the School as members of a Seminar, thinking and discussing together with Mr. Geiger as leader along various lines of thought not strictly sociological in nature, but of interest to members of the group.

To some of us, this was a wonderful appeal,—and its outcome—who knows?—*if to think truly is truly to live!*

The Student Alumni Council wishes to invite every

known follower of the Henry George movement in this country into this Fellowship, and will be most grateful for lists of names to be checked with the School list. If these lists of names are sent to the School the mailing will be done from there.

Nor is this Fellowship within the borders of our own great country our only hope. We now have a wider vision. Remembering that—"The Earth is the Birth-right of All Mankind"—may we not trust that leaders in the Henry George movement in Canada, England, Denmark, New Zealand, Australia and other countries, will be led to call their Muster Rolls and so join in what may thus become a world-wide Henry George Fellowship?

"He who will hear, to him the clarions of the battle call. How they call and call and call. Strong soul and high endeavors, the world needs them now."

Much depends upon us. Let us act well our part.

On the evening when our Fellowship is in one of its most impressionable and formative stages, I feel I must read a short passage from "Progress and Poverty"—familiar to some of you for years, to some for a year only.

(Miss Denbigh then read forty lines of "The Central Truth" from "Progress and Poverty," book X).

Let us catch the vision again together, and holding it—Move Forward!—which I hereby suggest as the slogan of our great Fellowship.

An Interesting Letter

THE following letter addressed to the Sleepy Garment Mills at Centreville, Mich., was sent by our friend H. W. Noren of Pittsburgh, and a copy forwarded to President Roosevelt:

Thanks for your offer to send us tags with NRA for such of your garments as were received previous to the enactment of the NRA code. You need not send us any. At the present rate of turn-over we will be five years selling old stocks of merchandise of all kinds of which none has any NRA tags.

NRA stands for the all-inclusive aim of the Federal Administration of which the AAA or Agriculture Adjustment Act is a part. This act provides pay for landholders who hold land idle, reduce crop acreage and for destruction of crops. I am told that in our city slaughter-houses throw little pigs into greese vats to be reduced to fertilizer on the order and payment of the Federal government.

Sooner or later this wanton destruction of the products of toil will be known even to the twenty million people in want of food and clothes and the NRA may become a detestable telltale and sign of the worst Administration in United States history.

In 1879 Henry George gave to the world his immortal code for social laws. One must go back to the laws of Moses to find anything of like importance. That George was born in these United States, or ever wrote anything, seems not to be known to anyone connected with the present Democratic Administration.

In their frantic effort to help landholders they have inflicted upon us a lot of clap trap rules to govern our conduct and adopted in large the age-old communist ideas of primitive man as worked over by Karl Marx and his present day followers of university professors. But even in this application of Marxism they violate Marxism itself for apparently the express purpose of benefitting no one save landholders.

The laws of Moses and the code of George they tramp under foot. Perhaps it is true, that whom the gods would destroy they first make mad.

Report of the Schalkenbach Work

LAST month it was explained that letters to Single Taxers were sent from this office, asking for help in putting before the newspapers of the country word of the new edition of "Social Problems." Among the many people who were kind enough to cooperate in this way were Mr. Henry Ware Allen who had letters published in several important papers, Mr. McGowan, whose letters were published in the Youngstown, (O.) *Telegram*, J. H. Kauffman of Columbus, O., Z. K. Greene, Middletown, N. Y.; Zetta Smith, Lindsay, Calif.; Stephen Bell, N. Y. City; Mathew Cowden, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Bailey, Del Rey, Calif.; and A. D. Scougal, Shell Rock, Iowa.

From the prepared material sent out from this office, editorials and book reviews on "Social Problems" were printed in the following newspapers: *Passaic Herald News*, *Columbus Dispatch*, *Boston Transcript*, *Christian Century*, *America* and *Johnstown Democrat*. Harry Elmer Barnes in his syndicated articles gave special notice to "Social Problems" as a result of a letter written from this office.

Three hundred and forty-four copies of the new edition of "Social Problems" have been sold and distributed since April.

Mrs. Anna George de Mille obtained much favorable publicity for the cause on the occasion of a recent lecture trip to Coshocton, Youngstown, and Niles, Ohio.

Special articles have appeared with greater frequency in the public prints on the subject of Henry George. One of the most interesting was a long and important article in the *Milwaukee Journal*, with full size picture of Henry George, and complete story of his life. Fred C. Kelly who writes for *Today* has mentioned Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" in several feature articles. Harlan Eugene Read and the famous "Bob Davis" are two celebrities who have recently spoken at length about Henry George and his books. William Lyon Phelps wrote at length of "Progress and Poverty" in a syndicated article. A copy of "Moses" and "The Philosophy of Henry George" have been sent to him by our President, Mr. Hennessy, with the compliments of the trustees of the Foundation.

In the American Library Association magazine called *The Booklist*, we have been running notices of pamphlets that are obtainable by librarians for the price of postage.

Harry Gunnison Brown's "Talk About Taxes, etc.," Henry George's "Single Tax, What it is and Why We Urge It," and Mr. John B. Sharpe's "New Political Economy," are all advertised and are being sent to librarians everywhere who are writing for copies.

In the last report we spoke about advertising in the *Annalist* where we placed a half page, back cover advertisement. One of the results of this was to procure an

interesting letter and order from a professor in far-off Durban, South Africa, (Natal University College.)

From the numerous letters that have been received by the Foundation, subsequent to the printing of the new edition of "Social Problems," the following may be considered an example of the kind of interest aroused throughout the country by our methods of correspondence, advertising and publicity:

"Gentlemen:

Is there any definite Single Tax organization in Michigan? If so, I am anxious to know its identity. Michigan is fast travelling in the opposite direction to Single Tax philosophy, and we seem to be very much in a minority. Some real constructive work should be done very soon.

W. J. PALMER."

We put Mr. Palmer in touch with several of the Detroit leaders and workers, and sent him considerable literature from which he could choose the pieces most suited to the work he intended to do. Now this is typical of the way in which group leaders come to the Foundation for aid, not only in literature, but for news and plans. Thinking about this led us to the conclusion that it might be well to send to about one hundred of the known leaders and workers in our movement, a special letter asking for their plans for the coming year. This we have done, and have also sent sample pieces of about fourteen leaflets and pamphlets prepared by the Foundation. We have asked each leader to let us know, after examination, which pieces are most acceptable, and most practical in supplying the needs of his community.

Twenty-three thousand copies of "Steps to Economic Recovery" have been printed and distributed in the past. We announce the further printing this week of ten thousand additional copies available at five cents a piece, or fifty for \$1. Ten thousand new booklists are also being prepared.

Perhaps the best news is the announcement of the printing of six thousand copies of an article by Paul Blanshard entitled "The Great Land Racket."

This article originally appeared in the *New Freeman*, and it is one of the best short arguments against the inequity of our present land system that can be found. A sample copy will be sent to anyone who will send a three cent postage stamp. The price is one cent a copy or one hundred for \$1.

Through the kindness of Mr. John Lawrence Monroe who sent us several hundred names of people whom he had interested during his lecture tours, we were able to send free literature and information about Henry George's writings to this new group. A great deal of work has been done during the past month with new lists of names.

Among the interesting donations of books made by the Foundation during the past month were gifts to the New York Public Library of additional copies of "Progress and Poverty," gifts of many copies of George books to the Dayton Public Library which reported a strong demand

for them; gifts to the Oregon State Library; and to the Oklahoma Penitentiary, whose Chaplain requested books of worth and good content for the man in his charge.

Our president, Mr. Hennessy, is gathering material for articles on the NRA, and on the Homestead subsistence project. We will be able to report more about this in a future issue.—ANTOINETTE KAUFMANN, Secretary.

Manhattan Single Tax Club

THE New Jersey gubernatorial campaign is underway, and while the actual campaigning is not yet begun, the preliminary set-up and organization are being planned so that Mr. Ingersoll and his committees may have a definite plan of procedure. Meantime, Mr. Ingersoll our president and candidate for governor has had the following meetings:

New Jersey Taxpayers Association, May 23.—This was the first public meeting of the campaign; 400 present. The three leading candidates were invited to speak; this is a sort of federation of 100 or more "locals" throughout the state aggregating a huge number of members; it has so far stuck closely to its programme of "reducing cost of government" and has repeatedly refused to even hear our plea for going to new sources. Mr. Ingersoll made his keynote speech and indicated the situation of their refusal in his opening: "This opportunity I have for years sought and little dreamed I would have to be nominated for governor to gain the coveted privilege of addressing you!"

Mr. Ingersoll overran his time but was generously applauded. He was preceded by Judge Dill, the Democratic candidate, and followed by Harold Hoffman, Republican. This was a very successful start.

To those doubting Thomases who think a political campaign does not advance our cause we commend a reading of passages from Mr. Ingersoll's stirring and studied talk! It was transmitted to 400 that most needed it, and is an entering wedge to a hundred thousand that may be reached by it during the campaign.

"But! we must go a step farther, beyond that question of weight and bulk of tax burden; without respect to the *amount* of taxes, there is something more vital, and that is the source of taxation.

"It should not be forgotten that a tax levied on any product of labor is added to the cost and price of that product, thereby making it dearer; on the other hand, if we collect our land values and all social values in lieu of taxation, for public expenses, we make land cheap, by encouraging the owner of land to put it into use; and please don't forget, my friends, that land is the source of every job; it is the source of all our subsistence, it is the source of all our employment of capital and labor.

"The crux of all our present taxation is its crushing force on the mass-buying power; it practically doubles the cost of everything bought and therefore cuts in half

the volume of buying and so makes half the business depression and unemployment.

"This is no class plea; the blighting effect of taxing wealth, capital and income is felt perpendicularly from the humblest worker, farmer, home owner, consumer—and through them—up to the greatest industrial corporation; it starts with 50 million laborers and farmers, but does not stop until, in explosions like that of 1929, it prostrates all business and industry.

"Here lies the road to tax economy—one tax in place of 100; and simple, easy to apply and collect; when we come to the point of collecting only social values instead of 'taxing everything,' we will have arrived at the minimum cost of government; first, by the obvious savings involved in having one simple tax in place of 100 complicated ones, second, having an honest basis of finance. Graft and inefficiency will be discouraged and eventually disappear."

Lakewood Kiwanis and Civic Club, May 29.—6:30 dinner; 60 present. Talked 35 minutes and had a very fine quiz lasting about two hours. Mr. Charles Hech was present and invited Mr. Ingersoll to spend the night at his Manhattan Hotel.

Mayor McNair of Pittsburgh was with us on May 31.—Mayor McNair appeared with Mr. Ingersoll at a special luncheon of representative women from the various clubs called by Mrs. Manning of the *Jersey Journal* staff at the Y. W. C. A., Jersey City; 25 present. Mr. McNair talked of the Pittsburgh Plan for 10 minutes and Mr. Ingersoll followed in a 5-minute talk on the importance of taxation to women whom Mr. Ingersoll called the greatest taxpayers. A good story appeared in the *Jersey Journal* the party including Mr. Bouton and Mr. Allen, then went to call on Mayor Ellenstein of Newark at the City Hall. Mayor Ellenstein being in Washington, Mr. McNair and Mr. Ingersoll talked with Deputy Kelly and reporters and a photograph was taken which appeared with a nice story in the *Newark Ledger*. A meeting was arranged with the Traffic Manager Association but because the Mayor had to return to Pittsburgh it was cancelled.

The Mayor and Mr. Ingersoll, however, went on the invitation of Mr. A. Edward Williamson, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, to the Community House meeting at West Orange where the Mayor spoke briefly to a limited but very fine audience.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Club, East Orange, June 7.—Invitation of Bourke O'Brien; mixed crowd of 50 men and women. Regular political club in a strong Republican town. Mr. Ingersoll spoke 40 minutes, working in much local information. Found them intensely interested, and asking questions before the meeting but very few after the talk. Promised a large meeting in September which will be very important.

Mr. Ingersoll has established a world's record, we are advised, by broadcasting 283 times this year. The broadcasts are distributed as follows: WABC, 1; WBN, 77; WDAS, 63; WOV, 7; WAAM, 3; WLTH, 22; WHOM

36; WVFW, 12; WCNW, 46; WBBC, 10; and WWRL, 6; or 283.

Mr. Ingersoll's current broadcasting schedule is as follows:

Monday, WVFW, 8:15 a. m., (1400 k.c.); WCNW, 2:45 p. m., (1500 k.c.). Tuesday, WCNW, 2:45 p. m., (1500 k.c.). Wednesday, WCNW, 2:45 p. m., (1500 k.c.); WBBC, 3:30 p. m., (1400 k.c.). Thursday, WLTH, 9 a. m., (1400 k.c.); WCNW, 2:45 p. m., (1500 k.c.). Friday, WVFW, 8:45 a. m., (1400 k.c.); WDAS, 5:15 p. m., (1370 k.c.). Saturday, WDAS, 10:15 a. m.; WDAS, 9:45 p. m.

His broadcasting is being curtailed now because more of his time has to be devoted to his campaign, which is now under way to an earlier and stronger start than was anticipated. We have a barrage of publicity throughout the state; 200 clippings to date. Here is a typical reference which shows the impression he has made and that he is regarded as a real candidate.

"It should not be overlooked that New Jersey has a 'third candidate' for governor this year, in the person of Charles H. Ingersoll, running under the title of Tax-Relief Candidate."—Union (N. J.) *Dispatch*.

The *Literary Digest* published the following with Mr. Ingersoll's face photograph on their page entitled "They Stand Out from the Crowd" in the issue of June 16.

"Charles H. Ingersoll, retired dollar-watch maker, will be the Single Tax candidate for Governor of New Jersey in the fall. He was brought up on a Michigan farm, but decided there was more of a career to manufacturing watches on a mass production-scale, and is the co-originator of the 'Watch that made the dollar famous.' At one time his firm produced 15,000 watches a day and he estimates that they sold more than 100,000,000 watches. Mr. Ingersoll speaks in a low, resonant, sonorous voice, likes to talk and converse with the people and be heckled by his audiences, rather than to deliver lectures. His campaign slogan is 'Plenty for Everybody.'"

The *Fortune* magazine published the following with photograph of Mr. Ingersoll and the bust of Henry George, "almost Mayor of New York." This was in the column called "Faces of the Month."

"In the '80's Single Tax was a potentially important movement. Now it comes only sporadically into the news. The latest news is that Charles H. Ingersoll, retired dollar-watch manufacturer, will be a Single Tax candidate for Governor of New Jersey this fall."

Mr. Ingersoll is going on tour during the last week in June. His meetings so far are as follows:

June 25.—Binghamton Chamber of Commerce, luncheon, J. Kennard Johnson, secretary. This was arranged by L. W. Statler of our office.

June 25.—Cortland Exchange Club, dinner meeting at the Cortland Country Club. This was also arranged through the efforts of L. W. Statler.

June 26.—Rochester Rotary Club, luncheon at the

Powers Hotel and broadcast over WHAM. Arranged by Charles A. Lingham, of Lockport.

June 27.—Lockport Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs luncheon. Arranged by Charles A. Lingham.

June 28.—Buffalo Rotary at the Hotel Statler, a luncheon. Arranged by Charles A. Lingham.

June 29.—Henry George Club luncheon at Pittsburgh. Arranged by Percy R. Williams.

Other arrangements are being made for meetings, full report of which will appear in the next issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

Another entering wedge was made with Mr. Ingersoll's appeal to the colored population of New Jersey, June 22, at a meeting of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Kenney Memorial Hospital in honor of Mrs. Grace Fenderson, at the Separate Battalion Armory, Newark.

MARCELLA STUTMAN, Office Secretary.

The Tories Go the Limit

By CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY

THE action of the so-called "national" government of Great Britain, in wiping out the land tax clauses of Mr. Snowden's budget of 1931, although little noticed in this country, was undoubtedly one of the most significant political events in the politics of Great Britain since the ousting three years ago of the Labor Government by a Coalition headed by Premier Ramsay MacDonald, and which included besides Mr. Snowden, Mr. Thomas, a former power in the Labor Cabinet, and Sir John Simon, Mr. Runciman, and Sir Godfrey Collins, representing a wing of the Liberal Party. While the personnel of the "national" cabinet was overwhelmingly Tory in complexion, the pretense that the aggregation was to be rather non-partisan and "national," was, for a time at least, outwardly maintained.

It is to be remembered that one of the last acts of Philip Snowden's service as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labor Cabinet was to force through Parliament in the first Budget of 1931, the proposal for a tax upon the site value of all land, to become operative in 1933. In the elections that followed the dissolution of the Labor Government, Snowden's speeches and his high prestige and personal following undoubtedly contributed toward the great political overturn that brought the "national" government into power. Upon his entry into the national cabinet, Mr. Snowden, because of the prevalent agitation for economies of administration, consented to the suspension of the work that had already been undertaken under his Budget Act to set up a system of valuation of the privately-owned land of Great Britain.

In the following year, the Tories, always representative of the land-owning class, and with an overwhelming majority in Parliament, undertook to wholly expunge land value taxation from the government programme.

Meantime Philip Snowden had left the government because of his disagreement with its protectionist tendencies, and without compromise of his radical principles, had entered the House of Lords, as Viscount Snowden. Mr. Baldwin placated his Tory supporters, who were demanding the death of land valuation, by declaring that it would be behaving indecently to a man like Lord Snowden to destroy the land valuation statute which Mr. Baldwin described as a "statute in coma." He made reference to the great help that Philip Snowden had given the government in the elections.

Now it appears that the Tory landlords have never ceased to insist upon the complete wiping out of the threat to their special privileges, involved in the proposal for land value taxation, and Mr. Chamberlain, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer in the recent budget has yielded to the landlord supporters of the government and abolished the Snowden scheme entirely.

The Manchester *Guardian* in an editorial headed "Toryism Triumphant" is bitter in its references to the cynical disregard for their implied pledges, now manifested by the government, and of the obviously indefensible acquiescence in the Tory policy by Premier MacDonald, Mr. Thomas, Sir John Simon and other Liberal leaders, who were once staunch supporters of the land value policy. The *Guardian* says:

"The parallel with the Lloyd George land taxes of 1909 is painfully close. In such another demoralizing Coalition their author gave way (in 1920) to a Tory ramp, and the taxes were dropped."

Meantime, Prime Minister MacDonald has been silent as far as Parliament goes. The *Guardian* says of him and the other former supporters of land value taxation: "They have become so tame that they will swallow anything."

In a letter to Secretary Madsen of the Georgist United Committee, the Prime Minister made a rather weak defense of the action taken by his Cabinet, the substance of his argument being to the effect that the Snowden Act was not comprehensive enough in any event "to enable a great deal to be done."

Lord Snowden, commenting on the decision of the government, was bitter in his attacks upon the apostacy of the Prime Minister. He says:

"I suppose this has been done at the instigation of the Prime Minister, who wants to give his Tory colleagues further proof of the thoroughness of his conversion to Toryism. According to the statements of the Tory Ministers at the time that the valuation was suspended, it would have been a humiliation for Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Thomas and Lord Sankey if the government repealed the valuation altogether. It will be interesting to hear whether what would have been a humiliation two years ago to these Ministers is no longer a humiliation. The only honest explanation they can give will be that nothing the Tory Ministers can do to make the Prime Minister swallow his former principles can humiliate him still deeper."

One effect of the action of the government in this matter has been to stimulate an extraordinary revival of interest in the land value tax policy, not only in the ranks of the Labor Party but among a large majority of Liberal leaders, although Lloyd George, for the time being, remains silent.

Arthur Madsen, secretary of the United Committee for Taxation of Land values, in a recent letter to me says:

"What has happened was no doubt a foregone conclusion from the beginning, for the landed interests are on top and they have forced the government to do away with the Act in time before the next general election. It may be said, I think, that the government has chosen this year's Finance Bill as the moment for slaughtering the land tax proposal, because they cannot be sure that they will be in office next year. By-elections are going heavily against them as illustrated by the recent voting in West Ham district of London where the Labor candidate was returned with a majority of 3,464, to be compared with a Tory majority in the same district of 5,108 in 1931.

"The Government surrender to monopoly and privilege with the incidental exposure and humiliation of the Prime Minister has put the taxation of land values forward as a very live issue and there is undoubtedly a new awakening of the public conscience and of the public interest in this question."

I see nothing in the new turn of political affairs in Great Britain to be sad about, for it has raised again, in an acute way, the issue which must ultimately destroy the Tory Government. To any one familiar with political trends in Great Britain it must appear that the sentiment for land value taxation has been steadily growing, and is stronger today than at any time that I can remember. The position of MacDonald, and the apparent acquiescence of those other members of the Cabinet taken over from the Labor or Liberal parties, is a new illustration of the extent to which mere politicians may be led to abase themselves and betray their professed principles for the sake of holding on to temporary place and power.

But Snowden's character as a real democrat and as a statesman who consistently relates his public conduct to his public principles is again splendidly made evident.

After Snowden's Valuation

By M. J. STEWART

SOME readers of LAND AND FREEDOM who enjoyed this scribe's account in July 1931 of the Snowden Land Valuation Act, may have the happiness to remember his summing up of the position: others who no doubt for good reasons disliked it may recollect it by courtesy. It was that the movement was in a more hopeful and a more precarious position than ever before: more hopeful because land value taxation as such was for the first time on the British Statute Book: more precarious because as response to the Edinburgh 1929 Conference had shown only one-third of the Cabinet and one-third of the Liberal and Labor Members of Parliament were even superficially and insincerely in its favor. Snowden was a rather half-hearted lion tamer, daunting amongst others the Prime

Minister who in eight bye-election special messages during the Budget campaign had never mentioned it, and stressed all sorts of irrelevant questions as momentarily urgent.

Upwards of 250 organizations, controlled by what Byron called "the landed self interest," united with the anti-Georgist section of Labor in a sham fight about a "crisis." Among these was the Boy Scouts Association, which when appealed to to refrain from this political action made the sanctimonious reply that political action was forbidden by their statutes! "Accursed is every one that maketh and worshippeth a lie." Sir Stafford Cripps was the right hand man of Lord Snowden in the Budget fight, but since the 1931 election has been the leader of proposals to deal with any other subject with maximum of violence; and the defective uninominal electoral system has not only given the Conservatives (about one-third of the electorate) nine-tenths of Parliament, but has assured that no Georgist (save Colonel Wedgwood) is there at all, though we are the fighting strength of Liberal and Labor groups in the Country. The great Labor success recently in London County Council elections followed a more cordial attitude in Herbert Morrison, the Boss, than he had ever shown previously; it has not since been relaxed.

The Conservative victory of 1931 led at once to suspension of work on the National valuation on the plea of economy. The 1934 Budget with its large surplus (due equally to repudiation of debts to U. S. A., and the prestige of all creditor States) made this economy plea untenable; and the wolf which tasted blood in the Rent Repudiation of 1642 showed its teeth again in repeal of the Valuation Act on June 6, 1934. The Commons debate was most impressive in its avoidance of principles! Mr. Neil MacLean, a Glasgow Labor man, opened with taunts to the Premier for being away at such a time. He added the useful pledge that if he could he would see to it that anything that was lost by this repeal should be added to the very first installment that was paid in Land Taxes under the first Labor Budget. Sir F. Acland, a great Liberal landlord who taught Lloyd George how to ruin Liberalism by differential proposals for rural land like the Acland estates and urban land held by Conservative Peers, lamented that the valuation (excluding such land as his) was to be swept away as a triumph of private greed; stigmatising the Premier's claim (to the United Committee) that the repeal would allow introduction of a more sweeping measure as "nauseating hypocrisy."

Lord E. Percy, a Conservative scion of the Northumberland and Argyll Dukes, made a strong fight for increment taxes on land value as the true Tory policy, through town planning authorities rather than the Treasury. An interesting view, not later contradicted by his colleagues, and indeed endorsed by Sir George Courthope soon after. This seems to be the more effective plan hinted at by the Premier. "File for Reference." It was again suggested by Sir A. Sinclair, a Liberal leader not as uniformly

hostile to Georgism as some others. The reply of Neville Chamberlain was as shallow as the debate. He pointed out that the Snowden valuation could not have been used as a basis of municipal taxation; that though the Increment Tax was popular in many quarters he had never seen any practical way to put it into operation. It involved compensation to all who made too costly a bargain, and difficulty in separating Increments due to the community from that due to the occupier. He emphasized the Premier's assurance to the United Committee for T. L. V., (he has never given a word to Parliament on the subject!) that the statute book was now disencumbered for a fuller scheme in a new Parliament. Sir S. Cripps very kindly said Taxation of Land Value was now dead, and when change came it would be far more sweeping and sudden. He also taunted the Premier, whose connection with the 1931 Valuation as above shown was not even passive. As I said "he is not far from us, but his back is turned and his pace rapid." Three years thus have elapsed. Lord Snowden showed his deep and unpopular wisdom by increasing his support of the Proportional Representation Society on the morrow of the Repeal. British Georgist leaders, Single Taxers and C. L. P. men alike, have as a body no conception of the necessity of accurate electoral methods and seem content to build up painful majorities which fall to ruin when the inter-party "Realtor" interests think well to have a new election on which the only sure prophecy can be that results will be different.

There is no reason why Georgists should be at all distressed at the position. The Increment Tax proposals must involve a valuation of all land value, which once made can be utilized for any purpose—all and more than what we have now lost. We need a leader young enough not to have been bought by "Realtor" interests, and jealous of those who have been. We need a revival of the great civic movement in which Glasgow, Liverpool and Cardiff once were so insistent before the party machines needed more cash support than members could give. At the moment the greatest figure in British life is Herbert Morrison, the Labor Boss of the London County Council, who as it is possible may be forging a sword of Conference of all the lesser Labor civic majorities (and Minorities): for so far as one can see there is no issue on which the Labor administrators in all parts of the country can unite in demanding reforms from a hostile Parliament except a wide measure of valuation and taxation by the local authorities of plunder now taken by Realtors. The sentimental socialism of the last generation is dead, and there is at the moment no substitution of Communist revival: but local taxation (and landlord's exemption) is a bitter and general grievance only needing a spokesman.

PERPETUITIES and monopolies are contrary to the germs of a free government.—Bill of Rights in the Constitution of Texas.

On the March With John Lawrence Monroe

SPEAKING APPOINTMENTS, MAY-JUNE, 1934

(With the name of person by whom each appointment was secured, and the attendance).

San Antonio, Texas.—Lions Club; 100; J. Andrew Smith, Sec.; noon; May 16.

San Diego, Calif.—Exchange Club; 10; John S. Siebert; noon; May 29. State College, economics class; 20; Dean Paterson; morning; June 1. Henry George Society; 25; John S. Siebert; evening; June 1. Carpenters Union; 100; evening; June 4. Machinists Union Local 389; 20; evening; June 4. Ship Carpenters Union; 15; evening; June 5.

Pomona, Calif.—Lions Club; 75; Dr. Paul R. Shenefield; noon; June 7.

Los Angeles, Calif.—Stationery Engineers Union; 75; evening; June 7. Van and Storage Union; 10; evening; June 7. Laundry Union; 10; evening; June 8. Lathers Union; 25; evening; June 8. Southern Pacific Carmen Union; 12; evening; June 11. Municipal League; 100; Anthony Pratt, Sec.; noon; June 12. Government Administration Group; 20; Bryant Hall; evening; June 12. Roosevelt Democratic Club of Glendale; 50; F. J. Sommerville; evening; June 13. Western Statistical Assn.; 25; Bryant Hall; evening; June 14. Studio, Hollywood; 15; Dr. Charles James; evening; June 14. Parliament of Man; 75; Mr. R. E. Chadwick; evening; June 15. Health Club of Calif.; 100; Dr. Charles James; evening; June 15. Studio of Adele Hatcher-Smith; 15; Dr. James; evening; June 15. Forum, Eutrophegan Restaurant; 50; Dr. James; evening; June 16. Naturopathic Convention; 25; Dr. James; afternoon; June 17.

Pacific Grove, Calif.—Exchange Club; 25; Fred Workman; noon; June 19.

Watsonville, Calif.—Rotary Club; 50; Fred Workman; noon; June 20.

Monterey, Calif.—Rotary Club; 50; Fred Workman; noon; June 21.

Salinas, Calif.—Lettuce Packers Union; 35; Fred Workman; evening; June 21.

Palo Alto, Calif.—Town Meeting; 20; Mrs. Valeda J. Bryant; evening; June 22.

Stockton, Calif.—Central Labor Council; 75; R. D. Wilson; sec.; evening; June 25.

Berkeley, Calif.—Kiwanis Club; 50; Mr. A. B. Campbell; noon; June 26.

San Francisco, Calif.—Labor Council; 350; John A. O'Connell; evening; June 29.

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TEXAS

The influence of Mayor J. J. Pastoriza and his "Log Cabin" Single Tax associates of twenty years ago is a living force in Houston today. This is shown by the preference still given personal property and improvements on the tax rolls and by the growth of the city under this encouragement to industry.

And now a new leader is rising in Houston to champion the cause that has known so many men of ability and devotion in the Lone Star State. Bill Beach Trueheart is a lad of fifteen, but there are few of twice or thrice his age who can match him for his understanding of the principles of Henry George. Although his grandfather, George

N. Beach, was one of the early Texan Single Tax leaders, and although his mother, Mrs. Bessie Beach Truehart, is an equally strong Single Taxer, Bill got his Single Tax—as all must get it—for himself.

On last March 29, without the knowledge of either his father or mother, Bill wrote President Roosevelt one of the most persuasive Single Tax letters that the President has probably received. Bill is making many converts among his school associates and is planning to organize a Henry George Club to spread the study of "Progress and Poverty." He is determined to do all in his power to help complete the work begun by his grandfather and Mayor Pastoriza, and carried forward to the present day by such leaders in Houston as Mr. P. W. Schwander. This is what Bill said in a recent high school talk—for Bill is as able a speaker as he is a writer:

It was during Mr. Pastoriza's term of office that most of the factories now operating successfully in Houston were started. Capital sought investment in Houston in preference to other cities because it was promised freedom from strangling taxation. Labor was employed in the wave of building activity by such great builders as Jesse Jones. . . . Production was encouraged. . . . Business men and laborers alike prospered. The only ones who might be said to have suffered were the land speculators.

Mr. Pastoriza drew the inspiration for his civic plan from the principles of Henry George, the great political economist, as laid down in his book, "Progress and Poverty." Mr. Pastoriza died before his plan for Houston was fully realized, and after his death, the land speculators pushed Houston back into our present unscientific system of taxation. The city experienced a slump after that, but it had received too great an impetus from the Pastoriza plan to fall far behind. . . . If we had such a system again we would have good times again. The depression would be over as far as Houston is concerned. If we had this Single Tax on land values all over the nation the depression would be gone as far as the nation would be concerned.

OTHER TEXAS NOTES. Judge Clarence A. Teagle, old-guard Houston Single Taxer, is campaign manager for Hon. James V. Allred, candidate for Governor of Texas. Mr. Allred is unalterably opposed to the sales tax. . . . Attorney Robert Ring, Houston Single Taxer, is son of the late H. F. Ring, author of "The Case Plainly Stated" and "The Problem of the Unemployed." . . . Mark S. Engleman of Dallas, whose Single Tax letters appear frequently in the press, is brother of the Kansas City Single Taxer, Frank J. Engleman. . . . In an able editorial in the April issue of *The Pitchfork*, Pitchfork Smith of Dallas stated that, "If Roosevelt's New Deal succeeds one hundred per cent the land speculators will take it all in increased rents. Every business man who has paid high rents through a period of good times knows this is the truth." Mr. Smith's speech on "The Squirrel Philosophy" was reprinted in the *Manchester Guardian* England. . . . Mr. J. R. Fuchs and March Fuchs are an ideal father and son combination. They are associated together in law and are as one on the philosophy of Henry George. Mark is a recent graduate of the University of Texas. . . . One of the many convert

of William A. Black, secretary of the Single Tax League of Texas, is Mr. E. P. Haye, youthful manager of the L. C. Smith typewriter agency in San Antonio. One of Mr. Haye's converts is J. Andrew Smith, secretary of the Lions Club, who arranged for Mr. Monroe's appearance before an important meeting of that organization. . . Judge R. B. Minor of San Antonio has made a valuable contribution to the science of government, in a pamphlet, "A Plea for Majority Elections in Texas." Judge Minor, though himself a staunch Single Taxer, is father of Robert Minor, recent Communist candidate for Mayor of New York City. . . . Mayor R. E. Sherman of El Paso is acquainted with the writings of Henry George. . . . Walter E. Stockwell, city planner of El Paso, recently read the "Philosophy of Henry George," by Dr. Geiger.

CALIFORNIA

The skill of the politician is combined with the idealism of the social reformer in Judge Jackson H. Ralston's proposed amendment to the California State Constitution.

Popular resentment against the California sales tax is so great that nearly every candidate for public office advocates either modification or abolition of the present two and one-half per cent levy. The forces of privileges in their greed and the politicians in their servility overstepped the bounds of political propriety when they imposed an unjust tax that the common man could understand as well as feel. The goose sees how he is being plucked.

In the people's resentment against the sales tax, Judge Ralston perceived a lever by which the greater part of the weight of taxation might be raised from the backs of labor and industry. With the wisdom of the statesman (for what is a statesman but a public servant who beats the politicians at their own game?), Judge Ralston has drafted a measure that abolishes the sales tax forever, but which also repeals all taxes on tangible personal property and buildings gradually over a five year period, substituting land value taxation.

The proposed amendment is so drawn that it appeals to all groups. It appeals to farmers and has been endorsed by farm organizations because it particularly specifies that "all fencing, drainage, vineyards, orchards, growing crops, and the like," shall be entirely exempt from taxation. It appeals to organized labor and has been endorsed by the State Federation of Labor because Labor can easily see that the sales tax means a reduction in wages while the exemption of improvements means more jobs and higher wages. It appeals to small home owners because it provides for the immediate exemption of \$1,000 of the assessed value of buildings on declared homesteads. It appeals to small business men because they have found it difficult to collect the irksome sales tax.

Thus is seen how it may be possible, as Henry George said, to secure "a union of political forces strong enough to carry" our measure into practical effort. Victory at

the polls in November is assured to an unprecedented degree for a measure of such far reaching importance.

The opposing forces, of course, have raised a war chest to fight the measure. Newspapers will be silent or will oppose. But in Judge Ralston is the rallying point for the widest possible range of supporters. All have confidence in him. All who work with him come to share his enthusiasm and his well founded hope that the birthplace of "Progress and Poverty" may yet lead the way toward economic democracy.

There is a growing realization on the part of all who consider the proposed amendment that in its provisions lies the programme of economic reform that can be adopted, that can be administered, and that will have immediate effect in opening unlimited opportunities for employment and production in all fields.

The officers and advisers of the Tax Relief Campaign Committee include two candidates for Governor, labor officials, famous writers, university professors, and Single Taxers, old and new, in their various walks of life.

In San Diego we find an active Henry George Society with John S. Siebert, architect and former resident of Cumberland, Md., as president, and Mr. E. M. Stangland, formerly of Chicago, as secretary. Mr. Siebert and Mr. Stangland are joined in their determined efforts by Silas S. Taber, Ray H. Taber, Grant and Elsie Webster, Sid Evans, W. R. Edwards, Miss Louise McLean, Thomas P. Craig, Capt. W. W. Gilmer, Mr. H. J. Eckert, Tom Givens Dawson, Richard Pourade, and Henry Cramer, to mention a few.

Mr. Dawson was printer for *The Ingram Institute News*. Mr. Pourade was the editor of that paper for a time and is now correspondent on the *San Diego Sun*. Mr. Cramer is a convert of Mayor William N. McNair of Pittsburgh from the time when Mr. McNair was director of the Ingram Institute. Among other friends of the movement in San Diego are Mr. L. E. Claypole, political writer on the *Sun*, and Mr. Albert G. Rogers, editor of the *Labor Leader*, and son of a former governor of Washington.

In Los Angeles, Mr. George W. Patterson, president of the Freeland Club, is serving as president of the Tax Relief Campaign Committee for Southern California. Mr. Patterson is actively supported by Dr. Charles James, Mr. A. J. Samis, Mr. J. M. Wood, Mr. R. A. Jackson, Mr. Waldo J. Wernicke, Mr. R. E. Chadwick, Mr. L. J. Quinby, Mr. George J. Shaffer, Mr. David Woodhead, Hollis C. Joy, Frank H. Bode, Mr. W. D. Hoffman, Bernard Martin, Archie V. Hahn, Thomas V. Ward, Solon B. Welcome, and George E. Lee, among others.

In San Francisco, S. Edward Williams, secretary for the Tax Relief Committee for Northern California, has been laboring fifteen and twenty hours a day on behalf of the amendment. He is in constant demand as a speaker and together with Mr. E. Bakcus he handled the main brunt of the signature work in San Francisco.

In every important center throughout the State there are those who are doing everything to advance the amendment and the principles it represents. In Pacific Grove, for instance, there is Fred W. Workman; in Stockton, Mr. L. D. Beckwith and Mr. J. Southwick; and in Sacramento, Mr. Edward Adams, and Mr. H. G. Hecker.

OTHER CALIFORNIA NEWS

Among the writers identified with the Ralston Amendment are Lincoln Steffens, Kathleen Norris, C. E. S. Wood, Hamlin Garland, John H. Barry, Upton Sinclair, and George Creel. The latter two are rival candidates for the Democratic nomination for Governor.

Mr. Archie V. Hahn of Los Angeles is one of the State's leading convert-makers. Three of his friends have just subscribed to LAND AND FREEDOM. They are Mr. A. W. Nelson, Mr. Charles Burrige, and Mr. Jack Macartney.

Three of the most prominent men in the strike situation in San Francisco were Single Taxers: Andrew Furuseth, president of the International Seamen's Union, and Archbishop Edward J. Hanna and O. K. Cushing, members of the President's special appeal board.

Mr. A. J. Milligan of San Francisco has conducted three ten-weeks' courses in Progress and Poverty since 1929. The classes have had an average attendance of thirty. Mr. Milligan is now organizing a public speaking class which will furnish speakers for the amendment campaign.

Mr. Bryant Hall, research engineer for the Regional Planning Board Commission of Los Angeles County, first heard about the Single Tax from Lawson Purdy and John J. Murphy when he was employed by the National Housing Association of New York City. Since recently reading Henry George's statement of the problem in Progress and Poverty he has been making a close study of the subject. He arranged two important appointments for Mr. Monroe, one before the Government Administration Group composed of several city managers, professors, and regional planners, and the Western Statistical Association.

One of the members of the Government Administration Group is Gordon Whitnall, son of Mr. C. B. Whitnall of Milwaukee. Mr. Whitnall, Sr., is chairman of the Milwaukee Committee on Tax Problems which recently issued an important recommendation for land value taxation.

Judge Ben Lindsey has been speaking for the Ralston amendment.

There are none who have been more devoted to the cause of social justice throughout the years than Mrs. Lona Ingham Robinson of Glendale. Though her health will not permit her now to take the active part to which she has been accustomed, Mrs. Robinson is as always giving every help and encouragement she can to the progress of the work.

Two taxes were once currently enforced in England, a tax on bachelors and a tax on marriages.

A State to Control Monopolies Only

By MARK MILLIKEN, M. D.

THIS is what I hope will fill the bill of "an intelligent rejoinder" to an amazing article by Henry Pratt Fairchild in the May issue of *Common Sense*. The amazement is not at its double-headed theme, to eradicate "conflict in all business alignments, and the struggle for private monetary profits as the main dynamic of economic activity," but he missed something, or at least did not express it. Why he did not see the superiority of "A State to Control Monopolies Only," over his plan of "A Non-Corporative State," is the occasion of my surprise.

He has little use for the NRA and the "alphabetic permutations" that indicate plans of relief. Nor have I; and I fully agree with him when he says, "in all the activities and expedients of the New Deal, venturesome and humanitarian as they are, it is impossible to discover any features of a thorough and effective recovery programme, and certainly not of a set of plans and specifications for a genuinely new social order." That they are venturesome, there is no doubt. That they are humanitarian, yes, because like the old woman in the sick room, not knowing just what to do, the administration tries a little of everything.

Prof. Fairchild says that our problem is "to find a formula that will eliminate competitive struggle to the maximum extent, while interfering as little as possible with the cherished traditions and emotional and temperamental proclivities which are as dear to human beings as material comfort or even security." And then he assails what he calls the individualistic—capitalistic system. Here is a good time to say that the critics of individualism are about the most rampant individuals on the planet.

Their individualism stands out in their writings, their speeches and their idiosyncrasies. They are, as a rule, non-conformists. They may be physically weak, but they subordinate their opinions to nobody. Many of the older critics were brought up on the doctrine of "rights" so well worked out on a biological basis by Herbert Spencer; but his epoch-making book, "Social Statics," is now 34 years old, and to quote from that book is like riding down Fifth Avenue in a rusty model T. So after lauding some principles and values which are in the bone and brain of every well educated Englishman and American—personal liberty, freedom of action and self-determination, things incompatible with state socialism,—he proposes this remedy: "*the excision of the corporation from the body politic because it is the causation of economic chaos and personal distress.*" The corporation is regarded as a malignant growth in the body politic which secretes the toxin called *profit*. This is the view of socialistic pathologists. On the other hand, individualistic pathologists view the corporation as a

highly integrated phenomenon performing a useful and varied service, and only secreting toxins when restricted or abused. Prof. Fairchild speaks of the corporation as "this monstrous excrescence" and again goes into a very concise and illuminating description of its functions.

May I remind Prof. Fairchild that pathologists do not think that malignant growths have any function? These monstrous excrescences are masses of cells running wild in their anarchy and orgy of reproduction. So it would appear that Prof. Fairchild is unfortunate in his metaphor. However, there will be little disagreement in his statement that the corporation "fosters the development of the profit motive in all its most irresponsible, rapacious, and destructive forms." With this indictment he proposes the following remedy: *the immediate expropriation, and future ownership and operation of all business corporations by the Federal Government.* The italics are his, not mine, though if making any contribution, I should add several exclamation points. He admits that this proposal is radical and 'subversive;' but that "it is formulated in the engineering spirit;" that "it is an attempt to discover what means will produce a desired result, given a certain set of conditions to start with." Here I must criticize his evident confusion of structure and function. He makes the common mistake of seeking a desired result while ignoring the means of obtaining it. As an example, I need money. There is a proper way of obtaining it by putting up collateral and borrowing it at the bank. There is a wrong way, such as robbing the bank. The result (money) is gotten, but it makes a vast difference how. And so it is with many evils that crop out from human activities. Bad as they are, our frontal attacks against them are usually failures and the parents of more evils. There is a tacit belief in the old doctrine that the king can do no wrong in this plan of the campaign against profits. Prof. Fairchild says, "The people of the United States, acting through its Federal Government, and by due process of law, seizes the ownership of all existing business corporations, meaning by that term a corporation created for the purpose of making profit." Evidently the ethics of taking over something which doesn't belong to all of us, such as a store or a factory trouble him, for he plans to issue certificates to the stockholders providing for payments on the original stock, thus reimbursing them in twenty years.

Having obtained these "monstrous excrescences," the government proceeds to operate them on a non-profit plan. His conclusion is, that "since there are no profits to be made there is no incentive to produce beyond the consumers desires of the public." Nobody will deny that this is a valid conclusion. And here is another balanced statement: "Since there is no effort to put the selling price above the cost of production the purchasing power is always equal to the cost of production, and all the goods for which there is an actual demand can be sold."

Prof. Fairchild would allow the individually-owned

businesses to proceed as before. Partnerships may do the same, provided they are good and abstain from the bad features of the corporations. This indicates that the conflict in his mind between his latent individualism and the precepts of NRA has been called a draw. He admits that his plan is a "straddle between individualism and socialism."

* * * * *

My criticism of his plan is that he has proposed socialization of things which do not need it, and has ignored the socialization of those which do. My thesis is, that *all natural monopolies ought to be controlled and owned by the political units in which they are.* That means railroads, telegraph and telephone systems, pipe lines, deposits of coal, oil and gas; rivers and harbors, large areas of forests, roads, airways. Being a Single Taxer, I am more than willing to join hands with the socialists, who in a weak way (much to their discredit) advocate the government exercising its right of eminent domain and taking over the land. This belief then leads to another opinion. It is that the true functions of the nation, the state, the county and the municipality ought to concern themselves with the natural monopolies within their respective boundaries and let the individual alone. I do not regard U. S. Steel or the Standard Oil as monopolies. They are big, but they are not natural. They could not have achieved their size had the government owned and controlled natural monopolies from which they draw sustenance. This is the crux of the situation. We allow individuals to get control of natural monopolies such as come under the head of public utilities. They mulct the public, and, as a remedy, legislators with no knowledge of the canons of taxation, proceed to tax them. The stock in these corporations, being hygroscopic, swells up and attracts the investor. The latter, now a co-parasite of the society served by this utility, draws dividends from profits. This offends Prof. Fairchild; he would have the government take such an institution over. So would I; not because it made profits, but because it is a monopoly in private hands. The profits are incidental and final. Paid out by a private concern they should go to stockholders. Paid by a natural monopoly they should go to the consumers at lower prices. I can see nothing wrong in profit. As an example, a man produces milk on a farm. He sells it at a profit to a middleman who transports it to a city distributing and sterilizing plant at a profit. The distributors sell it to a grocery at a profit, and the grocer sells it to the ultimate consumer at a profit. The "spread" between the price at the farm and what the ultimate consumer pays is often a subject for official investigation. What is wrong? The farmer is paying land rent to his landlord. He is paying taxes on his equipment. The middleman is compelled to buy a refrigerated conveyance. He is confronted with labor troubles. The owners of the milk-plant are likewise the victims of our obsession to tax industry, as are their employees. The same is true of the

grocer. The milk in its progress towards human gullets has jumped a series of useless and harmful hurdles. To obviate some of these effects of officialdom Prof. Fairchild would have the Federal Government take them over, on the homeopathic principle that "like cures like." Instead of having first things come first he proposes to have last things come first. I would tackle the fundamentals first with every assurance that the incidentals would take care of themselves. Sweet are the users of *laissez-faire* when working under conditions of freedom.

Prof. Fairchild writes, "Any one who is familiar with the role played by speculative profit-seeking in the creation of depressions will recognize that the removal of this force would produce sweeping results." My belief is, that the cause of depressions is an inability to meet obligations, in other words, DEBT. It is true that when the value of stocks fell and the buyers on a margin were called on to put up cash or more stocks, and could not, that the depression became manifest. There are two necessary steps to prevent depressions. First, take away the speculative value of land by taxing it at its part or full value, preferably the latter, which would be about five to seven per cent. Or, do as the socialists propose, take it over and charge rent for its use. That makes Iowa and Florida land booms impossible.

I think a splendid argument against Prof. Fairchild's scheme of governmental meddlesomeness, regimentation, and purblindness is his own statement, "the one great unanswerable objection to complete socialism has always been that it would be virtually a system of state slavery. With the government the only employer, anybody who worked at all would have to work for the government, and since such a government would not allow idleness, there would ensue an actual condition of forced labor. Forthwith there arise the habitual questions as to who would assign jobs, who would affix wages, who would be on the regulating committee?" That little paragraph is like a bullet; it hits his argument. Any argument based on fundamentals should succumb to that wound. But arguments based on incidentals are so shifty and attenuated that they are apt to be only excited by the thrust of a basic principle.

A state to control monopolies only, gets us back to the Jeffersonian idea of government, that it is best when governing least. A non-corporative state is a misnomer. Prof. Fairchild's state would be practically a huge corporation with multitudinous details, licenses, officials, annoyances, and assaults on the law of equal freedom.

IF "real estate" can not bear the burden of governmental expense then the government deserves no support. Every useful governmental act increases land values and automatically makes land able to bear the expense. Acts that are not useful have the opposite effect and the government must be indulging in a lot of them if "real estate," or rather the land part of real estate, can not pay.

Democracy

By HENRY WARE ALLEN

IS our democratic form of government a success? This question is being asked more and more frequently. Italy is pointed to as having the most efficient government today and speakers before our civic clubs in referring to Mussolini, himself a Rotarian, are apt to receive prompt applause when suggesting that we ought to have a benevolent despot of his type in the United States. College men and liberals who might naturally be counted upon as the strongest supporters of democratic institutions, are foremost in the ranks of those who have become discontented with present conditions. Possibly the reduction of salaries has something to do with this attitude of mind and it may also be responsible for the easy acceptance by them of the programme of state socialism. There is a growing belief that big business can not be handled in any other way and that the state must take care of the unemployed and the underpaid.

Socialism is an elastic label. Years ago it was used as a term of opprobrium and the word socialist was an epithet. The socialist like the anarchist was a dangerous agitator. Then Christian Socialism was introduced and although the plans and proposals of socialists themselves are more or less vague and indefinite its advocates are now much more numerous to be found in the parlor than in the street gathered about soap box orators. The standard dictionary defines socialism as involving the "public collective management of all industries." Says Henry George, "Socialism seems to us like men who would try to rule the wonderful complex and delicate relations of their frames by conscious will." This is exactly what the government at Washington has started to do. It is an innovation diametrically opposed to democracy and if continued is certain to result in usurpation of power with tyranny. A benevolent despotism easily changes to a malevolent despotism. Socialism is founded upon the theory that the individual citizen is not competent to manage his business affairs but that he must on the contrary be subject to the management extended by the superior wisdom of government. Most important of all is the fact that socialism denies and ignores the existence of natural law and, therefore, substitutes in place of natural law the regulations and restrictions of puny men.

In this connection it is interesting to note that socialism has a tendency to lead away from that faith in God which is based upon reverence for His natural laws which are provided in every realm of science including that of political economy. Conversely, it is the universal testimony of those who have come to understand the full development of democratic ideals that this, by revealing the harmony and inter-relation of natural law, has given them a new faith in God. It is true that in Russia where socialism is now in force on a grand scale, antipathy to the church

had for its origin the corruption which existed in the old days between church and state and which was largely to blame for maltreatment of the Russian Serf, but entirely aside from that influence it is noteworthy that in Russia, as everywhere with socialism, there is but little room for religion, natural or revealed.

It is also significant that the Roman Catholic Church while condemning unequivocally state socialism has signified that it finds no objection to the democratic system as interpreted by Henry George. Socialists blame the competitive system for all of our economic ills. As a matter of fact the competitive system is in harmony with beneficent natural law and has the effect of providing prices on all commodities that are fair and just to both buyer and seller. This may be proved by assuming an imaginary sale in which by extreme altruism the seller endeavors to secure as low a price as possible while the buyer tries to pay as much as possible. The final result of such bargaining will be found to equal exactly what would be reached by the natural procedure of the buyer paying as little as possible and the seller asking as much as possible. Let us not be deceived! State socialism leads directly away from democracy, freedom and independence, to despotism, tyranny and ultimate slavery.

Most eloquent of all tendencies away from democracy and towards state socialism is the programme that was so quickly put into effect by President Roosevelt after his inauguration with his National Industrial Recovery Act. The ease with which this measure has thus far been advanced without any serious opposition is due first to the fact that from the day of his inauguration President Roosevelt has been accepted as a greatly needed Moses to lead us out of the wilderness of depression and who was gladly given carte blanche to go as far as he pleased in the steps which he considered necessary to restore prosperity. In the second place Mr. Roosevelt, an aristocrat in every sense of the word, has been able to put over a partial programme of state socialism which would doubtless have been stoutly resented had it been attempted by the socialist party.

The answer to this much mooted question, Is democracy a failure? must be made as was Henry Ward Beecher's retort to a similar query, "It has never been tried!" The real cure for an apparent failure of democracy is *more* democracy. Unfortunately, the science of political economy, as given to the world by Adam Smith, Ricardo, John Stuart Mill, and Henry George, has been neglected by our schools and colleges, being replaced by "Economics," "Sociology," "Civics," etc. Insistence upon the same inexorable natural laws in application to the affairs of government, which are readily accepted in the realm of astronomy, mathematics and mechanics has been replaced by theories based on expediency alone. It has been difficult for "Progress and Poverty" to be accepted as a textbook when its author was known to be without a college education.

And so the American people have approved a plan for the recovery of prosperity in which cause and effect have been transposed. Inasmuch as when times are prosperous wages are high and hours of labor are short, the government, forsooth, issues an imperial edict that employers shall shorten the hours of labor and shall pay higher wages, thus producing prosperity! With regard to the distressing condition of agriculture the same theory is applied. When the selling price of wheat and cotton is high the farmer is prosperous. Ergo, the government commands that acreage be restricted and growing crops destroyed, and it accompanies this command with subsidies of hundreds of millions of dollars in order that the crop shortage shall result in high prices! Incidentally the taking out of cultivation of millions of acres of fertile land has the effect of increasing the artificial scarcity of land, in that way aggravating the evil of land speculation. That this entails a heavy burden upon the taxpayer in addition to the increased cost of living thus artificially produced is a consideration not taken into account by the government. Needless to state the carrying out of these measures includes the creation of a new army of public officials at heavy expense to the taxpayer.

In this connection it may be of interest to recall the way in which the farmers of Denmark reacted to a similar situation. During the seventies the exportation of American grains to Europe reached immense proportions. The farmers of most of the European countries demanded and received from their respective governments a protective tariff which enabled them to continue the raising and selling of wheat and corn in their home markets. But the farmers of Denmark were made of better stuff. They did not pauperize themselves by demanding governmental favor. They chose the democratic plan in preference to that of state socialism. They decided to utilize instead of to obstruct the free entry of grain into Denmark. They wisely ceased to raise those cereals and changed their farming operations to include dairying, stock raising and poultry raising on an enlarged scale, the net result of which proved to be of decided advantage to them and justified the decision which they had made.

In times past it has been assumed that the Democratic party accepted and followed the traditional democracy of Thomas Jefferson, which stood for a strict construction of the constitution, a minimum of centralized power at Washington, a tariff for revenue only if not, indeed, "freedom of trade with all nations, entangling alliances with none," and above everything else that foundation stone of true democracy, "equal rights for all and special privileges for none." Today we are confronted with the fact that every one of these tenets of democracy has been reversed. The government at Washington is now working upon a loose construction of the constitution, the functions of the centralized government having been amplified to an extraordinary degree; instead of free trade or a tariff for revenue only we have a monstrously burdensome pro-

protective tariff which the President's advisers are said to demand shall be still higher, and the foundation stone of democracy has been changed to read "equal rights for none, special privileges for many."

How does it happen that the standards of ethics observed by governments are so far below the standards which are observed by individual citizens in their relations one to another? Whatever the explanation of this the very existence of this fact gives strength to the democratic demand for a minimum of governmental activities, supporting the maxim that "the least government, consistent with law and order, the better." And for the same reason this makes stronger the objection to state socialism with its abnormal power, regulation of and interference with the rights of the individual citizens. But the explanation of a prevailing lower code of morality with governments than with the individuals living under those governments is not far to seek. We have as a heritage the fiction that "the king can do no wrong." Modernized, this means that the government can do no wrong, that it has the right to do what it pleases. The government acknowledges no higher power to which it is responsible. It acts upon the principle that might is right. The decalogue is for its citizens but not for itself. The government may covet, may kill and may rob with impunity. This general fact is illustrated throughout all history, punctuated as history has been, with periodic rebellion against the tyranny of government. Of course, it is true that violation of the moral law and all other natural law by governments as by individuals is punished with inexorable certainty. This is why nations have perished. Democracy has shattered the idea that kings rule by divine right, and it has at the same time permanently established the idea that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

If we indulge in a little primary political economy and have under consideration the wages of labor which, of course, affect all wages and salaries, it will be found that when the number of jobs exceed the number of workers then wages will rise, whereas when the number of workers exceed the number of jobs then wages will fall. Wages are not fixed by employers, employees or by government fiat; they are fixed by the natural law of supply and demand. The object of statesmanship should be to so affect conditions that there will be an excess of jobs over workers. Every impediment, therefore, should be taken away from those forces which produce wealth with consequent prosperity. Wealth is produced by three factors: labor, capital and land. At the present time we find that capital and labor are mercilessly taxed in a multitude of ways, the sum of which is responsible for the depression.

Those who would scrap the democratic system, because, due to the inclusion of antagonistic elements, it is found to be working badly, must be placed on the same mental level with one who would scrap a fine automobile simply because its engine is working imperfectly. It will be found upon examination that the democratic system, per

se, is all right and not to blame in any way, but that what is to blame is a system of taxation which violates throughout every consideration of justice and equity, many of the taxes amounting to downright robbery. Take, for example, the income tax. This proposition was originally found to be unconstitutional, but unfortunately the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted, and then this iniquitous law went into effect. Up to the present time it has taken more than fifty billions of dollars from the legitimate earnings of capital and with no pretense whatsoever of providing equivalent service in return. Only about two per cent of the population have paid this income tax, this in itself violating the basic principles of democracy. The government has in effect said to the taxpayer, "Heads I win, tails you lose," for when there is a profit the government takes the lion's share, when there is a loss the government is not interested. The law has been so complicated that business men have been compelled to pay large fees to specialists for its interpretation and even then in thousands of cases they have had to pay large additional assessments under protest. After costly litigation it is frequently found that the government was in error but the costs have to be borne by the taxpayer. The logical effect of the income tax has been to cause tens of thousands of individuals and corporations to close their books and to go out of business rather than to submit to being robbed of their just profits.

Then there is the protective tariff tax. It is interesting to consider what coming generations will think of those of us who are responsible for a tax which keeps wealth out of the country, which greatly interferes with commerce, which involves inquisitorial methods with violations of the rights of citizenship, and which returns to the government in revenue but a small fraction of the amount actually collected from the public. This has been and is the most costly of all taxes paid by the American citizen. The protective tariff tax violates the basic principles of democracy.

Analysis of all the other taxes brings us to the same conclusion: namely, that whereas the individual citizens when dealing with each other invariably make settlements on the basis of equal values exchanged, the government proceeds in violation of every consideration of equity and collects the taxpayer's money wherever it can be found regardless of service rendered. The democratic system of government can not be charged with failure so long as a system of taxation which violates all the essentials of democracy is tolerated.

Business has been taxed to death. Tens of thousands of self reliant, capable and honorable American business men, manufacturers, bankers and others have been forced to close their doors through no fault of their own but because of the unscientific and unjust taxes placed upon them by the government, thus robbing them outrageously of the fruits of their labor.

It has been falsely assumed that there is a natural con-

flict between capital and labor. This is not true. The conflict is between labor and capital on the one hand and monopoly on the other hand. It is, therefore, the part of statesmanship to relieve both labor and capital of the onerous taxes which are responsible for the business depression.

The third factor in the production of wealth, land, presents an entirely different problem. Land is the gift of God to mankind. It should be accessible to all and, therefore, as free as possible to everyone. It becomes free in proportion as it is taxed up to its rental value. When untaxed or partially taxed it becomes a monopoly, and through its ownership wealth is diverted into the pockets of those who have done nothing to earn it.

The territory of the United States is easily capable of supporting ten times our present population. The State of Texas with its seven million inhabitants is about the same size of Germany with its seventy million. Professor Switzer of the Iowa State College even goes so far as to assert that the population of the globe, some two billions in all, could subsist by intensive cultivation upon the soil of Texas. Anyone who has traveled across our country knows that it is sparsely settled. In the last century only one man in twenty-five lived in the city, all others living in the country districts. Now, largely because of the increased efficiency of labor-saving farm machinery, fully half of our population reside in cities. But we have the paradox of a country in which there is an artificial scarcity of land. This is due to land monopoly resulting from a wrong system of taxation. By taxing the land up to the limit of economic rent it becomes cheap in price and consequently accessible, and by so doing we would throw open to settlement and use what would amount to a new continent. Meanwhile the government is following the absurd procedure of maintaining irrigating projects in desert lands while paying huge subsidies to farmers for keeping rich lands out of cultivation!

It is a matter of common knowledge that there was little poverty with no unemployment, low taxes and a very decent degree of prosperity prevailing everywhere in the country so long as there was a frontier of arable land where the enterprising settler might go if not satisfied with wages paid. But now there is no frontier and the land of the country is in the grip of monopoly due to our stupid system of taxation. Fully fifty per cent of the land of every American city is held out of use in vacant lots by the speculator. The explanation commonly made in reference to the depression that this is due to mal-distribution is erroneous. Our distributing facilities are excellent. The fault lies entirely with inability of the citizens to buy what he needs, due to the unnatural poverty of the people. The procedure, therefore, for an enlightened government is not to command impossible wages to be paid or impossible conditions to be observed, but to take taxes off of capital and labor as quickly as possible and to shift this

tax upon the rental value of land. This constitutes the perfecting of the democracy of Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Henry George.

Washington News

ON the last Sunday in May, between fifty and sixty Single Taxers and their friends met in Riverdale, Md., for their annual gathering, a custom inaugurated when Colonel H. Martin Williams was appointed Reading Clerk of the House of Representatives in 1912, a position which he held until his opposition to seeing our country involved in a European War led to his dismissal.

For twelve years, the hospitable home of Colonel Williams—better known to his ever widening circle of friends as "Uncle Martin"—and his niece, Mrs. Jessie Lane, was a Mecca for Single Taxers and the scene of their annual reunion on or about the last Sunday in May.

About two months after the passing of Colonel Williams on March 8, 1924, his niece became the wife of the man who had devotedly nursed him to the end, James Hugh Keeley, a loyal and active worker in the fight for economic freedom, as he had been for temperance and for District suffrage, and in an earlier day, for the enfranchisement of women; and for eight years Mr. and Mrs. Keeley entertained Single Taxers and other progressives in the old home, which had grown to be an economic oasis in the midst of a desert of conservatism.

On August 1, 1932, Mr. Keeley joined his old friend "Uncle Martin," and for the last two years, Mrs. Keeley has bravely carried on alone, entertaining the Single Taxers and their friends the last of May.

Following the basket picnic, there was a programme of speakers among whom were George H. Duncan, former State Senator from New Hampshire, now secretary to Representative Fred H. Brown from that State; W. R. Gaylord, former Socialist State Senator from Wisconsin; John Salmon and Francis I. Mooney from Baltimore; George T. Pickett, President of the Llano Co-operative Colony in Louisiana; Mrs. Elizabeth M. Phillips, who recited two poems; Judge Lawrence Becker, Henry W. Selah, and A. L. Colton; Linn A. E. Gale, President of the Washington Open Forum; and Harlan E. Glazier, Secretary of the D. C. Socialist Local.

Western Starr closed the programme with a well-merited tribute to the hostess, to whom, in the name of the Woman's Single Tax Club of Washington, D. C., he presented a pretty and appropriate greeting folder containing a birthday remembrance from members and friends of the society. Mrs. Keeley, taken too completely by surprise to make any extended response, was soon surrounded by her guests, extending best wishes as adjournment brought the end of another perfect day.—GERTRUDE E. MACKENZIE.

"I do but hunt God's ain cattle on God's ain hills."
CHARLES KINGSLEY'S "Outlaw."

Chicago Preparing for Ninth Henry George Congress

"THE Cause of Unemployment and Industrial Depression" will be the subject of one of the principal addresses to be delivered at the Ninth Annual Henry George Congress at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, October 8, 9, and 10, and David Gibson, of Cleveland, publisher of the *Lorain Journal* and former editor of *The Groundhog*, will deal with this theme.

As we go to press, all signs point to a successful convention, both with respect to programme and attendance. Among other speakers of prominence who have been scheduled for the Annual Single Tax Convention are Mayor William N. McNair, of Pittsburgh; former Councilman Peter Witt, of Cleveland; Dr. Mark Milliken, member of Hamilton, Ohio, City Council; A. D. Waldauer, Assistant City Solicitor of Memphis; Clarence Darrow; Harold S. Buttenheim, Editor *American City*; Mrs. Anna George de Mille, New York City; Charles O'Connor Hennessey, of New York City; Edward Polak, of New York City; Attorney Charles G. Baldwin, of Baltimore; Frank Stephens, of Arden, Delaware, and Fiske Warren, Tahanto, Mass.

The Programme Committee is in communication with a number of other prominent persons both in public and private life, and is hoping to have a member of the United States Senate on the programme this year, Senators Robert J. Bulkley, of Ohio, and James P. Pope, of Idaho, being among those who have invitations under consideration at the present time.

President George E. Evans of the Henry George Foundation has appointed a strong and representative Convention Committee headed by Vice-President Clayton J. Ewing, of Chicago, who is also President of the Single Tax League of Illinois, which organization is again heartily co-operating in all plans for this year's gathering. The other members of this Committee are George M. Strachan, Vice Chairman; W. E. Clement, Grace Isabel Colbron, Otto Cullman, Samuel Danziger, Charles R. Eckert, Arthur W. Falvey, James C. Fuller, Emil O. Jorgenson, Erwin Kauffmann, George J. Knapp, Fenton Lawson, J. C. Lincoln, Joseph Dana Miller, John Lawrence Monroe, Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr., George J. Shaffer, Walter G. Stewart, Frank T. Stirlith, Alan C. Thompson, Henry L. T. Tideman and August Williges.

All local arrangements, including entertainment of delegates, local publicity, and registration will be handled by Chicago Sub-Committees now being organized under the aggressive leadership of Chairman Ewing.

Arthur W. Falvey, of Omaha, will present the report of the Committee on Organization, which is expected to lead to a highly interesting discussion and possible action looking toward more intensive organization of Single Taxers—local, State and national.

The session of the Convention will be held at the Congress Hotel, where the Single Taxers met in 1928 and where excellent facilities will be provided, with a minimum rate of \$3.00 for single rooms.

The Century of Progress Exposition is now in the midst of its second very successful season and is attracting great crowds, and the special, low rates of fare offered for World's Fair travelers will, of course, be available for Convention delegates from all sections of the country.

The Dominion of Canada will again be well represented, a large delegation coming from Milk River, Province of Alberta, headed by the Mayor and other orators who made such interesting and impressive reports at our last Convention.

With Pittsburgh now operating under the new McNair administration, with Single Taxers in positions of prominence and influence both in the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Government, and with Mayor McNair actively crusading for advance legislation for the further extension of land value taxation, it is expected that there will be a keen interest in hearing from Pittsburgh's new Mayor and other official representatives who are expected to be present.

All who are contemplating participation in this year's gathering of American Single Taxers are urged to make early reservations and to submit any suggestions to Secretary P. R. Williams at the office of the Henry George Foundation, 324 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh.

Announcement by Mr. Collins

I AM pleased to announce that in future issues of LAND AND FREEDOM, the editor permitting, I am going to deal with some personalities. I do not refer to personalities in the commonly understood meaning of the expression. I mean just this: As our world is moved by opinion, I would like to "anatomize" so to speak, the opinions of the opinionated; of those temporarily prominent persons who, by the written or spoken word, are now seeking to direct the thinking of the American people at a time that seems to me to be more pregnant with tendencies and events affecting human welfare than any previous period in recorded history.

I feel that a not ill-natured attempt, from time to time to dissect the opinions of the opinion-makers and reveal their ratiocinative processes ought to be diverting if not instructive to your readers.—JOHN COLLINS.

FATHER COUGHLIN predicts a disaster worse than the French Revolution should the Roosevelt policies fail. Well, the French Revolution came on because statesmen of the old regime refused to relieve industry of taxation as Turgot had urged, and refused to put taxes on land values. Will Father Coughlin please take notice that the Roosevelt policies consist largely of the same obstinate refusal.

Ain't Larceny Grand

TIME was when crime standards were low—too low—so low, in fact, that the piker who stole a shilling was included in the grand larceny class of the light-fingered gentry. But times have changed. The march of civilization has lifted, figuratively as well as literally, the spoils and titles of thieves to a higher plane.

Today the two-bit snitcher no longer rates in the grand larceny class. No sir, this insect of pikerdom is now where he belongs—down with the infantile misdeameanists, and rightly so. It is difficult enough for respectable pick-pockets, thieves and burglars to maintain the felonious distinctions of their profession without dragging along these shilling-squeezers who once held their heads as high as any pound-sterling pilferers in the bloomin', balmy days of bonny England. Away with the blighters!

Today one no longer crashes the grand larceny class unless one lifts, in our intellectual old Bay State, at least one hundred sound American dollars, plus one cent. One must needs be careful to grab the extra penny because if one fails so to do one will fall from a full professorship in the grand larceny elite and find one's self down with the petit larcenists. One cannot be too careful of one's rating, in these days of hetic competition, and one should go upon one's "evil errand bent" prepared to make change down to the last, aforesaid, penny.

Our present-day statutes still play pranks, however, in offering distinguishment to money marauders. To wit:—

"Whoever steals in a building, ship, vessel or railroad car shall be punished by imprisonment in the state prison for not more than five years or by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars or by imprisonment in jail for not more than two years."

Stealing in subways, balloons, Ford cars and Moth planes is not specifically included in the aforesaid specific buildings, ships, etc., so watch your step if you would rate a diploma entitling you to state prison, a five hundred dollar fine or a vacation in a less distinguished, common jail.

If you draw a fine of \$500—in lieu of five years in state prison or two years in jail—higher mathematics discloses that the \$500 alternative is at the rate of \$100 per year against the state prison, but is at the rate of \$250 per year against the less pretentious common jail. The Burglars Union has not yet fathomed this apparent discrimination between the two institutions in this, our high-pressure civilization, but the Union is preparing a legislative bill to clarify the penalty purpose and to avoid partiality on tax rates.

But there is more, as yet untold and as yet unsolved. To wit:

"At common law, if the owner of property is by fraud or trickery induced to part with possession of his property the person so taking is guilty of larceny."

But, fellow larcenist, if you are really smart and can grab the TITLE, as well as POSSESSION, "*this is not deemed larceny at common law.*" So there you are! The more you larcenate, "by fraud or trick," the less risk you run of being pinched for larceny, but you jeopardize your standing as a master larcenist among the Lords of Larceny.

Let's get back to mathematics, however, because figures never lie, albeit mathematicians are not so consistently virtuous. You have noted the tax rate on stealing. Now note the science of figures in regard to petit and grand larceny. Witnesseth:—

If you grab exactly \$100, or less, your sheepskin proclaims your petit larceny proclivities and you rate not the distinguishment of a felon but only that of a mere misdeameanist, and you are entitled to only one year in a common jail or a fine of \$300, because you failed to steal the extra penny. Higher mathematics again unerringly points to the resulting tax rate of \$300 per year against twelve months in the proletariats' hoosegow.

If you are a hog, however, and pick up \$100.01 you then rate the higher title of Grand Larcenist and you are entitled to five years in state prison—or a \$600 fine plus two years' sojourn in a common cooler. Again does the science of nimble numbers straightway point with cold-blooded correctness, to the resulting tax burden deduced as follows. Without prejudice to your case, let's grant that two years in a common jail might bring you a moral uplift equal to the same time in our snooty state prison. Now simply subtract two years (common jail) from five years (state prison) and you have a remainder of three years against which you have an alternative of a \$600 fine—which equals an annual tax rate of \$200.

But we have already figured that (1) the *Stealing* tax rate is \$100 per year for state prison and \$250 per annum for common jail—which means that it costs you less against the greater, state prison distinguishment and more for the less common-jail appointments. Why? Don't ask ME. (2) The *Petit Larceny* tax rate is in the higher brackets, however, and sets you back \$300 per year with no recognition or privileges at state prison—you must in this case be satisfied with a common jail rating. (3) Only by crashing the *Grand Larceny* fraternity can you enjoy the lower tax rate of \$200 per twelvemonth or the state prison advantages.

Thus we find that stealing has a lower tax rate than both petit and grand larceny; that although petit larceny is of a lower order than grand larceny the tax rate of the lower order is higher than that of the higher order; that while stealing entitles you to five years in our stately prison, grand larceny (the grand-daddy of the trio) entitles you to no more than the least of the three titles of theft; that while *stealing* brings you no better reward than two years in a low down jail, the gentle art of petit larceny nets you even less, i. e., one year in said lock-up—which means

one year less for a greater accomplishment than is granted for a lesser trick; that . . . oh, what's the use!

What to do about it?

Let's put out the light and go to sleep.

THOMAS N. ASHTON.

Here's a Sure Enough Candidate

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir*: My hat is in the ring as a candidate for Governor, and I have three planks for my platform which will eclipse completely into the shade all the other numerous aspirants.

First—Howard Jackson proposes to exempt all real estate from tax by the State, but I insist that is not enough pie to hand to our noble owners of corner lots, and so I advocate a bonus of two per cent extra, to be paid in gold (or platinum) to the brave men who hold on to their Maryland land titles.

Second—Every man who does a day's work must punch a time clock and pay two per cent of his wages to the State for the privilege of working. This will make them work a little harder and inculcate habits of thrift.

Third—Mr. Nice offers to let the kiddies play on the grounds of the Governor's mansion at Annapolis, but when I am elected I will invite 'em into the cellar and garret also.

All the other problems of the times will just settle themselves if you don't worry and will vote for me.

EDMOND FONTAINE, in *Baltimore Sun*.

Mr. Samuel Danziger informs us that Mr. Fontaine is a poet of no mean ability, a thinker and a philosopher. The above bit of irony shows where he stands on the land question.

From a Columnist Who is a Thinker

THE Commonweal Party in England has more power, is listened to more readily, is growing faster than the party of protest of any other land, and that through peaceful, non-aggressive, constitutional means.

When it is considered that 25 men own one-third of Scotland, and that the church and the landed gentry of England have nearly shoved the tenant farmers and middle class into the sea, one might get the notion of a somewhat speedier solution of the land problem in England than in any other country because not even Japan has so dense a population as the British Isles. Yet, if the land of England was all used for the public benefit, England could support in luxury double its present population.—HILL BILLY, columnist in *Seattle Star*.

Asks That Honors be Paid Him

HENRY GEORGE thought out the Single Tax as the answer to our deeper economic problem and the glaring social injustice which he could never forget. He devoted his life to making people aware of the problems of poverty. He is worth remembering. We must sadly confess that he, an outstanding creative thinker, has had recognition in every country but his own and ours. Here his name means almost nothing. In England every school boy must read "Progress and Poverty" and in Australia his ideas have to an extent been put into practice. But my wish is to realize the creative thinking which has been the patriotic service of some for whom there is no "Day" but who have swayed our ideas and directed our motives in living—should they not also be remembered?—"Whom Shall We Honor."—Address by MERRILL FOWLER CLARKE at the Congregational Church, New Canaan, Conn., May 2, 1934.

A Great Name Among the World's Social Philosophers

"PROGRESS AND POVERTY" was published in 1879. I can remember what a tremendous sale it had in the early eighties, and how everyone was talking about it. In the year 1886-87, when I was a senior at Yale, Prof. Arthur T. Hadley (later president of Yale), then professor of political economy, offered an entire course in that book, and a large number of undergraduates selected it. There were lively discussions in the classroom, and Hadley's lectures were stimulating and intellectually provocative of argument. We all enjoyed the course.

When I was a schoolboy in Hartford, Henry George came to the city to deliver a lecture on Moses. It was called "Moses—The Great Hebrew Statesman." The speaker was introduced by the pastor of the Unitarian Church, which held its services in Unity Hall. In introducing Henry George, he mentioned the famous book, praised the author for his skill and courage and eloquence, and said finally "I now have the honor of presenting to you Mr. —" and then forgot his name. When it was apparent that he could not remember it, scores of persons in the audience shouted it. The lecture was fine, and I recommend readers to look it up in printed form, as it must be among his works.

The fiftieth anniversary of its appearance, 1929, was marked by a special commemorative edition; and the book has been translated into all the European languages. His other works have also had so large a sale that it has been said that his writings on political economy have sold more copies than those of all other authors put together.

A friend writes me that John Dewey said, in his "An Appreciation of Henry George:" "His is one of the great names among the world's social philosophers. It would require less than the fingers of two hands to enumerate those who from Plato down rank with him. . . . No man, no graduate of a higher educational institution, can consider himself an educated man in social thoughts unless he has some first-hand acquaintance with the theoretical contribution of this great American thinker."

Henry George was quite unselfish—indeed a noble character—and he unwillingly consented to run for Mayor of New York. He died suddenly during the campaign. Both friends and foes mourned his death.—PROF. WILLIAM LYON PHELPS. (Syndicated).

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

Among the pamphlets received are the following:

"What is the Single Tax," by George A. Briggs, a letter addressed to the Legislative Problems Section of the University of Southern California. An excellent statement.

"Economics of Democracy," by F. Mason Padelford, M. D. This is a pamphlet of 30 pages and cover and can be had of Dr. Padelford for 25 cents. His address is Fall River, Mass. Reduction may be had for those desiring quantities. It is an enlarged and improved edition of the pamphlet issued earlier by Dr. Padelford.

"Our Economic Crime and the Nonsense of the N.R.A.," is a beautifully printed pamphlet published by the Civics and Equity League of Washington, D. C., of which organization Joseph B. Chamberlain is director.

BOOKS RECEIVED AND TO BE REVIEWED

"20,000,000 Every Day," by Otto Cullman.

"Government by the Principle of Moral Justice," by C. Lambek, Copenhagen and London.

"100 Years of Land Values," by Homer Hoyt, Chicago University Press.

Correspondence

THE POLITICAL FARMERS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I have been wanting to express to you my special appreciation for your strong letter of protest against the suggestion made by Mr. James Malcolm that we should support the monstrous programme of President Roosevelt, and which appeared on page 59 of the April-March edition. I am today in receipt of a letter from Samuel Danziger in which he expresses the hope that the coming Henry George Congress in Chicago will condemn unequivocally the Roosevelt experiments. I agree with him entirely. I can testify that the self-respecting farmers of Kansas did not ask for the subsidies which they have been getting through the AAA, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars. These things were demanded by the political farmers who constituted the powerful farm blocs at Washington. I gasped when I read that these farm leaders received at St. Louis assurances that Mr. Roosevelt would, if elected, give them what they had asked for. And was again shocked in reading of his successive promises of favor to the special interests of the live stock men and the silver men. Lippman and the others are absolutely wrong in assuming that there is any genuine demand for collectivism or state socialism in any degree.

Of course, the farmers are lapping up the enormous subsidies that are being distributed to them but all they really wanted in the first place was relief from the fifty-seven varieties of taxes which oppressed them so heavily and which has had the effect of aggravating still further the artificially high price of farm land. Kansas is an enormously rich state and it is an outrage that government money should be sent here at the expense of the nation and for the express purpose of increasing the cost of living to the impoverished consumer. Incidentally, the spoils system, with its new army of Democratic office holders, has been multiplied many fold notwithstanding Mr. Roosevelt's bland statement at the Yale dinner that he did not differentiate between Democrats and Republicans! But that is another story.

Wichita, Kas.

HENRY WARE ALLEN.

CIVILIZATION MADE OUT OF RAW MATERIAL

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Every issue you publish a letter about changing the name "Single Tax." Henry George meant a license or permit for use of land, but, because he was dealing in economics, used the word tax or revenue.

The words, "liberty" and "freedom" have been misused till they are associated with infringement on the rights of others.

I am hoping, after this summer on bathing beaches and in camps, people will return to the city prepared to realize that civilization is made out of raw material.

So many generations have seen the finished product that they have never known the origin.

Lonsdale, R. I.

FLORENCE GARVIN.

HENRY GEORGE AND THE NEW MAGNA CARTA

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In the year 1215, one of the most famous of all English documents, the Magna Carta, was signed by King John. While it is true that this well known document has some genuine merit, in that it aimed to secure for the people constitutional guarantee of a number of fundamental rights, particularly religious and political, it has gained a reputation far from being deserved.

For example, the Barons and the Churchmen forced King John to exempt them from the duty of supporting the government out of the socially produced land values. The Barons owned most of the land, and government was instituted largely to protect the vested interests in land. It was therefore only just that the Barons and other land-

lords should maintain the government and pay for the privilege of monopolizing the earth and the natural resources. Indeed, this was the condition upon which most of the landlords had held their lands. But the revolt of the Barons put an end to this logical and scientific mode of land tenure, a fact, unfortunately, that economists and historians in general have completely ignored.

However, the Magna Carta has become synonymous in the minds of most people with the precious ideas of justice and liberty, and it is in this popular connotation that the phrase *Magna Carta* is here used.

It is a well known fact that ideals have played a most important part in shaping human destiny. The doctrine of the brotherhood of man, first promulgated by Akhnaton (Amenophis IV, 1,400 B.C.), and centuries later by Jesus, has done much to inspire the world. The Code of Hammurabi (2,100 B.C.), the Decalogue of Moses, the Justinian Institutes, the Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, etc., have called the world's attention to the need of legal and constitutional justice. The writings of the social philosophers, from Plato down, have inspired generations to visualize a social order nearer to the heart's desire.

The true Magna Carta—as synonymous with the fundamental principles of justice and liberty—was dramatized and vitalized by Henry George in "Progress and Poverty." Most of the myriad "glowing schemes of betterment" completely ignore the land question, which perhaps explains why they so often prove impractical and futile. Of George, it may be said, without exaggerated metaphor, that he reached up to the heavens and literally brought these ideals down to earth. At least, he promulgated a socio-economic system that would insure justice by granting to all mankind the equal right of access to the source of all wealth—Mother Earth. Equally important, his system would provide liberty to all on a common basis of equality.

Henry George's philosophy in itself may not be a panacea, but if any panacea exists, it must embody both justice and liberty. Since his philosophy aims to provide both liberty and justice, his socio-economic system can truly be said to incarnate the living spirit of the old Magna Carta.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

JOHN C. ROSE.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SINGLE TAXER

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In your last issue you quote Mr. Charles S. Prizer as writing with reference to your March-April number, that "Your quotation from alleged remarks of Abraham Lincoln on the land question is the most sensational news of the year." The quotations from Lincoln to which Mr. Prizer refers are the following:

"The land, the earth God gave to man for his home, sustenance and support, should never be the possession of any man, corporation, or unfriendly government, any more than air or water, if as much."

"A reform like this will be worked out some time in the future."

If your correspondent regards these quotations as sensational, what would he say of a proposition that Lincoln's views on this question were not merely those derived from observations of land speculation in his Illinois days, but were based upon an actual knowledge and belief in precisely what we know as the Single Tax philosophy? Or that his interest in what we call the Single Tax was so intense that he brought it up for discussion at one of his cabinet meetings. To what was Lincoln referring when he said: "A reform like this will be worked out some time in the future?" To nothing more or less than what we know as the Single Tax, unless I am greatly mistaken.

Whatever Lincoln's own observation of the land problem in Illinois and elsewhere may have been, the solution was revealed to him in a book loaned to him by Senator Charles Sumner, the great Massachusetts abolitionist. This book was Patrick Edward Dove's "Theory of Human Progression and Natural Probability of a Reign of Justice," published in Edinburgh in 1850.

So great was Summer's interest in the idea that he had an American edition of either 10,000 or 30,000 copies printed in Boston.

Norfolk, Conn.

JOSEPH R. CARROLL.

JUST A SUGGESTION

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

What I have left in the way of a mind keeps on working. "We" ought to find a way to obtain publicity for a lot of questioning of the current governmental economic experimentation, without expending much. I have suggested to C. H. Ingersoll that this is possible in connection with a little snappy, gossipy four-page folder, to be offered with programmes at amusement shows or talkies. In Long Branch three to five thousand such programmes are used every week, and there are concerns which get these out cheaply by using rotary perfecting presses.

Long Branch, N. J.

GEORGE WHITE.

NEWS FROM CALIFORNIA

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Since writing you, the campaign in California has been moving steadily forward toward the goal of securing enough names upon the initiative petition to insure its placing upon the ballot for November. This week will see the filing with the proper registrars of voters in San Francisco, Los Angeles and other counties of some 80,000 signatures, and the other needed 31,000 names will soon follow. We may anticipate as the result that the citizens of California will this fall vote upon an amendment that will give immediate relief from a two and one-half per cent sales tax, and the elimination in the courts of five years of all taxation upon tangible property and improvements, provided a majority of the electors favor the plan.

Will the majority vote be favorable? We have to bear in mind that forty-two per cent of the voters on one occasion voted for a home-rule amendment which favored the adoption of steps in this direction, that as high as about thirty per cent have voted for the immediate taking of all ground rents for public purposes, and that we have the support at the present moment of the labor organizations and the socialists.

Since the votes referred to, the voting population of the State has we may say in a general way, doubled, but it is believed that now the swing of popular sentiment, in view of economic events, is stronger in our direction than it has ever been before. Further, the character of the State's citizenship is more largely urban than heretofore, about two-thirds residing in the cities. This factor renders it easier to get our case before the people, as well as to render less important the disposition of the farmer erroneously to regard himself as such a large land owner that his interests are allied with the privileged classes.

Personally I look for success at the election, though bearing in mind the attitude of the great newspapers controlled by owners of immense tracts of land, we naturally confront the certainty of misrepresentation. Our campaign must be made largely by word-of-mouth, circulation of pamphlets and books, and letterwriting.

We have been fortunate the past few weeks in having the aid of John Lawrence Monroe, who has spoken effectively before many labor and other bodies, and who as the result of his observation is convinced of our good prospects of success. Recent material aid has come from the East only from Mr. Lawson Purdy and Mr. Blauvelt, to whom we owe thanks. Generally East of the Rockies the Single Taxers are oblivious of the fact that we are engaged in the most important campaign possibly in the history of the movement, so far as possible results may determine this question.

A few days ago it was my fortune to speak over the San Francisco office of the National Broadcasting Company radio, addressing farmers in a debate over taxation. I believe the results will prove this of value to our cause.

We have now to prepare for an active campaign running intensively

over nearly four months. For this we need thousands of dollars, and unfortunately have not even hundreds. Thus again I ask our friends in the East to wake up, and send contributions to Edgar Pomeroy, 83 McAllister Street, San Francisco; 212, Tax Relief Campaign Committee for Northern California, or A. J. Samis, Treasurer, 2422 North, Alvarado Street, Los Angeles, Treasurer for Southern California, or to me.

I shall not enumerate the list of efficient workers for the cause in Los Angeles, San Francisco and throughout the State. Suffice it to say that they are constantly increasing in numbers and interest.

Palo Alto, Calif.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

FROM THE LATE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR THE U. S. SENATE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I want to thank you for the favorable notices you gave my candidacy in your issue of May-June. I hope I advanced the cause.

Ridgewood, N. J.

JAMES G. BLAUVELT.

HOW A LOT GREW RICH AND RICHER

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

An acre of land in the Cornhill area, London, is estimated to be worth £6,000,000. Strips of it have actually changed hands at a higher figure. If that acre could only speak!

Oh, I am rich beyond all dreams!
Far richer than the pearl that gleams:
Yet I am but a strip of land—
An acre—muddy clay and sand!
Two hundred weary years ago .
My worth was but a pound or two:
Yet in those days I grew fine crops
Of barley, wheat and brewing hops.
Today I couldn't grow a weed—
I harbor not a single seed!
Yet I am worth six million pounds
And richer grow by leaps and bounds.

Yes, I am worth six million pounds—
Much more than many country towns:
Yet in the latter busy men
Work eight hours daily, sometimes ten.
But I have never raised a hand—
How could a docile piece of land?
I just sleep on; I bide my time;
I neither act nor spend a dime:
I simply own a right of way
For which men pay both night and day:
For men must come and men must go—
And that is why I richer grow.

London, Eng.

A. BLACKBURN.

DO NOT DISTINGUISH

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I am inclined to believe the administration as a whole realizes that practically all that is being done to improve economic conditions is mere make-shifting and temporizing, and that we must finally or as soon as the people are ready adopt more fundamental reforms. Incidentally, too many of our friends take over-seriously the money question and matters of finance. They do not seem to see that about eighty per cent of the allegedly usurious interest and bloated dividends are merely economic rent.

Tacoma, Wash.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY.

EXPRESSES WHAT WE ALL FEEL

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

May I express to you the poignant regret I feel in learning of the death of Mr. Geiger. Never but once in my life have I suffered such keen pangs for one whom I knew so little. And yet in another sense, though meeting him ever so rarely as I have, was to know and recognize the essential quality of his spirit. Not often is it given to a man to convey the growth of his soul, without words or attestations. And truly on the evening of the Dinner given for and by his School I felt that "the zeal was upon him." He was about his Master's work and had earned his promotion.

What his loss is to our cause needs no words of mine. But his influence in the two brief years of the School has been measurable, as we could see in the faces and hear in the words of his acolytes. And as that is all he would care for we must try not to stress the personal loss of so rare a being. Yet knowing how he labored and what he yearned for we cannot but think of the lines written of Lincoln:

"Lone heart, so stopped when it at last beat high,
Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came."

Yours in great sadness for the Georgist cause,
Vineyard Haven, Mass.

EMILY E. F. SKEEL.

SELF-EVIDENT TRUTHS—1934

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Our government must endeavor to secure to us "certain unalienable rights," including the right to life. The exercise of that right is subject to natural laws—to that Natural Order of things which was, is, and always will be.

Natural laws are logically referable to Creative Purpose, and those who would ally piety with advocacy of social reforms should implement their efforts with scientific knowledge.

The science which deals with the factors which are elemental in the exercise of the right to life is the science of political economy. It is this science which should be studied—it is the conclusions of this science which should be whole-heartedly acknowledged if our government is to be guided by fundamental considerations.

There should be an overwhelming popular demand that the study and exemplification of political economy should be forthwith proceeded with as a guide to those charged with the responsibility of dealing with public policies and as a means of educating our citizens.

Long Branch, N. J.

GEORGE WHITE.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

CLYDE ROBINSON has a letter on the tax problem in the Los Angeles *Evening Post* urging the adoption of the Ralston measure soon to be voted on in California.

FRANK G. ANDERSON, of Jamestown, N. Y. has a column article in the *Swedish American*. Our old friend is increasingly active in the good cause.

MRS. ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE returned from her recent trip to Ohio where she delivered three addresses, one at Youngstown, where Mr. W. O. Blase hired the auditorium of the high school and sent out 250 invitations.

A LETTER from Robert M. Baker, of East St. Louis, Ill., appears in *To Day*, Vincent Astor's magazine, edited by Prof. Moley. Mr. Baker informs us that the letter has been deliberately mutilated, so that it fails to make sense.

The Roman Forum, edited by Dr. Roman, and published at Los Angeles, is an interesting marshalling of news and comments from

many friends of the work Dr. Roman is pursuing in California. The "Parliament of Man" is doing great work in the educational field. In the *Forum* for June is an article on the tariff and the Single Tax from H. C. Miles and George A. Briggs respectively.

DR. F. M. PADEFORD, of Fall River, Mass., suggests the formation of a nation-wide Dollar a Month Club in aid of the Henry George School. We heartily commend the suggestion.

HARRY WEINBERGER, than whom no more devoted worker for the cause is in evidence, has addressed a letter to O. O. McIntyre, special contributor to the *New York American*, who captions one of his articles "No Job in Sight." Mr. Weinberger comments as follows:

"I know of nothing more horrible in the world than a man ready, able and willing to work and unable to find a job. Your example about the grandfathers and grandmothers might put you on the trail of the difficulty. In their days there was always land to be had for the asking or the taking, and there was always, therefore, more jobs than men."

CHIEF ASSESSOR PERCY R. WILLIAMS, of Pittsburgh, debated the graded tax plan with Dr. J. P. Watson of the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Pittsburgh before the Hungry Club of that city. Dr. Watson contended that the system had increased the taxes on buildings. Mr. Williams declared that the increase was due to natural causes.

REV. MERVYN J. STEWART writes us from England: "We are deeply indebted to you for your gallant persistence with LAND AND FREEDOM."

It is good news from Oregon that the people of that state defeated in May last a proposal for a one and a half per cent sales tax by a vote of 26,000 for it to 71,000 against it. This augurs well for the success of the amendment in California.

CORNELIUS BARSONY, of Arad, Roumania, writes us that he has been compelled to abandon the project of the issuance of a Henry George periodical in that country.

J. H. KAUFFMAN, of Columbus, O., informs us that "The New Dealers," the Library Guild's selection for the "Book of the Month," (April) says: "The ideas on which Roosevelt rode to office were not new. They were the ideas of Henry George and the tax reformers of 1880." Well, well!

A SERIES of articles under the general title, "Head Off the Next Boom," are published in the *Evening Citizen*, of Ottawa, from the indefatigable pen of A. C. Campbell of that city.

WE wish we had space for some of the many excellent letters in the *St. Louis Star and Times* from the pen of N. D. Alper.

WE have received a copy of "Proceedings and Reports" of the John F. Slater Foundation of which Dr. J. H. Dillard is one of the trustees. The organization has done great work in the education of the Negro and has published a number of valuable pamphlets since its existence.

Tax Facts for June has arrived, and under the editorship of Miss Norma Cooley continues its valuable work as an exponent of our principles.

EDWIN I. S. HARDING, of Toowong, Queensland, writes us: "I have just read the present issue of LAND AND FREEDOM from cover

to cover. Nothing can surpass the clarity of the answers given to questions raised by correspondents. I like the affable, kindly spirit in which the answers are given."

W. D. LAMB, of Chicago, who was the first to call our attention to the remarkable statements of Lincoln on the land question (see Comment and Reflection in May-June number) writes: "I consider Dr. Browne's biography as very interesting and really important. Dr. Browne as a youth went about with Lincoln, attending meetings and sleeping in the same room. Under the circumstances Lincoln would naturally tell him just what was on his mind, never dreaming that his opinions would ever become public."

"An Ancient Remedy for Modern Depressions" is a series of articles under the above heading which have been running in the *Gaelic American*, (New York), since October last. The work is a valuable contribution to the literature of unemployment and depression. Its aim is to induce people to look at the obvious fact that men are unemployed because the laws prohibit them from the right to work and from any place where they can work. It shows the absurdities and the cruelties of the present system of restrictions, and the problems incapable of solution by the present system; absurdities and cruelties which would automatically disappear, and problems which would solve themselves, if workers were given the right to work.

The logic applied to every day facts makes a defense of present abuses impossible, and these abuses are held up to the light of day. No man who reads this series can retain the slightest doubt that our land system is at the bottom of our unemployment and depression, and that the time is ripe for the nations to abolish economic slavery. The author has treated the "dismal science" in a manner as interesting as a novel. The entire series can be had of the publisher of *The Gaelic American*, 165 William Street, New York City, at two dollars.

EUGENE W. WAY, ever active in the city of Seattle, appears with a letter in the *Daily Times* of that city in advocacy of the pending initiative measure to be voted on by the people of Washington.

WILLIAM MATTHEWS, of Spokane, Wash., is pushing forum extension work in that city. Meetings take place every Sunday afternoon in Redman's Hall, 816 Riverside. Mr. Matthews is the originator of the forum movement in Spokane and is in temporary charge of these meetings.

STOUGHTON COOLEY, of Los Angeles, Calif., long and honorably known for his services to the Single Tax movement, both as associate editor of the *Public* and later with *Tax Facts*, is dead after a lingering illness. He is survived by his daughter, Norma Cooley, who has conducted *Tax Facts* during her father's illness, which she has done with signal ability, and a brother, G. B. Cooley, of Monroe, La. We are glad to announce that Norma Cooley will continue the editorship of *Tax Facts*. Mr. Cooley was born in 1861 at Savannah, Ill.

FRED J. BAHNI, of Peoria, Ill., passed away recently of a heart attack. We remember him as an attendant at the Henry George Congress last year when he presented Mrs. Anna George de Mille with a bracelet. He was a well known jeweler in Peoria. He had attended a meeting of the No Tax League a few days before his death. Albert Henniges, E. F. Schentke and Dr. Canada Wendell were the Single Tax pall bearers. He is survived by three daughters. He was 64, born in Switzerland, and came to this country when about five years of age. He had long been a subscriber to LAND AND FREEDOM.

M. J. VAN LEEUWEN, of Franklin, Mass., who sent for two copies of "Spiritual Economics," writes us enthusiastically. "With a great

deal of pleasure and satisfaction I have perused the pages of "Spiritual Economics," the splendid product of the mind and pen of John Emery McLean. A special effort should be made to place this book in the hands of the clergy of every denomination. I am doing a little missionary work by sending out both copies to our local preachers with a request for their opinion and criticism."

OUR old friend Frank G. Anderson, of Jamestown, N. Y., writes us a letter of sympathy on the death of Oscar H. Geiger. Mr. Anderson has read of the progress of the School in the columns of LAND AND FREEDOM with keen interest.

MR. KARL B. MICKEY, of Columbus, O., is displeased with our review of Albert Jay Nock's work, "A Journal of These Days." The letter of Mr. Mickey's has been mislaid for a time and so we are unable to print it. He thinks we have done Mr. Nock an injustice. If so we are sorry. But when Mr. Nock, after a kindly reference to Prof. Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George," says "Nobody cares for that philosophy," and when he also says that "the people would not know what to do with the Single Tax if they got it," we are at a loss to understand how he can be of any service to the cause. It is true that Mr. Nock was for a number of years co-editor with Francis Neilson of the *Freeman* and did excellent work. Since that time Mr. Neilson has published several works, all of them of service to the cause. That we cannot say as much for Mr. Nock's latest work is a matter of keen regret.

CERTAINLY the greatest Single Tax dinner ever held in New York City, the greatest in its significance if not in point of numbers, was the Commencement Dinner of the Henry George School of Social Science at the Town Hall on the evening of June 7. There were 150 in attendance, the greater number being made up of students of the School, the nucleus of the new army that is forming to carry on the work when we are gone. It was a revelation to the older Single Taxers present to hear these new comers to the ranks make confession of the faith in the doctrine of a just and better social order. Miss Denbigh, president of the Student's Council of the School recently formed, Mr. Goldston, Chas. Joseph Smith, young Robert Clancy, the baby of the School, and others were among the speakers. Then followed the remarks of the older contingent, Oscar H. Geiger, Anna George de Mille, Lawson Purdy, Mrs. Emily E. F. Skeel, Charlotte Schetter, Bolton Hall, Norman C. B. Fowles, Chas. O'Connor Hennessy, Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, Joseph Dana Miller, and others. The remarkable intelligence of the new disciples was a revelation to those present and all expressed their delight. What we owe to the Director of the School and to Miss Denbigh, president of the Students Council, can never be told. The *New York Times* gave quite a report of the dinner, though the reporter arrived late.

ON the evening of the following day, Friday, June 8, occurred another event of remarkable interest at the Town Hall in a dinner tendered to Dr. F. W. Roman and Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of the *American City*. The dinner was principally the occasion of a welcome and farewell to Dr. Roman on his departure for Europe. He explained a number of novel theories he holds on the events that are transpiring. He held out little hope of human betterment until the minds of men are directed toward the land problem and its solution. Always he returned to the necessity of a free earth for a permanent solution of world problems. Mr. Buttenheim talked interestingly of city planning and taxation in the language we are accustomed to hear from him. This meeting was held under the auspices of the Society for Scientific Taxation and Walter Fairchild acted as toastmaster with his customary humor and tact.

It has been the custom for several years past for Walter Fairchild to call together the friends of the movement at his home in Suffern

N. Y., for a picnic and outing. The affair was given on the grounds of the Mahwah River Yacht Club. For the enlightenment of our readers it can now be told that there is no such river and no such yacht club. But there is a little body of water and a clear running brook of more than average length that encircles the Fairchild home. If there is a more idyllic spot anywhere we do not know of it. A raft and a canoe are about all there is of the vessels comprising the mythical yacht club, and the younger picnickers used the canoe alternately for a row over the little lake. More than a dozen automobiles carried visiting Single Taxers to the Fairchild home on June 24. It had rained in the morning, so the attendance did not reach the proportions of other years, but about fifty came and were provided with frankfurters and coffee. All along the roads were signs posted announcing a Single Tax conference and directing the automobilists how to proceed. The conference was short and sweet, consisting of speeches by Walter Fairchild, Oscar H. Geiger, Thomas Wallace Swan and others. Otto Dorn presided. A feature not contemplated on the programme was an interesting lecture on snakes, with an exhibition of a number of specimens by Mr. McLees. The *New York Times* of the following Sunday gave a short account of the affair.

WILBUR E. SCHULTZ, of Xenia, O., apprises us of a fact which has been noted in LAND AND FREEDOM that in Article VIII of the Confederation it was provided that "All charges of war and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to, or surveyed for, any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall from time to time direct and appoint.

"The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several States, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled."

THE death of Brand Whitlock in Cannes, France, at the age of sixty-five closes a useful and brilliant career of public service. He was American minister to Belgium during the World War and endeared himself to the Belgian people by saving many lives, though his efforts to save Edith Cavell were unavailing, and she was executed as a spy. Mr. Whitlock was Mayor of Toledo, succeeding "Golden Rule Jones," and it is something of a coincidence that as his death is recorded that city is in a turmoil from labor upheavals. He was the author of a number of books, including an excellent *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, and many novels. He was a believer in the doctrines of Henry George and was regarded as a Single Taxer. He was once a subscriber of the *Single Tax Review*, now LAND AND FREEDOM. But he said: "The Single Tax will wait, I fancy, for years, since it is fundamental and mankind never attacks fundamental problems until it has exhausted all the superficial ones."

ONE genial personality will be missing from the next Henry George Congress, our old and beloved friend, Chester C. Platt, who died at St. Petersburg, Fla., on May 3. He was born in 1857. We believe he had attended every meeting of the Henry George Foundation since its inception. He had been for many years editor of the *Batavia Times* and later president and treasurer of the *Batavia Times Publishing Company*. Albert F. Kleps, for many years his business associate, pays him an eloquent and feeling tribute in the issue of the *Batavia Times* of May 10. A frequent visitor to this office, and a contributor to the columns of this paper, his death is a personal loss. He was lovable and gentle. Many times we differed with him, but his beautiful spirit disarmed us of all impatience. No one could honestly differ with Chester Platt and hold any personal feeling in consequence. We

shall miss him greatly. Rev. Dr. George Gilmour, of the United Liberal Church of St. Petersburg, who presided at the memorial services, said in the course of an impressive address: "His memory will be tenderly cherished, his influence will continue in those centers where he lived; his name will be spoken with reverence." To his widow and surviving relatives we extend our condolence. He will be to them as he is to us a fragrant memory.

WILLIS J. ABBOTT, former editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, the high character of which is due to him in no small measure, died late in May last at the age of 71. He had spent fifty years of his life in journalism, and a short time before his death had published an interesting account of his journalistic experiences under the title "Watching the World Go By," which is full of notable anecdote. He was Henry George's campaign manager in 1897. We have never quite forgiven him for his advice to Henry George that he confine his campaign to a strictly anti-Tammany fight and that the speakers be so instructed. The story goes that Henry George talked the matter over with his wife, and that Mr. George finally said somewhat wearily, "Let them talk Single Tax." Mr. George knew that the speakers who had flocked to his standard had for the most part done so for only one purpose, which was to talk the Single Tax. It is to be said in justification of Mr. Abbott's advice that he saw a possibility of winning. That is the ignis fatuus of successive campaigns, Beat Tammany! And Tammany repeatedly beaten comes up again to provide ammunition for well-meaning but thoughtless reformers in the eternal but futile crusade against the Hall. Many of our readers know of the friendliness of the *Christian Science Monitor* to the Henry George movement. Whether this was due to Willis J. Abbott or to the intelligence of those responsible for the editorial conduct, we do not know. It is creditable to the Christian Science people that they have been able to maintain such an admirable exponent of the higher art of journalism.

In a speech delivered at Burlington, N. J., Oct. 9, 1928, William L. Dill, the present Democratic candidate for the governorship, said: "A fundamental principle of economics is that what a man produces by his efforts should be his, to enjoy and dispose of as he pleases, and that what the community produces by community efforts should belong to those who have aided in its creation. It does seem reasonable that a substantial share of the land values created by public initiative and investment should be drawn upon by government through a higher tax on these values than is imposed on other ratables."

MAYOR MCNAIR is conducting a very vigorous campaign against the imposition of a toll system on Pittsburgh's famous Liberty Tunnels to the South Hills, and the storm of protest against it has become so strong that it looks as though the County Commissioners will abandon the scheme.

SIR JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, M. P. writes Bolton Hall under date of June 6: "The world has gone quite mad, but Single Taxers (or Single Renters) are too surely grounded to wander off after false gods."

WE are glad to welcome *The Jeffersonian Democrat*, of Jackson, Miss., which is number one of a weekly journal launched in the interest of Dr. E. A. Copeland, Single Tax candidate for governor. It is a virile paper, full of fight, and hitting hard blows for the abolition of all taxes. The editor is S. B. Myers. The candidates are to be voted on in the August primaries of 1935 which gives plenty of time for a vigorous campaign. All success to these brave souls who are making history. Roy Arnold, who is the running mate of Dr. Copeland, makes a statement on his own account and says, "The Single Tax is God's Natural Law of taxation." "It will get revenue and more of it when all other measures have failed, and will cost one fourth as much to collect."