

March — April, 1934

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE-TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

Single Tax Pellets

George M. Strachan

Harry Weinberger at N.R.A. Hearing

NEWS

The Schalkenbach Foundation — The California Campaign

The Manhattan Single Tax Club

The Henry George Lecture Association

Book Reviews

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Correspondence

News Notes and Personals

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LAND AND FREEDOM

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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Comment and Reflection

DEMOCRACY, the assertion of the sovereignty and inviolability of the individual, begins with the French Revolution and the American war for independence. Its spokesmen were a few gifted Frenchmen, followed by Jefferson, Franklin and Paine. It did not begin under very promising auspices. The United States began by adopting most of the legendary superstitions of the old world, like slavery and the protective tariff, as corner stones of the new edifice. It was quite as tenacious of privilege as the old Europe from which it had broken away, despite Paine, whom we have not yet begun to understand.

NEVERTHELESS, democracy lumbered along in an ineffectual way for nearly three quarters of a century from the Confederation to the Civil War. This despite the extraordinary powers lodged in the Chief Executive, and the archaic mode of his selection. Following the Civil War democracy was powerless to effect an interruption of the insidious processes in which gigantic monopolies grew through the influence of a fostering tariff and railroad grants of land, great in area as empires. The concentration of wealth helped to create industrial dictators who dominated legislatures and in many cases controlled the judiciary. Democracy and all it connotes were chiefly useful in furnishing material for Fourth of July orations.

DEVICES of democracy which, it was hoped, would advance the cause of popular government, the direct primary, commission government, popular election of senators, et al., came and went and left not a wrack behind; democracy seemed powerless to make its instruments effective.

IF democracy is merely a toy with which the people amuse themselves while privilege rules triumphant, then is some stronger form of government needed to replace a system in which universal suffrage is demonstrably fifty per cent ineffectual, since only a small proportion exercise the privilege at all, and the fifty per cent that concern themselves with government seem to lack the necessary vigilance to prevent nation-wide abuses, then it is time to revise our notions of democracy and our entire political philosophy.

THE chief requirements of any well ordered society is that the people should *care*. Look around and ask yourself how much do they care. Their attitude toward political corruption is one of cynical indifference and toward economic and governmental problems an uninquiring ignorance. Men who will grow eloquent over automobiles and radios, when the tariff is mentioned mumble a few commonplaces or stupid shibboleths, or pure absurdities borrowed from the platforms of one or other of the old political parties, and then hastily drop the discussion.

NOR is the case greatly different with your college and university graduate. Government, and the problems with which it must deal is the least of his concern as it has been the least of his studies. If he remembers anything he has learned of political economy it is rarely or never the principles of the science, since he has probably been taught that there are no principles of universal application, but only rules of expediency. What he has learned may fit him for a professional or business career, but in most cases he graduates as little fitted for citizenship as a Fiji islander. What wonder that he has no intellectual curiosity about government and soon lapses into indifference? Presidential elections are only sporting events in which he takes the same interest that he does in horse racing or football. But that these should turn upon matters of real concern to the nation, that there are grave problems that need to be solved at such times, and that government is the agency which should act in solving them—these considerations rarely occur to him. His "politics," in which he exhibits a quite childish pride, is delightfully free from any attempt to get down to hard thinking about it.

NOR is the philosophy of present day writers likely to aid him. Of a piece with university thinking, most of them have little concern with moral principles. There are no moral principles that are unvarying; they are national, climatic or expedient, as fits the case; the Decalogue is an elastic yard measure, variously applied. He hears of pragmatism, behaviourism, and other isms, but that there are any ethical laws to which human conduct in society must conform or suffer the consequences, he is in utter ignorance. Nobody teaches it, so his democracy drifts a derelict on the political sea.

HOW account for what seems to the eyes of many the obvious failure of democracy? It is curious that the political philosophers who with unseemly haste assume that democracy is now ready for burial, never consider what would give Demos a new lease of life. They stop with the shallow sophistry of George Bernard Shaw that it is idle to expect the audience to run the show, as if this were a perfect analogy.

POPULAR sovereignty has broken down because democracy has been called upon to bear more than it can sustain. It has broken down because its organizers have assumed that it could safely concern itself with all departments of human activity. They did not see that it was functionally limited to a few matters of social concern. This can easily be seen in the case of Italy where fascism is the direct result of socialistic inefficiency which broke down under the load it was forced to carry. It behooves us to see if our own government does not present a similar analogy, though the consequences will not be the same everywhere. A high mettled thoroughbred has been asked to do the work of a dray horse.

THERE are certain things that political society or government must *not* do; there are certain things it *cannot* do. Its activities of late under the Roosevelt administration have been concerned mostly with the latter. We have therefore had little time to consider the things we ought to do. The faith in government held by the average individual is at the bottom of our troubles. "Pass a law"—that is the remedy for every difficulty that suggests itself to the average citizen. It is not realized that government is functionally limited to the things it may do.

IS not the individual something? Has he no rights that may be left to him, no matters that are his own concern, no temptations by which he may grow strong and develop his character in resisting? Has not the individual stripped himself of every democratic initiative? How then expect the political democracy he has erected to be truly democratic?

THERE are other and more important impediments to democracy. Our whole economic system is one of privilege. Government is bound up with it. Every senator is not merely a representative of the people of his state; he is the representative of some special interest, some monopoly, some big business seeking government favors. Senators are Railroad, Wheat, or Iron, or Cotton, or Silver Senators. And this not deliberately nor venally always, but actually because of the close partnership of government with privilege. The corrupting influence of the tariff, for one thing, is over all, a slimy trail.

DEMOCRACY is possible only where men are free; a political democracy is feasible only where it limits its activities to matters that are within its province and where the individual is left free to work out his own salvation. "That government is best which governs least" is not all of it; in those things which are governmental it must govern absolutely. The whole fabric of society needs to be placed under a rigid analysis to discover why the hope of democracy has in so large a measure eluded us.

THE answer will be discovered in the two reasons which we have indicated, that democracy has been overweighted, that institutions are unjust, and that government has been corrupted by privilege. In this country we have proceeded on the assumption that government is unlimited in scope, whereas it is strictly conditioned. Democracy cannot be yoked with privilege and still be free to function. The expectation is falacious.

THOUGH forms of government do not greatly matter, it is still true that political institutions borrow their status from the kind of economic freedom that prevails, their character as well as their duration and stability. That is what Henry George meant when he said that the condition of progress is "association in equality." Political equality is not possible without the economic background of association in equality.

DEMOCRACY therefore has a much wider application than is given to it in current discussion about forms of government. Until one man can look another in the face, until it is no longer necessary to beg the boon of work, to sue his fellow man for a job, will political democracy, or democracy of any kind, be possible. For this reason Single Taxers beat the air when they concern themselves with forms of government, city management, direct primaries, and sundry devices to the neglect of the only change that makes democracy attainable.

THE growth of fascism and communism alike is attributable to economic conditions. Fascism is the half-unconscious resistance of the House of Have to the claim of the disinherited. Communism is a different sort of resistance to the same condition of landless men. Fascism is instinctive. It could never find lodgment even in society of half free men. It is lower than monarchy because it springs from a deeper degree of slavery; it lacks the popular appeal of a monarchial form of government; it is far less responsive to real public wrongs. It tolerates nothing that is not to its own glory and substitutes for possible kindly sovereign a figure that grows more and more of a soulless abstraction representing the state. This statement may be enforced by an understanding of

the different way in which several European leaders are regarded. For example, King George is loved, Hitler and Mussolini are feared.

BUT to talk democracy to men who are economic slaves, who must beg the boon of work, or who must subsist upon charity, is a ghastly mockery. To ask of men deprived of power to control their own affairs that they participate in the business of government, is a joke, but a sardonic joke. From the substratum of social misery, which is the lot of the majority of men, we may with absolute certainty trace the rise of fascism in Germany and Italy, the decay of liberalism in Great Britain and the decline of democracy in America.

Two Presidents to Another

SAIID Woodrow Wilson: "I do not want to live under a philanthropy. I do not want to be taken care of by the government, either directly or by any instruments through which the government is acting."

President Roosevelt will please note and remember the N.R.A. codes.

Again said President Wilson: "If any part of our people want to be wards, if they want to have guardians put over them, if they want to be taken care of, if they want to be children patronized by government, why I am sorry, because it will sap the manhood of America."

Professor Tugwell and the socialistically inclined Roosevelt are invited to reflect upon this.

And again we quote the last Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson: "I do not want a smug lot of experts to sit down behind closed doors in Washington and play Providence to me. There is a Providence to which I am perfectly willing to submit. But as for other men setting up as Providence over myself I seriously object. I have never met a political savior in the flesh and I never expect to meet one."

Respectfully submitted for the consideration of the President and his experts!

From a President who also lies in his grave and has been longer time dead, come these momentous words, which President Roosevelt is also asked to note and perhaps take to heart: It is Abraham Lincoln who speaks:

"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."

Lincoln saw the land question. He would have dealt with it in the big way. To him there was no such thing as property in land any more than in air or water.

He had no doubt of the principle he laid down. Of the method to be pursued he was not so certain. He said: A reform like this will be worked out some time in the future." He knew the movement would meet with opposi-

tion and he knew the kind of opposition it would meet. Very forcibly he says:

"The idle talk of idle men that is so common now, will find its way against it, with whatever force it may possess, and strongly promoted and carried on as it can be by land monopolists, grasping landlords, and the titled and untitled senseless enemies of mankind everywhere."

Thus spoke the Prophet-President. Is Franklin Roosevelt capable of understanding?

Save the School

WHEN two years ago Oscar H. Geiger started the Henry George School of Social Science it was with deep-seated faith that the support necessary for its maintenance would be forthcoming. This faith has been justified only in part. Such contributions as have been received have been only sufficient to carry on in a small way, and the work is seriously handicapped for funds.

We are not asking now for contributions from those able to give but five dollars or so, though these are welcome, and such responses have been generous indeed. We are appealing now to those wealthy Henry George men who are able to contribute substantial sums. Of these there must be quite a number. One or two in this fortunate class have responded. But not enough. Five thousand dollars a year are needed to do the things that ought to be done. This is the amount imperatively needed for the work.

We sometimes wonder if our friends to whom a large contribution would mean little have the vision to see the possibilities of this great experiment. Mr. Geiger has made a beginning, a small beginning, it is true, but large enough to furnish a demonstration. The enrolment of eighty students, a great number of them public and high school teachers, members of seven or eight classes, should thrill the imagination. Let us figure a Joseph Fels on the scene, and the School in receipt of \$50,000 a year! The Henry George University would be in sight and further liberal endowments would follow. What a future would be made possible—the great gospel of industrial emancipation inculcated in a great educational institution to which the youth of the country would flock!

This appeal to wealthy Single Taxers of vision—and we think there must be such—would not be complete without a word as to the Director. Of all those who have gone before, the great apostles of the movement whom we love to recall, Mr. Geiger does not rank as an orator like John S. Crosby, a crusader like Father McGlynn, a fiery enthusiast like Hugh O. Pentecost, but as a teacher he surpasses them all. Not at any time in the history of the movement has there appeared so richly qualified an instructor. With a tactfulness and art of appeal he draws these young people to him. Socialists and communists, so often impervious, answer to this appeal. Not only does he know from the fund of a deep-stored mind the things he wishes

to inculcate, but he is quick to anticipate the difficulties of his students. With painstaking care and gentle consideration he resolves their doubts. We believe many in the years to come will look back with grateful memories to this finely equipped teacher who guided them successfully through difficult paths and made them see the truth in the light of which so many perplexities disappear.

If the School is forced to suspend a great tragedy will have fallen upon the movement. It will not be known how grave a tragedy it is by those who, because they lacked the vision, failed to realize how great were its promises and possibilities.

The Great Triumvirate

THE three men who are prominent in the administration recovery programme are interesting as providing studies of character. Tugwell, Johnson and Richberg are an interesting triumvirate. While Tugwell in much of his writing exhibits a Torricellian vacuity of thought he clothes it with a professorial garb of calm superiority. He writes with a superb disdain of his critics. He indicates that those who differ with him are animated by some secretly base motive, that they wish to retain some monopolistic privilege, and that if they venture to criticise the programme it is quite clear that they are influenced by motives more or less corrupt.

Johnson, a somewhat more engaging personality, is the raging tragedian of the heavy melodrama. He is almost ferocious. But we like him. No one has ever treated economic problems in just this spirit and his rage is almost demoniac. Yet it is impossible not to admire him. He puts up a good show. Napoleon said of a certain famous charge, "It is magnificent but it is not war." And we may say of General Johnson's great outbursts, "They are magnificent but they are not business or economics."

Richberg is different. He is a lawyer and will argue with you. It is true that he has a habit common to all three. He speaks of the "mudslinging of destructive criticism," and of those who look with "jaundiced eyes" upon the administration programme. But that is a common characteristic.

His economics show the same defects as his associates. He is also at fault in his history. He tells us in a recent article that "recovery has proceeded at a rate unprecedented in the up-turn after any previous depression." This is simply not so. The depression of 1857 was over in the Spring of 1858; the stagnation of 1843 was followed in 1846 by good times and the highest wages ever known; the years of 1867, 1868 and 1869 were periods of great depression, but in 1870 business improved considerably. Other periods of depression have been followed by recovery in a time much shorter than today's slight up-turn. That the N.R.A. is responsible for such recovery as we are experiencing, if we are, no well informed man will contend.

And if other countries have shown the same slight up-turn, with little Sweden ranking first, it cannot be due to the N.R.A.

Richberg differs from Tugwell when he speaks in the same article of "the administration codes of fair competition." Competition, according to Tugwell is never fair; it is always destructive and always to be frowned upon.

But what is funny is Mr. Richberg's self-contradiction. He is indignant at "little stores, shops and restaurants which go bankrupt in less than five years and which bombard Congress with complaints that monopolies fostered by the codes are driving them to the wall." He does not deny this but says: "The N.R.A. codes may sometimes hasten the end of such small and uneconomic enterprises." But he says this is a "process which has been proceeding relentlessly for many years despite the anti-trust laws."

We are still a little puzzled. It seems the N.R.A. codes are performing a really useful purpose in doing away with "small and uneconomic enterprises." If this is accomplished, and it is thought desirable, as Mr. Richberg says it is, and is "proceeding relentlessly" without the codes, the job seems to be well in hand.

But who can be sure if these small enterprises are uneconomic? Maybe some of the larger enterprises are also uneconomic. And we would point out that where ninety per cent of industrial enterprises fail it is due not to unregulated competition, nor to the absence of codes, but to the same set of economic conditions in which the majority of enterprises, large and small, come to grief.

But the following is of interest where Mr. Richberg says: "It is profoundly in the interest of large enterprises to preserve the economic health of small competitors—in order that all may enjoy the benefit of legalized cooperation in promoting their industry as a whole * * *"

The unconscious appeal here is to the law of competition and that other law which is made possible by it—the law of cooperation. Of course, Richberg does not recognize it, Tugwell cannot, and Johnson—well, Johnson doesn't care. But it is a natural law of business and economics.

This is the answer to all planning. There are such things as natural laws of production and distribution. If you interfere with them you do so at your peril. The great industrial structural edifice, the delicate laws of distribution, the law of supply and demand which is nothing less than the exchange of supply for supply, shrinks and withers at the touch of government. What millions of hands have laboriously erected the hand of a single blundering legislator can undo. Nature has its way of punishing infractions of the economic law, and any interference with it is free play. The authors of the N.R.A. will learn this to their cost.

NAMES of those friendly to our movement will receive a sample copy of LAND AND FREEDOM and circular announcing special premium offer by addressing this office.

Single Tax Pellets

IN the consideration of any subject, the main desideratum is the truth. There is in mythology a tale in which an angel passing through space carried in his hand a glass ball. He dropped this glass ball and it fell upon the earth, breaking into a great many pieces. That glass ball was truth. Some of us have found some of the pieces; some of us have apprehended parts of truth. We know that these fragments are truth because they correlate; just as the pieces of a broken ball of glass would fit each into the other. All truth correlates. God is truth.

The great Blackstone says in the second chapter of his first book: "When the Supreme Being formed the universe, and created matter, he impressed certain principles upon that matter, from which it never can depart, and without which it would cease to be. . . . If we further advance, from mere inactive matter to vegetable and animal life, we shall find them still governed by laws, more numerous indeed, but equally fixed and invariable. The whole progress of plants, from the seed to the root, and from thence to the seed again; the method of animal nutrition, digestion, secretion, and all other branches of vital economy, are not left to chance, or the will of the creature itself, but are performed in a wondrous involuntary manner, and guided by unerring rules laid down by the great Creator. . . . This law of nature, being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God Himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. No human laws are of any validity if contrary to this; and such of them as are valid derive all their force and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original."

In the constitution of nature, ordained by God Himself, is a beautiful regime of truth: in electricity, in mathematics, in chemistry, in political economy and all the sciences. And just as we learn this order of truth, and make our affairs to accord with it, we progress peacefully. As an example I may say that there could have been a great development of radio communication in Adam's time as we now have, had the knowledge of natural physical law, of manufacture and adjustment of parts existed then as now exists. Let us apply this concept to the problems that now confront us, and see where we are led.

Some time ago, I read in a newspaper about a ship on the Atlantic ocean. An accident to its watertank had deprived the crew of drinking water. They put out a distress signal and a passing vessel hailing them asked them what was the trouble. Upon being told of the shortage of drinking water, the passing vessel replied "Dip and drink." It seems that they were at the mouth of the Amazon river which throws its fresh waters hundreds of miles into the ocean, and it was necessary only to "dip and drink."

So it is in these United States. Our natural resources

are so very abundant—God has provided so wonderfully for our needs, in the mines, the soil and the forests, that all that is necessary is the touch of the magic wand of labor to make it into clothes, into automobiles, into everything that will satisfy human wants. This country is flowing with milk and honey. All that it would seem necessary to do is dip and drink.

I know a man who, as it were, dipped up some of this honey. He built a beautiful forty story building; the latest thing in architecture, with all the amenities that contribute to comfort and elegance. This building is now in the hands of a receiver and his money has been taken from him. As he told it to me, he has been "cleaned to his last dollar." If he had been "wise" he would have kept the old shack that encumbered the site, and would have waited until other people built around it. Had he done that, he would be "sitting pretty" now, besides which he would have his money. He is a typical example.

When a man erects a building, employs a lot of idle men, thereby making business good, beautifies the neighborhood, and "makes the world go round," we fine him for doing so, that is, we tax him. If he mistreated his wife we might fine him once, but if he erects a building, and thereby employs idle men, we fine him every year with perfect regularity. But if he holds a lot vacant, raising weeds, cultivating mosquitoes, and holding labor idle, because other people build around his lot and make it more valuable, he can sell it for an increased price; thereby getting money that he has not earned, reaping what he did not sow. And we must remember that if men get wealth without earning it, others must earn it without getting it.

What I have said shows by means of our present arrangements we fine the man who employs labor and reward the man who keeps men idle. We fine the man who makes business good and reward the man who makes business bad. We fine the man who beautifies our city and reward the man who messes up our city with tin cans, dead rats and old rags, weeds and mosquitoes. To expect to have continuous employment and good business by means of such foolishness would be the same as to expect to reap wheat where thistles have been sown.

We Single Taxers propose to reverse this arrangement, to fine the man who keeps labor idle and to reward the man who employs labor. We would fine the man who makes business bad and reward the man who makes business good. We would fine the man who messes up our city and reward the man who beautifies it. We propose to raise all public revenue on the value of land only, by a tax in proportion to its value whether it be improved or not. This would force all valuable land into its best use, creating such vast opportunities for employment that there would not be an idle man who wanted to work in the country. Business would hum continually and a

paradise of joy would obtain, instead of such a vale of tears as it now is to most folks. I am reminded of the Scripture where it says, "eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, neither hath it entered into the hearts of men to know what God hath prepared for them that love Him and keep his commandments."

Looking at this subject from another angle, I often speak of the folly of old Father Dearborn. To you who do not read the cartoons in the Chicago newspapers, I must explain that Father Dearborn is the City of Chicago. That old fool Father Dearborn allows a few of his people to rob him blindly, so that frequently he has not enough money left to buy an Irish stew. And then, to recoup himself he robs us. If you build a house, he will rob you of that. If you buy nice furniture to embellish your home and make your family comfortable, and incidentally employ a number of furniture makers, he will rob you of that. Now all that the Single Taxer wants of Father Dearborn is that he shall keep his fingers out of our pockets and keep the other fellow's fingers out of his pockets. Let Father Dearborn confine himself for his revenue to his own wages, his earnings—land values.

When I am talking to the reformers who have a passion for improving mankind I sometimes tell them a tale like this. A tidal wave inundated Miami. A number of fish were stranded in a shallow pool on the beach. The sunshine soon gave the pool a temperature warmer than that to which the fish were accustomed. They scratched each other, killed each other and did not have much to eat. Many of them were dying from lack of food. A certain fermentation was going on at the edges of the pool and some of the fish were getting drunk committing murder. They were in a bad way. There was a little, not much, but a little intelligence among the fish. One school of fish said, "The trouble with us fish is that we don't love the Lord, our troubles would be over if we would only come to Jesus." Those were the religious fish. Another school said, "The trouble is all due to the fact that we drink too much. We must have prohibition before the trouble will be righted." They were the Prohibition fish. Still another school said, "The trouble with us is that we are not properly organized." They believed that if they had a lot of committees and management everything would be lovely. Those were the socialist fish. But among them let us suppose there were one or two sensible fish. Can we not imagine them explaining, perhaps vainly, that, "The trouble with us fish is that we have been separated from our natural element, the great ocean." Those would correspond to the Single Taxers. They said, "If we can only get back to the good old Atlantic Ocean where we could be free, would have plenty to eat and our natural environment, we would not have all of this trouble. And like as the fish are water animals, so men are land animals, and the moral is that to the extent that their access to their natural environment has been interfered with, men are in trouble."

Another analogy: Here is a field of thousands of acres of growing grass and clover. It grows up abundantly every year, fading in the fall. One corner of this field is fenced off, and in this corner are a number of cattle trying to graze and not finding enough food to sustain themselves. Many of them are dying from lack of food. I arrived on the scene in my car and discover a man working himself into a sweat pulling and throwing tufts of grass over the fence to the cattle. The cattle rush for the grass. The horned cattle gore the others, and in the mad scramble much of the grass gets wasted. I say to this man, "Why don't you open the gate so that the cattle can get out and help themselves, the clover is wasted anyway." Now what can I say to this man when he replies, "Aw, quit your Single Tax theorizing and get down here and help me pull grass."

A man with his dog Towser having been lost in a desert after wandering about several days and growing weak thought that before long he must lie down and die. He thought of his dog and decided that it was time to eat. Talking the matter over with the dog, Towser objected to being killed. Some other way must be found. So a compromise was reached. Towser permitted his tail to be cut off. The man found means to make a fire, cooked the tail, and having eaten the flesh, threw the bones to the dog, saying: "Towser, there is charity."

For nearly 2,000 years, all over Christendom, we have been saying the Lord's Prayer. Regularly and without understanding, we have recited the words, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done in the earth." And now it seems to me that we have the kingdom of the devil on this earth. If I were asked to write a specification for a hell, I would copy our present scheme in toto. Poverty, destitution and crime stalk through the land. We educate our children, fill them with ambition and deprive them of the opportunity to satisfy their ambition. So it appears that perhaps we have not been praying in the right way. No doubt that our prayer reaches beyond the ceiling. We know that the way to pray for potatoes is to get out in the field and plant the proper seed. You may pray after the fashion of the Methodists, the Catholics, or any of our religious groups and expect that the potatoes will come down through the roof or some other peculiar way, but they will not. The only way to get anything is to do the natural thing necessary to get that which you pray for. The way to pray for the establishment of the kingdom of God on this earth is to learn the natural laws of political economy, to obey them and then the kingdom of God will ensue without further effort.

Jesus was speaking to a hungry crowd on one occasion about high and lofty things that they did not understand. And they said: "Aw, cut it out and give us something to eat." Jesus replied, "Think not of what ye shall eat, or what ye shall wear, or wherewithal ye shall be clothed. Your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. See the lily of the field, how it toils not, neither

does it spin, yet I say unto you that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you." The necessities and comforts of life would come as natural consequences, when you have a kingdom of God on the earth. So, translating that bit of Scripture into the language of Chicago, seeking "the kingdom of God and His righteousness," righteousness would mean the right method of taxation, right governmental arrangements, equal freedom of opportunity. The lily had its roots in the soil, was exposed to the sunshine and enjoying its natural habitat. So, I say, that if men had their roots in the soil, if they had equal rights to God's bounty, they too would blossom into all that men might hope to be, and Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like the possibilities for the ordinary working man.

I often am asked "If the Single Tax is as good a proposition as you say it is, why don't the people of culture and education take it up and help to get it adopted?" My reply is to quote a parable. A traveler on his way to Damascus was held up, robbed, and left half dead at the side of the road. A lawyer came along and seeing him, pitied him, but passed on the other side. A priest passed that way and seeing him said, "Poor fellow," but he was too busy to help. But along came a stranger, a man who was despised by the lawyer and the priest as a contemptible foreigner. This fellow stopped, treated the man's wounds, bound them, and took him to an inn and provided for his welfare. So in our society, the workingman has been robbed and is bewildered at the condition he is in. The lawyers and the clergymen express their regret but feel that it is not their problem. They are the product of education and culture fostered by the circumstances of a social arrangement that results in the condition of the workingman. We cannot expect that any folks, except those who are not too deformed by the surrounding culture and schooling, will interest themselves in this matter.

And well meaning folks frequently display an appalling ignorance of economic matters. Some who should know better advocate the protective tariff, as a means of promoting the workingman's interest. To these, I say: "I spent four years in college studying electrical engineering. We got the unanimous opinion of the masters in the science of electricity. In the laboratory we tested all of these opinions by the use of various instruments, and the results of our experiments checked with what we had learned in the classroom. Applying that method to the subject we were discussing—the tariff—let us see what the authorities say on this subject. All of the authorities are free traders, John Stuart Mill, Laughlin, Ely, Fischer, Seligman, Carver and in fact all the political economists. So much for the authorities, now let me submit the tariff to a laboratory test. This may seem difficult but as you shall see, it is not.

Taking first the highest tariff countries of the world and moving by degrees to the freest trade countries, let us observe what are the conditions in each, and we will then to all intents and purposes have gone through a laboratory experiment. The highest tariff country in the world, before the war, was China. They had such a high tariff that it was called the Chinese wall. Not only did they have tariffs around the country to keep goods from coming in, but they also had tariffs between the provinces. A farmer could not take a pig or a bushel of wheat into town without paying a tariff. They were tarified coming and tarified going. Yet China was a most miserable place in which to live. The next highest tariff country was Turkey. They had so much tariff that they had very little foreign trade. The next most highly protected area was the Balkan States, Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and then Italy, then Austria. Following in order came France, Spain, Germany, Russia and Great Britain, and then the United States. The United States is the freest country in the world. I will admit that we have a high tariff against importation into this country from abroad, but in the United States we have the largest absolute free trade area in the world. We have forty-eight nations with free trade between them, and it is the best country in the world, though it could, of course, be a great deal better. Now, I have shown that all of the authorities are free traders, and the laboratory experiment shows that the highest tariff country is the poorest for the ordinary man to live in and that the lowest tariff country is the best to live in.

And it should be so. Some countries are suited for the production of certain things and other countries are suited for the production of other things. It pays the people of a country to produce the things for which it is suited and to trade its surplus products with the people of other countries suited for the production of the things they want. As examples, take N. Dakota which is adapted to the production of wheat and Pennsylvania which is adapted to the production of coal. The people of Pennsylvania cannot eat their coal and the Dakotans cannot burn their wheat advantageously, so they each raise a surplus and then they trade; and it blesses him that gives and him that takes. There is no difference in principle in trade between Pennsylvania and N. Dakota, and trade between the United States and Great Britain, nor between Italy and Germany.

Birds and business ignore boundary lines between nations unless they are interfered with, so if we would remove all our fool tariffs and allow goods to move from where they are plentiful and cheap to where they are scarce and dear, in each case to pay for the goods received; if the various localities of the world would swap their advantages, it would multiply the wealth of the world many times.

I once heard a ridiculous story that illustrates the principle. A pineapple orchard was planted in Greenland,

under a glass roof, and a high tariff instituted to protect the home industry from the cheap pineapples from the south. Also there was an ice plant set up in Bermuda with a high protective tariff to protect the industry from the cheap ice of the north. Some one observed, "Why don't you get your pineapples where God intended them to grow. This hot house stuff is mush and not fit to eat. Why don't you remove that fool tariff and so allow us to make something here to exchange for southern pineapples." Immediately a lot of politicians and pseudo-philosophers held up their hands in holy horror and said, "But see all of the steam fitters, carpenters, glaziers and caretakers that would be out of their jobs if you had free trade in pineapples." I assert that every industry in this country or any other country that needs the support of a tariff is a species of "pineapple orchard in Greenland or an ice plant in Bermuda." That is to say, it is an exotic industry and should be kicked out. We should devote our energies to those industries that are indigenous to the country. Engineers have built bridges, tunneled mountains, constructed steamships, railroads, automobiles, aeroplanes, telegraph, telephone and radio systems, all to facilitate trade—to bring things from where they are plentiful and cheap to where they are needed, and when their work is in good running order, along come a lot of politicians, ignorant statesmen, putting up tariff barriers nullifying, to a large extent, the fine work of our engineers. It often costs more to get goods through a custom house than it does to ship them around the world. So I want to speak out so all may hear, that I am a free trader. I take my stand along with Richard Cobden, John Bright, Robert Peel and Henry George. 'Tis true I am but a humble member of this illustrious company, but I would rather be a doorkeeper in the house of honest free traders than to dwell in the tents of wicked protectionists.—GEORGE M. STRACHAN.

Is This What's the Matter With Him?

BEHIND his smile, his quick wit, his winning friendliness are two factors never to be overlooked in his evaluation. First Roosevelt is a Dutch gentleman, reared in the manner and environment of landed aristocracy.—From the *Men Around the President*, in January *Harpers*.

"HAVE you any thing better to offer" asks General Johnson of critics of the N.R.A. The question is not original with the General. It was once asked by a notorious quack of a competent physician who criticized his fake "cure for cancer."

"TRIAL and error" as a national policy means severe trials for the people and egregious errors by the government.

Schalkenbach Foundation Work

IF a visitor came to the Foundation office, he might be surprised at the variety and interesting content of the work that comes across the desk. There would be orders for books, (mostly of "Progress and Poverty") from such dealers as Marshall Field, Chicago; John Wanamaker, Philadelphia; University Book Store of Southern California; Clark's Old Book Store, Spokane, Wash.; Womraths, Brentanos, and the American News Company, of New York—to mention a few of the 400 dealers from whom we receive orders for Henry George books. New contacts were made by two recent letters to bookdealers in which part of the jacket of "Progress and Poverty" was enclosed, so that it could be seen that this book was produced in modern, interesting style.

Then our visitor would find that in answer to a letter sent to a special list of Single Taxers who were known to be working actively on tax questions, there would be orders asking for Professor Brown's new book, "The Economic Basis of Tax Reform," which undertakes to answer some of the stock objections to Henry George's proposals and to supply arguments for the more knotty problems raised by opponents.

He would find in the course of preparation a letter to professors and high school teachers which would be sent to a list of about 2,000 names, and, if he came to the office a month later, he would find orders for books, and letters discussing the Georgist viewpoint from professors in such widely separated schools as the following: University of Georgia; Nebraska Wesleyan; Alabama Polytechnic Institute; Camden Commercial College, N. J.; Columbia University; Swarthmore, Penna.; Sioux Falls College; Northfield Schools, Mass.; Kenyon College, O.; Princeton University; University of New Hampshire; Clemson College; San Diego City Schools; Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College; University of Montana; Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Drew University.

With the aid of Patterson's Educational Directory, the Foundation now has a list of educational officers and teachers in every State in the Union. The first effort was to circularize teachers and school superintendents in the State of New Jersey. That such circularization is effective is proven by the many new contacts that are made with teachers on these lists. This kind of work requires a large fund. We do not have enough money this year to do each State in the Union. If anyone feels that he would like to have his particular State circularized this way, and would care to contribute toward it, we would see to it that effective material reached these teacher groups.

Our visitor would find that proof for the Index and front pages of "Social Problems," and also proof for the jacket, were being corrected, and that the book is scheduled for publication on or about April 5. Plans are being made to advertise "Social Problems," and to acquaint book

dealers with the fact that this new edition is ready. Review copies will be sent to a select list of newspapers and magazines with a letter pointing out that the book reads as if written for today's newspapers, in its treatment of the problems of government, over-production, etc.

It would be found that an average of thirty news clippings per week are placed in the scrap-book, and that note is made whenever anything of importance appears. Editorials and book reviews mention Henry George frequently, because certain of the new books, such as "The Robber Barons," contain comments on or quotations from Henry George.

An examination of the advertising programme would reveal that the small advertisement carried in the *Nation* has yielded 38 inquiries in the past two months. Each inquiry is answered personally, and appropriate literature explaining Henry George's writings is sent. Miscellaneous inquiries are received, and inquiries from the advertisements placed in *The American Hebrew*, so that a summary shows 91 people receiving literature by their own request.

A new advertisement headed "The Henry George Bookshelf" has been contracted for with Mr. Beckwith, editor of *The Forum*. A series of small advertisements has been prepared for weekly insertion over a period of three or four weeks in the *New York Times*, and it is believed that the continuity of these advertisements will stimulate interest.

Publicity equal to an advertisement was procured by writing to some 100 editors, explaining the aims of the Foundation, its publication achievements, etc., and the letter appeared in *The Churchman*, *Unity*, etc. Publicity was also prepared at the request of the Russell Sage Foundation for a place in its publication "American Foundations," soon to be issued.

Not long ago Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler spoke before the Pilgrim Society and quoted from the Fourth of July Oration by Henry George (1877). He said that although George's words go back over half a century they are prophetic in their insight and prophetic in their appeal. The Foundation immediately reprinted the news item reporting Dr. Butler's speech, and enclosed it with the special letters that it was sending out at the time to professors, bookdealers, etc.

On Feb. 29, Dr. John Haynes Holmes addressed the Community Church audience at Town Hall, New York. He read the concluding paragraphs of "Progress and Poverty" to his congregation, and then, in one of the most stirring addresses the writer has heard, spoke of the basic inequality of private property in land. Dr. Holmes devoted the first half of his speech to Henry George, but then went on to other reforms. The next Sunday the undersigned brought copies of "Progress and Poverty" to be placed on the literature counters, and free copies of pamphlets were placed on a table in the Town Hall.

Finally, if our supposed visitor is still with us, examining all of the office activities, he would come upon letters

from Mr. Ellert of Milk River, ordering a huge supply of books and pamphlets for his work in Alberta; letters from Jackson Ralston telling about the California campaign; from Dr. Copeland telling about his Mississippi campaign; orders from Mr. F. C. Maguire of Pittsburgh, who is placing 250 "What Is the Single Tax?" in libraries and bookstores; a request to us to choose an assortment up to \$16 for a Southern college where the president is interested in getting his community group to study Henry George; letter from our Canadian friends in Toronto who, upon our donation of "Significant Paragraphs" will see to it that certain important professors in the Canadian colleges receive the book with special letter; a letter from a judge in Chambers Street, New York, ordering all of the books available on our booklist for presentation to a library; and finally, letter from the Oglethorpe University Librarian stating that "The Philosophy of Henry George" by Dr. Geiger, arrived during a period when thirty students were making reports on Henry George for a class in economics, and that they were delighted to find a single volume giving complete information.

ANTOINETTE KAUFMANN,
Executive Secretary.

The Alternative Programme

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, in his speech before the NRA conference, has said:

" . . . the critic is patriotic, whether he be a business man, a worker, a farmer or a politician, if he says, I don't like the methods you are using to solve the problem; I believe it would be far better to use the following alternate method, and outlines for the benefit of his neighbor and his government a helpful programme."

I accept the president's invitation to offer an alternative method. In bare outline, here is the programme:

- 1: Abolish private ownership of land and natural resources.
- 2: Abolish all taxation.
- 3: Abolish all tariffs.
- 4: Have the government obtain all its revenue by collecting the economic rent of the land.
- 5: Abolish all governmental regulation of, and interference with, commerce and industry.

This programme would result in a condition of free competition between individuals armed with equal rights—of complete equality of economic opportunity without any abridgement of personal liberty. It would ensure to every citizen full use and enjoyment of the product of his own handiwork or intellectual activity.

This programme would, I submit, have these advantages over the president's programme: It would obviate the inquisitorial taxation methods now in use: it would avoid the necessity for a social planning so vast and intricate that neither the individual nor the collective intelligence is equal to it; it would escape the evolution of a top-heavy, bureaucratic class whose first instinct would be to dig itself in at the expense of all the rest of us.—KARL B. MICKEY, in *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

WE like to remember the story of the old woman who seeing the sea for the first time explained her delight in witnessing something at last of which there was enough for everybody.

A Confused Economist

CHARLES HECHT, former Councilman of Lakewood, N. J., a pioneer Single Taxer, who was in the Henry George campaign for mayor of the City of New York in 1886, sent the following question to the *American Freeman*, edited by E. Haldeman-Julius of Gerard, Kan.

QUESTION: Would you consider the Single Tax, as advocated by Henry George, if generally adopted, a fundamental remedy for the existing economic conditions?

ANSWER: "Henry George has never impressed me as an important economist. He made a great splash, but only among immature and superficial students of economic phenomena. His "Progress and Poverty," written in 1879, is a solemnly pretentious work, motivated by a sincere desire to help mankind, but nevertheless an incomplete description of the social evils facing us and a thoroughly inadequate solution.

"Henry George was not an original, creative thinker. The basic ideas described under the general theory of the Single Tax originated with the French economists of the 18th Century, known as Physiocrats. Quesnay, the chief theoretician of the Physiocrats, based his economic philosophy on the then sound premise that the major part of man's wealth came from the soil. George, writing a century later, had already seen vast advancements in the industrial and financial processes, which he blandly ignored and then proposed an exclusive tax on rentals. There was to be no other levy.

"Such a theory might be made to fit into an exclusively agricultural economy, but imagine the absurdity of such a programme in a day of large-scale industry, machinery, billion-dollar banks, capitalists and all the other manifestations of a capitalistic society, in which the bulk of wealth no longer comes from the land but from industry.

"Henry George, as late as 1891, defended capital and interest, and merely insisted on taking 'for the community the value that attaches to land by the growth of the community.' Not only was private capitalism to be untouched by the state, but it was to be completely free of assessment by the tax collector. This would mean that J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller, each being expressions of financial and industrial capitalism, were not to be taxed, either on their business, their incomes, or their estates at their death. Single Tax is as dead as the dodo. It is now merely the peculiar notions of a group of senile eccentrics."

If Henry George did not impress Mr. Haldeman-Julius as an "important economist" it is because E. Haldeman-Julius is evidently a superficial thinker. Thousands upon thousands of intellectual people including the world's most imminent economists consider "Progress and Poverty" as the greatest book on social and political economy ever written.

Mr. Haldeman-Julius like a good many more of his ilk who pretend to understand social and economic questions pose as teachers to the unwise and misinformed and fail to grasp the fundamental remedy themselves and unjustly criticise Mr. George because of their lack of knowledge on the subject. Mr. Haldeman-Julius says that Henry George "made a great splash among immature and superficial students." Among the many men who agreed with Henry George on economics, who, according to Mr. Haldeman-Julius are "superficial students of economic phenomena," are the late Prof. Felix Adler of the Ethical Culture Society, who entered the campaign

of 1886 in behalf of Mr. George, Samuel Gompers, late President of the American Federation of Labor, who escorted Mr. George to many factories during the campaign where Mr. George addressed the employees, Lloyd George, Ramsay MacDonald, Theodore Roosevelt, President Woodrow Wilson, Newton D. Baker, Franklin Lane, and William B. Wilson, members of the Wilson cabinet; Prof. John Dewey, the late Lucius F. Garvin, Governor of Rhode Island; Tom L. Johnson, U. S. Senator Woodbridge, H. Ferris, Edwin Markham, Mark Twain, Prof. Irving Fisher, Bishop Huntington, Judge Samuel Seabury, and thousands of other intellectual men and women throughout the world.

"Progress and Poverty" has been translated into thirteen languages, including Chinese, and over 6,000,000 copies have been sold. Does this jibe with the statement that Single Taxers is as "dead as the dodo?" Furthermore, the Single Tax has been adopted in part in Pittsburgh, Pa., where at the last election a Single Tax mayor was elected; in Fairhope, Ala., in Edmonton, Can., in Australia and in various parts of the world.

This proves that people over the entire world are taking a practical and lively interest in the philosophy of Henry George.

In the City of New York, recently, the Board of Education conducted an essay contest in the thirty-seven high schools of the city and more than 1,500 essays were written by students on the philosophy of Henry George. At the commencement exercises followers of Henry George, who awarded prizes to the successful students, addressed audiences of over 30,000 people on Henry George.

In each of the libraries of the high schools there is a set of books by Henry George available to students, and they are constantly consulted.

About two years ago the name of Henry George was presented by the Committee of the Hall of Fame of the New York University—for the purpose of having his statue placed among the other immortals; only a few votes were lacking for his election, but, it is almost certain that at the next election enough votes will be cast favoring the placing of his statue in the Hall of Fame. Does this seem as if the "Single Tax is as dead as a dodo" and that it is "now merely the peculiar notions of a group of senile eccentrics?"

Haldeman-Julius said "That Henry George's work is an incomplete description of the social evil facing us and is a thoroughly inadequate solution of social evils. This statement is not borne out by the facts. He pointed out in "Progress and Poverty," the causes and cure of industrial depressions and answered in advance, in that book, the criticisms that may be made of his theories, and during his life, he exploded many of the so-called objections that were made to his philosophy, and his followers have done the same since his death. If Mr. Haldeman-Julius will carefully read "Progress and Poverty" he will find that Henry George was not only a great economist

out a prophet as well. The social and economic conditions of today are, as he predicted they would be, if private ownership of land was not abolished. He proved that in spite of an increase in the production of wealth, wages tended to a minimum and that the inequitable distribution of wealth made the comparative few enormously wealthy and the great masses correspondingly poor. This he proved was because of the private ownership of land.

Henry George did not claim, as Mr. Haldeman-Julius says, that he was original in discovering that ground rent should be taxed into the public treasury, to defray public expenses; he gave credit on many occasions to the French Physiocrats, notable among them being Quesnay, but, what he claims and justly so, was that he was original in advocating the Single Tax on land values to pay the public expense and that all other taxes should be abolished. By this method of taxation there would be created a just distribution of wealth and all men who worked would receive a just return for their labor.

Mr. Haldeman-Julius like many loose thinkers, on the social and economic questions, gets confused when he says "the bulk of wealth no longer comes from the land." All wealth is produced by labor applied to land. This agrees with such noted economists as Adam Smith, Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, et al. He showed that instead of wages being drawn from capital as some economists contend, capital is drawn from wages. Haldeman-Julius like all socialists confuses the terms "capital" with "monopoly" and would abolish the so-called capitalistic system, whereas if land monopoly were abolished special privilege, which is based on land monopoly, would cease and all the evils of our so-called capitalistic system would disappear.

Mr. George states that wages are not drawn from capital but that true capital is drawn from wages. He says, "If for instance—I devote my labor to gathering bird's eggs, picking wild berries, the eggs or berries I thus get are my wages; surely no one will contend that in such a case wages are drawn from capital. There is no capital in the case, an absolutely naked man thrown on an island where no human being before has trod may gather birds eggs or pick berries."

Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller and other millionaires are not "expressions of private capitalism," as Mr. Haldeman-Julius states, but the expressions of land monopoly.

Haldeman-Julius says the "Single Tax is now merely the peculiar potion of a group of senile eccentrics." I would like to know what the Single Taxers and other intelligent economists think of this balderdash of Mr. Haldeman-Julius and his group of would-be economists.

EDWARD POLAK.

Work of The Manhattan Single Tax Club

CLUB activities in the past two months have been unusually interesting. President Charles H. Ingersoll's public meetings were as follows:

Y. M. and Y. W. H. A., Paterson, Feb. 4. This invitation came direct as repetition of one of last year which could not be accepted. Geiger and others have talked to this audience, which is very fine in general character and responsiveness. About 250 present including a great many of general public. An original talk of 45 minutes and answered questions for two hours. This is an example of a town that must be pretty well informed about Single Tax through this organization. Quiz especially intelligent and interesting. Chairman, Harry S. Albert.

Taxpayers Protective League of Newark, Feb. 6. This invitation came through Mr. Lane from Charles Becker, attorney, 114 Market Street, leader of the association. Meeting started at 9 o'clock with various speakers who continued till after 10. Mr. Ingersoll was enthusiastically introduced and received by 250 people who are looking to city management as the way out. An original talk with complete interest and much applause. They are going to give Mr. Ingersoll a whole evening and perhaps with Mayor LaGuardia in Krueger Auditorium. No quiz.

William Sloane House (Y.M.C.A.) N. Y., Feb. 27. Invitation came through Mr. Ewing, Secretary. Dinner in Mr. Ingersoll's honor. Original talk lasting 30 minutes; 60 present. Excellent quiz lasting 30 minutes. Visited a class in another room of about 40 men conducted by Board of Education, dominated by Socialist element which yielded to pressure of questions. Men very anxious to know more and gave Mr. Ingersoll the idea of classes before such organizations, which he is following.

Advertising Club of Newark, March 5. Fifty present; nice crowd; prominent men like Eugene Farrell of the *Newark Evening News*, who introduced Mr. Ingersoll. Mr. Chambless, of Fidelity Union, and Nat. Freiman. Talked for a half hour and tried to get them to questions but chairman kept interrupting for adjournment so there was not more than 15 minutes. Expected a larger crowd but quality replaced numbers.

Allenhurst Citizens and Taxpayers Association, March 13. A very interesting meeting led by Mr. Walter Reid, prominent real estate man who is trying to make his townspeople "tax conscious." Forty present, who were intelligent on taxation and very much interested in Mr. Ingersoll's 35-minute talk on their particular problems, followed by a quiz of an hour and a half. Mr. George White of Long Branch was there with friends. The association is planning another meeting for Mr. Ingersoll to extend information on our philosophy.

Mr. Ingersoll's broadcasting has been building up from

LIBERTY is fortunately not an individual. Otherwise the courts would be clogged with libel suits against the misinformed but loudmouthed patriots who insist on calling the United States a "land of liberty."

zero, after his recovery from his broken ankle. His schedule now stands as here shown, totalling 18 talks weekly—a new record.

His talks are now mainly on Current Events, his series, "Answering Father Coughlin," having terminated for the present due to lack of any new material to respond to. Mr. Ingersoll's C. E. talks are rated very highly by competent judges, one of whom writes this: "Permit me to express my appreciation of your all too short broadcasts over WBNX. They are timely. They are interesting. And—they have none of the synthetic enthusiasm exhibited by all other news commentators whenever the brain trusters announce a complete reversal of their policies, which regularly happens on the 15th and last day of each month,"

Mr. Ingersoll's present broadcast schedule: WBNX (1350 k.c.) every morning at 11:30 except Saturday and Sunday; WCNW, (1400 k.c.) Monday, 3:15 p. m., Tuesday, 3:45 p. m., Wednesday, 3:15 p. m., Thursday, 4:00 p. m.; WVFW, (1400 k.c.) Friday, 9:00 a. m.; WLTH, (1400 k.c.) Thursday, 9:00 a. m.; WBBC, (1400 k.c.) Wednesday, 3:30 p. m.; WHOM, (1450 k.c.) Monday, 9:45 p. m., Thursday, 8:15 p. m., Friday, 1:30 p. m.; WDAS, (1370 k.c.) Friday, 5:15 p. m., Saturday, 10:15 a. m., and 9:45 p. m.

The outstanding event this month was the interview with the "Voice of Experience" over the Columbia Broadcasting System, a network of 56 stations, with a potential audience of about 80 million, on February 15. Those of you who listened in know that the message was short but effective.

The Voice of Experience: "Mr. Ingersoll, now that you are retired from active business I think my audience would be interested in knowing just what your hobby is."

Mr. Ingersoll: "Well, I think that it is telling folks in simple terms the cause and the cure for the business depression, the unemployment and the poverty of the last five years. This world is staggering under an economic system that takes half of the earnings of capital and the earnings of labor and gives them to not over three per cent of the people who toil not neither do they spin, a drain of fifty per cent that impoverishes business and industry and even our government, and the mass of our workers and farmers. And this drain periodically culminates in panics and depressions, just as derangements of the human body cause mortal sickness and death.

"This movement with which I am affiliated, the National Tax Relief Association, is also called the taxation of land values or sometimes the Single Tax, and it is based on the philosophy of that great American economist, Henry George, who wrote a famous book 53 years ago called "Progress and Poverty." Since making the acquaintance of Henry George in his campaign in 1886 for the Mayor of New York City, I have continuously studied this question and I really believe there is no other solution."

We were much enthused by this broadcast and expect to further it by having Mr. Ingersoll interview other prominent people. Mr. Thomas T. Lane, Mr. Ingersoll's part time assistant in radio and lecture work, is arranging with such notables as Mrs. Margaret Sanger, Warden Lawes, Bernarr Macfadden, Lowell Thomas and Rudy Vallee. Mr. Ingersoll will interview or debate with Mrs. Sanger on three subjects: Birth Control; Sterilization and Collectivism vs. Individualism; dates to be confirmed and station arrangements made; expecting to secure the larger stations, possibly chains.

Mr. Ingersoll's book "Who Will Save Democracy," is being revised and arranged for continuity and publication and since it is his first attempt at book writing this is very essential.

Organized letter writing to papers is proceeding. One letter sent to about 400 newspapers was printed in 100 of them which shows that the letter-a-week idea if followed faithfully would work wonders. Due to the carbon matching process we have evolved we can send personally addressed, identical letters to a large number of geographically widely separated papers. We need cooperation in this and if friends will send us the names of favorable papers we can get this plan working so that every day there would be many of our letters printed.

Our Activities Committee, (our brain trust) which meets every Wednesday at 4 o'clock consists of George Lloyd, Stephen Bell, Whidden Graham and Philip Stanley.

Mr. Ingersoll has been invited by Mayor McNair to spend a week in Pittsburgh and he will go within the next month. Mayor McNair, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Maguire are arranging dates for him and we hope there will be more than a dozen public meetings and an equal number of broadcasts.

Mr. Charles A. Lingham, of Lockport, N. Y. has arranged for Mr. Ingersoll to go there for three days, at which time he will address the Rochester Rotary Club, the Lockport Rotary and Kiwanis Club and Buffalo Rotary Club. These will be June 26, 27 and 28 respectively. The Rochester Rotary Club is especially important because they are arranging to broadcast Mr. Ingersoll's talk over station WHAM, one of the twelve best in the country.

Mr. Lingham is arranging generous fees for these talks and we are corresponding with all organizations for addresses by Mr. Ingersoll on his 1934 trip and expect to extend the engagements to three or four a day, in accordance with his policy of "mass production." Cooperation of all friends west of Utica is desired.

Our subsidiary National Tax Relief Association's active secretary, Mr. Gladwin Bouton, has sent letters to the highest paid business executives to get funds and enlighten the business men. We have aroused much interest among them and they need only to be followed up to get their cooperation. We are now mailing 1,000 more letters personally signed by the president together with a str.

ballot for those who are against the proposed interstate tariff.

Mr. Ingersoll is filing a petition for the Independent Nomination for Governor of New Jersey for the fall election and is formulating a platform of economic democracy which will be taxation of franchises, natural resources and land values.

Mr. Ingersoll is to address the Economic Forum of the Bloane House led by Mr. Richards, March 21, and also the Dinner Meeting of Mr. Ewing again at an early date, his first talk being on his watches and this one to be on his "hobby," the Single Tax.

Mr. Ingersoll has planned a course of thirteen popular lectures, especially for Y. M. C. A's. Mens Clubs and Forums in which he will connect our philosophy with the current political and economic muddle; this course he is now offering after each 30-minute talk, in answering questions; we ask help in introducing the course. Following are the titles.

1. Shall Our Christian Civilization Survive? 2. Does it Depend on Democracy? 3. Claims of Socialism:—and of Monopolism. 4. Defects of Democracy; Perfection of Democracy. 5. Capitalism, Individualism, the Profit System and the Machine Age. 6. Monopoly the Corrupter and Absorber of Wealth. 8. Socialization not Socialism. 9. "Render Unto Caesar, the things that are Caesars." 10. "Equal Rights to All, Special Privileges to None." 11. "The People Best Governed Who are Least Governed." 12. The New Deal Set Right: Social Income for Social Needs. 13. An Unlimited Future for All of Humanity through Scientific Economics.

IF President Roosevelt and the present Congress had to deal with a yellow fever epidemic what would they do? According to the way they are dealing with the depression they would ignore the presence of mosquitoes but would pass laws making it a crime for a yellow fever patient to convey the disease to another. They would order rouge applied to all sufferers to cure them of their yellowish appearance. And they would empower a commission to fix appropriate penalties for physicians who treated patients in ways other than those prescribed by the commission or them to follow. When in spite of these measures the epidemic would spread Congress would make the penalties more severe.

HERBERT SPENCER says: "Had we to deal with the parties who originally robbed the human race of its heritage, we might make short work of the matter." Why not make short work of the matter anyhow? For this robbery is not like the robbery of a horse or a sum of money, that ceases with the act. It is a fresh and continuous robbery, that goes on every day and every hour.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

Work in California

EVEN though something may remain to be added at a later date, it seems proper at this moment to give your readers a resume of progress toward putting upon the California ballot at the coming election the constitutional amendment of which we have heretofore written and which proposes as its principal features the abolition of the recent California sales tax and progressive removal through a period of five years of all taxation upon improvements and tangible personal property, beginning with the abolition of taxation upon \$1,000 of the assessed value of all homestead improvements, taxation being transferred to land values.

As I have before written, this proposition received the endorsement last Fall of the California State Federation of Labor, and initiative petitions have been prepared for the placing of the amendment before the people at the coming election. These have to receive 110,000 signatures.

The campaign for signatures as well as for the general support of the proposition has progressed so far in the northern part of the State rather more rapidly than in the southern. The Central Labor Councils of San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno, Bakersfield, San Jose, and other places, as well as the building trades councils, have specifically backed up the demands for the State Federation and have pledged their support to the initiative proposition. Unions in a large number of the smaller towns of Northern California have taken like action. The campaign for individual signatures is progressing as rapidly as may be in all of these towns and many others of the State.

In Southern California a particularly active campaign has been inaugurated already in San Diego and is now getting under way very rapidly in Los Angeles. A very competent Speaker's Bureau has been created, in charge of Saul S. Klein, 311 Spring Street.

In every case where the labor organizations have been asked to sustain the action of the State Federation they have voted unanimously in favor of the proposition, and have done so in a majority of instances at any rate, after the proposition had been fully elucidated to them.

As there are in California at the present time not far from 200,000 men and women in active membership in the Unions, we have to begin with a formidable support. The recent State Convention of the Socialist Party voted unanimously to support this amendment, and its candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor are active proponents. Two of the Democratic candidates are committed in its favor, and the same is true of a third possible candidate. Half a dozen farmers' clubs have unanimously favored the amendment.

My personal experience leads me to believe that Cali-

fornia is ripe for the move. In such individual canvass as I have made, I have found a certain number of apologists, probably not exceeding five per cent, for the sales tax, with a much less percentage of people who favor taxation of improvements and tangible personal property. Of course, the number who will fight for present conditions is very much larger than these figures would indicate, because my appeal has not been to those whom I knew in advance would be opposed, and in addition, great pressure may be brought to bear thereafter upon many now willing to declare themselves against taxation of the objects spoken of. Nevertheless, there is ample reason for believing that at the election a majority of the citizens of California will vote for this immense forward step.

We have to confront the fact, of course, that our opponents will be terribly bitter and use every social and political power within their reach to defeat the proposition. Even at this stage, while we have still a long way to go to secure a place upon the ballot, indications of this feeling are manifest. The reactionaries of Los Angeles, for instance, have declared the measure to be a "frightful menace," as no doubt it is—to privilege. One of the Los Angeles papers quotes Mr. Riley, the State Comptroller, and who is largely responsible for the sales tax, speaking at a recent meeting in Los Angeles, as follows:

"Possibility that state taxes in California will fall short of fiscal needs by about \$75,000,000, a biennium was suggested by Riley in case the initiative petition being circulated for repeal of the sales tax and in favor of a single tax should be successful.

"We are now faced with the prospect of having to combat this most vicious proposition which is inimical to every person living in California, whether he owns property or not," said Riley.

A confidential circular addressed to the building and loan associations declares that "The radical element in the State Federation of Labor, and the radicals in all other groups, have joined with the wealthy Fels-Naptha Soap Estate Trust, working under its perpetual endowment fund, to fasten Henry George's Single Tax theory on the people of California by an amendment of the state constitution," and it later refers to this "vicious Single Tax proposal." It will probably be news to your readers to find that after having been dead for twenty years, there exists a Fels fund of any kind. But its ghost still seems to walk.

We know we will have the bitter opposition of the owners of the very influential *Los Angeles Times* and of W. R. Hearst, as these gentlemen between them own probably not less than 2,000,000 acres of land in California. They will fight a measure which will transfer at once a very appreciable proportion of public charges back to them, these charges now being paid by the necessities of the State.

We shall not underestimate the strength of the influences which will be brought to bear against us, neither shall we make the mistake of underestimating the natural and logical strength of our own position, which we believe will

prevail, for after all, it is true that "Thrice armed is he who hath his quarrel just."

It is undoubtedly true that today, early in the campaign, there are thousands of people who recognize that taxation should be levied upon the only form of property that society has a natural right to tax, that is to say, its own production in the shape of land values. Heretofore they have never given thought to the matter, but they now see clearly what righteousness demands.

All this is not to say that we find it necessary to invoke a large share of that philosophy which goes under the general name of "Single Tax." We do not discuss the land question, save in the sense of which we have spoken. We trouble ourselves with no academic discussions as to the rightfulness or wrongfulness of interest. Our addresses are strictly and solely to the justice of the proposition we are laying before the people of California. Only to this extent does theory interest us. The beneficial results to flow from the adoption of this specific measure are easily made manifest to any man who is not too dumb or too interested to be reached by ordinary reason.

I am beginning to wonder whether the people who have considered themselves in general sympathy with the fundamentals involved in this contest and who live outside of California have the slightest conception of the importance of the pending struggle. If we succeed, freedom of improvements and freedom of production to the farmer, the mechanic and the merchant of California, will be assured within a very brief period. Never before has such an important campaign in local taxation existed in the United States, or in any other country. It directly affects the well-being of 6,000,000 people in a State which in area is second in the United States. More persons, therefore stand to be benefited than have profited by all the smaller experiments of Australia, Canada, and elsewhere, to which any reference may be made. The importance of the struggle is further to be measured by the fact that our rate of taxation here is undoubtedly higher than in the other jurisdictions of which I have spoken, and therefore the contest becomes correspondingly increased in importance.

The interest in the contest taken outside of California as indicated by the results of such attention as *LAND AND FREEDOM* has heretofore given the matter is ridiculously unimportant. Up to date, I have received three sympathetic letters from readers of *LAND AND FREEDOM*, and total of \$7.00 cash, and Mr. George W. Patterson, the president for Southern California, has received nothing. It is, however, to be borne in mind that my suggestion of the necessity of aid has not yet been a pronounced one but as the contest grows I shall call upon all friends for help.

I have indicated heretofore that we would need assistance in the way of speakers, but any assistance of this kind can only be of real value if those rendering it confine themselves to the lines of which I have spoken. We have

no time to discuss what we may call academic principles, or to paint undue roseate pictures, which have no place in this practical campaign. We must always keep "our eye on the ball," as the golf players say, and that ball is our constitutional amendment as supported by the California State Federation of Labor.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

News From Alaska

THE conditions in Alaska may be briefly summarized as follows: The Alaska interior is a one industry gold mining. It is estimated that there are 25,000 gold mining claims in the territory free of taxes. Only a small percentage of these claims are being worked. A large majority are held speculatively. Most of them have been acquired fraudulently and are held so. They comprise all the known auriferous area.

The government has spent over one hundred million dollars in the construction of roads, railroads, trails, etc., since 1913. This expenditure has not and is not assisting in the development expected. The value contributed by these projects has been absorbed in speculative values.

One obstacle to use is being substituted by another. Because of low tonnage, and because the adjacent areas are held out of use, high freight and passenger rates result. This of course penalizes the genuine developer. It is stated that the railroads have not paid in the sense that the operating costs exceed the revenues. They have not "paid" because the real values they create have escaped into private pockets.

Because of the high freight rates caused by the above conditions an uneconomic competition by automobile and airplane has resulted, tending to further diminish tonnage. As a result a system of tolls on the highways is being installed. Thus a vicious circle against development is being instituted, so that a few speculative holders can charge through their holdings for governmental facilities. This condition is being aggravated by the recent increase in the value of gold. Claims are jumping rapidly. The whole country is being "staked" illegally and without "discovery." A certain fool in Congress with the help of Burton K. Wheeler, has removed the "assessment work" provision, the last vestige of the pioneer requirement, that a man could not hold land without using it. This because, as one Senator has put it, "the owners are poor men," and "this is all they have," etc. A fool form of charity that creates the very unemployment the N.R.A. is designed to relieve! It is a crime to hoard gold in banks but apparently it is a virtue to hoard it in the ground. Of course, the latter is more vicious as it creates unemployment.

As a partial solution of this mess I am proposing that an area 120 miles wide having 60 miles of such wealth on

either side of the center line of the Alaskan R.R. and the road system, be called a transportation zone and within that area all unused gold claims be taxed \$2.00 an acre annually, all base metal claims \$1.00 an acre, and all agricultural claims ten cents an acre. Also that all payments made by purchase of existing development agencies be taxed ten per cent and also all royalties received. All funds thus realized to be applied to reduction of freight rates, the construction of roads, etc. I am confident that the solution, imperfect as I know it to be, is practical, and will result in the opening up of the country.

Most of the right thinking people of the territory are cognizant of existing conditions but are afraid to tackle them. As an illustration, last winter I succeeded in convincing the Fairbanks Chamber of Commerce, and the president of the Alaskan College, of the soundness of my position. A memorial was drawn up and submitted to the Alaskan legislature, but they were scared to death.

It is difficult to do anything from here. It must be presented to Congress through the President's advisers. I am not financially equipped to do it myself. But I am confident that Frederick C. Howe might be able to do something.

Alaska presents a great field for our philosophy and there is a crying need for immediate action. If any of your readers can place me in contact with any one that can be of service it would be a great help.

DONALD MACDONALD.

Statement of Mr. Harry Weinberger

AT PUBLIC HEARING ON THE N. R. A., WASHINGTON, D.C.

I SAT here this morning and heard labor representatives talk about \$13.50 a week, and when I heard the Upholsterers' Union say that they were getting \$13.50, a minimum wage, which was now the maximum, and that they had twenty-five weeks of work a year, and then when I went out for lunch and read in the newspapers about the million dollar salaries that certain industries give to certain officers because they happen to be in the position where they can mulct the public, I wondered whether I was really living in a democracy where the people of the United States in reality are supposed to control the government. I wondered why it was that, having the richest country in the world, we still seemed unable to give human beings sufficient money to have what we used to call the American standard of living.

I came down here today, not as a representative of labor, but just as part of the public, because I felt that the N. R. A. seemed to be barking up the wrong tree. The N. R. A. has gone on the basis that we in America here are suffering from overproduction, that the things that we have got to do is to cut down the number of hours, cut down the use of machinery, take land out of use, pay farmers for doing nothing, and think that that was going to solve our problems.

America is not suffering from overproduction. American people are suffering from underconsumption. America can not buy the things that they can produce. With all of the natural wealth from coast to coast, with all of the improvements of machinery, with all of the inventions of science, we can still have men come here and,

like that song, "Please, Mister, give me a dime," think that the N. R. A. is doing something for them.

What is it that makes us go on in such a manner that all of the philosophy of life, all of the economics that we once were taught, all of the simple rules of two plus two makes four,—why is it that we have thrown it all out of the window, and have listened to the N. R. A., as if that were a new Moses to take us out of the land of bondage, when, as a matter of fact, all they are giving us are beautiful words.

Do not think, now, however, that I do not understand that the President of the United States and General Johnson and the N. R. A. have a difficult problem. I know it. For their ideals and the things that they are trying to do, I honor them, but I believe that fundamentally they are wrong when they think that the solution of American problems is to reduce the production of goods, destroy pigs, destroy wheat, put cotton underneath the plow and turn it under, which even the mules down South have refused to do, because they were always taught, in going up the furrow, to step over the plants.

Many of the economists here in Washington have been talking about overproduction. That fallacious point of view, that shortsightedness, is like the marvelous description in one of the old fables about a king who had a wonderful costume made and every body said how beautiful and wonderful it was, because only the good were supposed to be able to see it. Suddenly a child said "Why, the King is naked." We need the eyes of a child today to look at our economic situation, trying not to be smart, but trying to understand that there can be no overproduction; there is only underconsumption. We have wonderful machinery making two much clothing so that millions are without clothes and without jobs. We have agriculture that produces so much wheat and corn and fruits and vegetables that millions have to go hungry; we have so many houses so that millions are homeless. There is no limit to human consumptive power; there is only underconsumption caused by inability to purchase, and the question is how or why.

The most that I can possibly do in my few minutes is drop a thought in your mind that may grow and lead you to investigate and find out whether, if you took all taxes off industry, if you took all taxes off buildings and put them upon the bare rental value of the ground, a community-created value amply sufficient for community needs it would not create more jobs—create more jobs than men. When you have more jobs than men, wages go up, and you don't have to say, "Please, Mister, give me a dime," and you don't have to say "\$13.50 is the maximum or minimum salary for men for support of a family. When you have more jobs than men, wages go up, and the consumption power and the demand for goods and food is increased. By employing the unemployed, you produce more goods and under the law of supply and demand prices will be normal and not abnormal, neither too high nor too low.

In New York City, and the same is true of other cities, every time they build a new subway or propose to build a new subway,—we had a man here asking for \$25,000,000 this afternoon, to finish the subway in the City of New York,—every time they build a bridge, every time science creates a new and better form of living, every time population increases, the individual who gets the most benefit is the one who owns the bare land, but who did not create it.

When we had a tremendous housing shortage in New York City, it was proposed that all houses built within a certain period would be tax-exempt for ten years; that law of exemption of houses from taxation was passed. Thousands of houses were built, the housing shortage was solved, hundreds of thousands of people were given jobs directly and indirectly, and rents came down.

I know it is claimed that the N. R. A. is an emergency measure; that is what was said at first. Now there is talk of making it permanent. At first it was hinted that there would be a licensing of the press and then when a furor was raised, that feeler was withdrawn.

If it is an emergency measure we must have, we should not cut down the production of food and clothing and shelter to raise prices by making a scarcity. We might also say we will use the army in this emergency instead of for war and defense only; we might say we will turn the army loose, with its army kitchens to feed the hungry, and use the armories for men and women to at least keep warm; use army engineers to supervise C. W. A. workers, many of whom seem to be making holes in the ocean, or sweeping back the waves, as far as effective work is concerned. Use the C. W. A. workers for a real constructive work in line with their ability and training.

Now we have more and more taxes; every kind of tax that the ingenuity of man can devise. I am not going into the question of whether the N. R. A. is wiping out the little fellow, the little producer, but I am definitely opposed to doing away with the anti-trust laws and allowing monopolies under any excuse, as the history of this country too often has shown that the owners of monopolies, like public utilities and the railroads in the past, control the controllers instead of being controlled.

Historian, scientists and economists, tell you that in the pioneer form of society you did not have unemployment. That only if nature failed did you have starvation. That is the very thing that our complicated form of society stops us from seeing. If a savage, if a pioneer in a new country, without the help of civilization and machinery can produce enough commodities to support himself and his family and by exchange have all he needs, where does the tremendous increase of products go to when science teaches man how to turn out by the millions things that man could not do with his bare hands?

There stands progress, under our civilization, like a glorified monument, but in its shadow also stands slinking dangerous poverty, clawing at its foundations and threatening to overthrow it. It is the riddle which the sphinx of fate puts to our civilization.

Every nation of the world is facing this problem so it cannot be the form of government we live under. Luckily, under our form of government, economic changes can be made without losing our liberty.

Why, every few years, should the ability of the community to buy and consume the products produced cease? Can it be that the cause of it all is the increasing value of land caused by increasing population and advance of civilization, causing higher and higher rent leaving less money in the pockets of the producers to buy the commodities produced, leaving less return on capital invested?

Recurring depressions, recurring panics, must be prevented for the future, by society taking the full rental value of the bare ground removing all other taxes from industry and improvements on land, all of which will force all land, including farm land, into its fullest economic use, and thus will create more jobs than men. Wages will go up and the cost of living will come down and involuntary unemployment will cease in the land.

One would think, to hear the N. R. A. orators, including General Johnson and Mr. Richberg, that this depression, closed banks, for closed mortgages, and unemployment, are new in the history of our country. The history of other panics and depressions shows all the same manifestations. They are all described in a book known "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George, and in that book is given the cause and the cure. If you overlook the date on that book, published in 1879, you will imagine it was written yesterday to make a morning edition of the newspapers. If you read Henry George's speech entitled "The Crime of Poverty," published in 1885, and overlook the date, you will imagine it was delivered this morning because it takes up the same so-called overproduction, the same unemployment, the same question of free trade or tariff, and in the speech Henry George pointed, in his opinion and in mine, a way out.

Three million people additionally employed, said General Johnson. Eleven million unemployed, says Mr. Green of the American Federation of Labor. What is it? In the greatest country in the world as far as natural resources are concerned, why is it that, as you p

through the country you see thousands of acres of land, absolutely unused, and the people unable to use it, to raise anything on it, and they tell us this is all new. Go back and see all of the other panics of the past.

All over the country today we are hearing about slum clearance and the taking of millions of dollars of the people's money to do it. We should have slum clearance. But what happens when the city, state, or nation begins to buy land? The price is run up and the land speculators are relieved of their land at high prices, or the owners of the land get rid of white elephants, all at the expense of the people.

When you build great roads or great improvements like the Boulder Dam, or when you build a great bridge like the George Washington Bridge in the city of New York, or the proposed Tri-Boro Bridge, costing millions of dollars, all the land, in and around the improvement, goes up in value because of this expenditure of money by the government, and those who desire thereafter to use the land or buy a piece of land for a home, an apartment house, factory, et cetera, find they cannot afford to buy it and you have what you have in New Jersey—miles of land in and around the end of the George Washington Bridge with very few buildings being erected, because the land is being held out of use for a further rise in value—that value created by the community or the community's money or the growth of population.

In the City of New York, the new School for Social Research wanted to build a building on Twelfth Street, and they paid two hundred thousand dollars for the mere fee of the land on which to erect the building. No one produced that land—no one except the community produced the value of that land, yet someone pocketed two hundred thousand dollars. The Wendel home on Fifth Avenue and Thirty-Ninth Street, with its dog-yard, has been going up in value and some day someone will pay millions for it and put up a skyscraper. The Wendels never lifted a finger to create that value.

In New York City we have land value and improvement value separate on our tax rolls. The land value of the City of New York is given as nine billion dollars; the improvement value is about the same. The community created that value of the land, and yet we permit the owners of the land to take the full rental value less taxes before either capital or labor can get any return on its investment or on its labor.

The Mayor of New York states the city is bankrupt, and yet if the city should put a one per cent additional tax on the land value of the City of New York, it would give to the city ninety million dollars additional revenue, and that land could not run away as the stock brokers and bankers threatened when in the last administration additional taxes were proposed.

If we had the best police department, the best fire department, the best schools and the cleanest streets, the best water, the best theatres, the best roads, as we now have a Mayor who seems as good as our old Mayor Gaynor of years ago, we would have an influx of people into the City of New York, because it would be a better place to live in and do business in and there would be an increase in value of the ground, and higher rents. If one million people move into the City of New York tomorrow, the value of the land and rents would go up tremendously, caused by the community having increased in population. And yet those values or a return on them are allowed to be taken by the owners of the land or speculators in land.

Mr. Chairman, my feelings about the N.R.A. is not that the purposes are not good, not that the men who are trying to enforce it are not trying to move in the right direction, but any thought that what we need to day is to cut down production instead of having a better distribution of wealth is wrong; my feeling is to let all machinery be used to the fullest, and let men work as long as they want to, commensurate with what is good for human beings, protecting them to the extent where they need protection, where they can not protect themselves by labor unions or voluntary cooperation. Increase pro-

duction, but for Heaven's sake stop the private taking of the community-created value of farm lands and other lands, and also the value added by public improvements that the United States and local governments make. Take that community-created value by taxing the full rental value of the land, without considering the improvements.

I feel, Mr. Chairman, that that is the crux in the entire situation, not overproduction, but underconsumption. That is where, it seems to me, the "brain trust," down here in Washington, has really become "brain dust" and not a "brain trust."

We want America to produce; we want men to be able to stand up and not come down to Washington with their hats in their hands asking a minimum of \$13.50 a week, with twenty-five weeks of employment a year.

Where are these Americans that, once upon a time, established a government, a government of free men on this soil? \$13.50 should be marked as an epitaph on the graves of those Americans who can not live on \$13.50, and remain free men.

Youth of America News

AT the last meeting of the Central Council, the President, Walter Hecht, Jr., tendered his resignation, giving as his reasons a shortage of time available for the work to be done. His employment demands the greatest amount of his time—page Mr. Johnson and the Blue Eagle.

His resignation was unanimously rejected with a vote of complete confidence and his lack of time objection was answered by the election of N. Newstad Epstein as executive secretary. He is to devote full time to his duties, his first being to secure an office for a permanent headquarters for the Youth of America.

The Chicago setup is very strong (on paper), since its council boasts as its members officers of the Student-Citizen Federation, University Student's Club, Evanston Alliance and several others. Such a group sits in an enviable position because of its educational reform programme, for the matter of schools and education will be of prime importance here this coming year.

1934—A SUPER-YEAR OF PROGRESS IN CHICAGO

With this as a slogan—timely following our celebration of a Century of Progress—we plan to call together the heads of important groups, tax associations, organizations such as the Citizen's Committee on Public Expenditures, Civic Federation and all other groups apparently bent upon civic reform, yet appearing to be devoid of political ambition. The Youth of America, representing several thousand Chicago and suburban young men and women, will sponsor the programme and act as a clearing house of ideas.

A meeting will be called of these heads of the various organizations. Each will have been instructed to bring a ten-point programme of *achievable* objects. This purpose will again be outlined at the meeting by some man such as Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins, President of the University of Chicago (available at this writing), and other highly respected citizens of non-political fame may

speak. A committee will be appointed to draft a ten-point programme of achievable objects.

Then the method of procedure which will consist of:

Enrollment of a corps of speakers who will talk before churches, women's clubs, parent-teachers associations, etc. Speaking dates to be arranged and schedules planned by the clearing house (Youth of America). These speakers will find entry where recognized politicians fear to tread.

The heads of each group represented will be expected to educate their organizations to the programme and enlist active sympathy.

Preston Bradley and other men who have promised aid and impetus to the Youth of America will be called upon to keep their promises by advocating this programme of unified effort.

The Youth of America will prepare a series of radio dramatizations of the programme. Space on the air is gratis to the Youth of America whereas a political club generally pays plenty for its publicity.

The Youth of America can supply a young precinct captain for each square block in the city after this gets started, and proceed Tammany-wise to visit every household and discuss the policy.

The best mailing lists in the city will be secured, and by calling upon each representative group to pay a portion of the mailing expense of the organization, a pretty good coverage can be anticipated.

No representative improvement club or other association will be called upon to contribute anything but service and time. The only exception being the mailing of literature and printing expenses which they themselves will mail out to those with whom they may have influence. This literature will be prepared by the clearing house.

Accepting the sound psychological fact that doing something for nothing strikes the fancy of none, we intend to proceed with the belief that the heads of most of these organizations are constantly on the lookout for work that will keep their organizations busy—and keep themselves in the limelight and in office. Young men and women in the high schools and colleges are filled with sufficient idealism to work for nothing but glory—they don't have to be promised anything. As for the speakers—everyone likes to speak, and if supplied with an audience will jump at the chance. If supplied with a topic so much the better.

The name, Youth of America, loosely refers to a group of co-ordinating youth groups throughout the country and to councils already forming in various cities composed of members from already organized youth clubs and leagues. It has a national recovery platform which represents a middle course between socialism and rampant monopolistic-capitalism. It offers real capitalism; has a suffrage plank calling for the enfranchisement of eighteen-year-olds; educational programme outlined on authority of Dr. Hutchins (already mentioned); peace plank and others yet dearer to the heart of the Georgist.

Effort so far has been local in nature, yet inquiries pour

in from the four corners of the nation. Its national platform is rarely made an issue—time enough for that.

Although loosely organized at present, The Youth of America is the largest non-political group in the city. It is young enough not to have made any serious mistakes or enemies. Its hands are clean. People may laugh at the "idealism of youth," but they have faith in the sincerity of purpose that it connotes. Few will suspect youth of ulterior motives or trickery. In truth, the Youth of America is absolutely sincere in respect to this programme with a purpose. Every member will supply time and effort and none will receive monetary recompense with the exception of a secretary who will devote his entire time to the job.

RICHARD E. HOWE.

Work in Washington, D.C.

THE Civics and Equity League has just concluded a series of Sunday afternoon radio talks over its station WOL, by Joseph B. Chamberlain, of Kensington, Md., beginning with a Woodrow Wilson birthday memorial address, in which the most forward-looking of that President's utterances were quoted.

In harmony with Henry George's assertion that "unless a cause can be presented as a question of right and wrong, it cannot provoke discussion or excite the many to action," the emphasis in each address was placed upon the moral rather than the economic aspect of the subject; but, while the word "Single Tax" was not used, there was the positive reiteration, in varied forms, of the fact that the rental value of land belongs to society, and the persistent suggestion throughout the addresses, that the land question is fundamental and lies at the root of all present-day economic problems.

Among the topics announced were "The Iniquity of Civilization," "A Code of Economic Ethics," "Radicalism versus Conservatism," "The Radical Remedy for Chronic Economic Ills," "The Gospel According to Abraham Lincoln," and "The Gospel According to Ralph Waldo Emerson."

The number of comments—mostly favorable—received by the station indicates that Mr. Chamberlain's programme did not lack listeners, and he is to be congratulated on his success in thus getting his message across. The Single Taxers of Washington are hoping that a "return engagement" may be arranged for later in the season.

GERTRUDE E. MACKENZIE.

IT requires reflection to see that manifold effects result from a single cause, and that the remedy for a multitude of evils may lie in one simple reform. . . . But attention is distracted and effort divided by schemes of reform which though they may be good in themselves are, with reference to the great end to be attained, either inadequate or super-adequate.

"Protection or Free Trade," Chap. XXVIII.

Keeping Step With Progress

FOOLISH RESTRICTIONS

It is unemployment or fear of unemployment which creates the demand for most of the foolish restrictions which are today proposed for industry. These restrictions are not in any way a cure for unemployment and their advocacy indicates a complete failure to understand the cause of unemployment. For this we must look closely to the fundamentals of our institutions, and if we do so, we shall find it in our faulty system of land tenure.

We are now requiring the owners of land to pay very little in taxes as long as the land is not built upon or improved. On the other hand whenever the land is utilized for industry or home purposes, we add taxes on the improvements and on the profits obtained from them. In this way throughout the country we are directly discouraging the employment of capital and labor by the heavy taxes on such employment, while at the same time we are encouraging the practice of withholding land from use for speculative purposes, and thus indirectly discouraging the employment of capital and labor. The lower the taxes on the land itself, the more readily can speculators withhold it from the use of industry and can thus force industry to pay high prices or high rents to secure its use.

In the years just prior to the big depression, industry was paying higher and higher speculative prices or rents for the use of land, and this burden combined with the heavy burden of taxation, finally made industry so unstable that collapse was bound to follow. Now that land prices have been largely deflated, it is possible for new business enterprises, or for old ones which have adjusted themselves, to go ahead with a prospect of profit, and hence they are able to give increasing employment to labor.

What is needed now is to encourage industry to the utmost and thus absorb the unemployed workers. This can be done by the removal of restrictions and taxes on the buildings, machinery, merchandise and operations of industry, and by increasing the taxes on the mere ownership of land so as to kill the practice of speculation in the first requisite of industry, namely the land upon which to do business.

JOHN S. CODMAN in *Mill and Factory* for January

THE ENCLAVIAL MOVEMENT

May I begin with a personal explanation? I am not here to try to persuade persons to believe in the doctrines of Henry George. I acknowledge that that is a great and glorious mission, but I do not happen to be on it. I leave that to the other speakers. I address myself to believers. I am to give a chronicle of the progress of the movement for emancipation, which, though loaded with figures and other statements of fact, will not seem dull to them, for it shows a successful progress in what they hold most dear. The unbelievers I hope will be very patient with me.

I have a friend, who, when he first heard of enclaves, used to consider them as a small measure of Single Tax. Nowadays, having become wiser, he speaks of them as a large measure of Single Tax on a small scale. That is my attitude. I find great satisfaction in the results actually obtained.

But the movement is even more than economic. It is essentially religious, for it is the embodiment of the verse in the Lord's prayer, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven, and represents the brotherhood of man and hence the fatherhood of God. So far as this country is concerned this movement began with the foundation of the enclave of Fairhope in Alabama in 1895. That was the great work of Ernest B. Gaston, who is here with us today. The latest enclave is the enclave of Wall Hill, Miss., in 1932. These areas have advanced, in the last ten years in number from nine to fifteen, in area from ten square miles to 929 (or 74% of the area of Rhode Island); in population from 1100 to 12,000; in rent from \$24,000 to \$156,000; and from eight states and nations have spread themselves into twelve.

Ten of the enclaves are in the United States and have an area of 5831 acres and a rent of upwards of \$80,000.

—From address of FISKE WARREN at Henry George Congress in Saturday, Harvard, Mass.

PROF. PAUL PASSY ON GEORGEAN SOCIALISM

Some readers of *l'Esprit* have been interested by my July article, "Justice First," and by the allusions contained therein to the theories of Henry George. So much so that they have asked me to tell them more about this subject. I am more than willing to do this, except that I cannot say much in a short article.

The writings of Henry George are not accessible to every one. His principal work, "Progress and Poverty," has indeed been translated into French, but it is a very large volume demanding time and thought. I am, however, very shortly going to publish a translation of his Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII (a reply to the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*). It is easy to read and at the same time is explicit and of compelling interest.

Meanwhile here is a short resume of the system:

The main principle is that natural resources, or that which is the product of the labor of an unknown and unrecognized multitude, should belong to the community. On the other hand, the product of the labor of an individual should belong wholly to the individual that produced it. Society must see to it that these principles be enforced.

(One can see by this that Georgism is really socialistic—be it said without offense to most of its devotees.)

But how can Society make sure that these principles be carried out? Here is the plan—Natural resources mean the earth, that inexhaustible reservoir, which every man has to use, directly or indirectly, in order to work. The value of land, nothing to begin with, grows with the development of society, in other words, through the agency of an anonymous and unknown multitude. Wherefore that value must belong to the community. The community collects that value by levying on the land, the bare land regardless of any improvements made upon it, a tax equal to the economic rent of that land, that is, what its site value is worth. Hence only those have an interest to hold land who wish to use it for their work.

For example, a piece of land in Champagne worth 500 francs a hectare would be taxed 25 francs. One square meter of land in Paris worth 10,000 francs would be taxed 500 francs, which would mean five millions a hectare.

The money supplied by this tax is used for the benefit of the community, and this one tax takes the place of all other taxes—taxes which Henry George calls sheer robbery. Hence the name Single Taxers is frequently applied to Georgists.

Henry George and his followers believe, with strong reasons to support them, that this one reform would completely stop land exploitation and speculation, and would bury foul capitalism once for all.

I myself am not a docile disciple of Henry George any more than I am of Proudhon, Malon, or Marx. I am not entirely sure that Georgism, even rigorously applied, is all that is necessary without supplementary measures to attain the goal of an equal access for everyone to natural resources. Other questions spring up in one's mind. The tax is levied "for the benefit of the community."—What community? The town, city, county, state, nation or the world? Would there be a distribution, and, if so, following what principles?

However these reservations and one or two others do not prevent me from saying that Georgism attracts me more than any other form of socialism. I see several advantages in it.

1. It is Libertarian, exactly the contrary of state socialism. There is no bureaucracy, no central organization as in Russia. Far from that, it would allow of a heavy reduction in the number of office holders and functionaries, for the value of land is the easiest thing to estimate and would therefore need the fewest experts, and fraud, one might say, would be impossible.

2. It would be practicable immediately. There would be no need

to wait for an international agreement before starting. A nation could inaugurate it at once. (That is what should be tempting to our right-wing socialists). Even better it could be tried on a small scale; that is what they are now doing in Australia, and what our friend Warren, with such splendid energy, is doing in his enclaves.

3. Although profoundly revolutionary in its essence, Georgism could be started with a minimum of disturbance, for practically all that needs to be done is to change the manner of taxation. One could even do it in easy stages: for instance, start in by levying only a quarter of the economic rent, at the same time suppressing a corresponding quantity of other taxes (this is essential); the next year levy half, and so on.

But what pleases me more than anything else about Georgism is the spirit that animates it. This spirit is an eager, flaming claim for justice. It doesn't concern itself whether the present system makes for a social revolution or not as do the Marxists. What it does say is that the present system is unjust, and, since it is, it must be overthrown. To be replaced by what? By the natural order of things which capitalism has been desecrating with sacrilegious hands. In fact, far from seeing capitalism as a normal stage in revolution, Henry George sees it as "an evil resisting the benevolent intentions of the Creator." (The phrase of Monsignor Nulty, the Bishop of Meath, in Ireland, but which Henry George thoroughly accepts.)

I have now given good reasons including especially to Christian socialists, for a further study of Henry George, and I commend them to his Letter to the Pope, which I hope everyone will wish to read.

(Note: When Prof. Passy uses the word capitalism, he means what followers of Henry George in America usually describe as monopoly.)

From *L'Espoir du Monde* translated by Marjorie Warren Whitman in *Saturday*, Howard, Mass.

ILLUSIONARY PROSPERITY THROUGH SCARCITY

What is the main principle running through the government's agricultural policy?

Stripped of all camouflage, it is simply that, faced with starvation in the midst of plenty, it proposes to remedy matters by abolishing plenty.

Protection, quotas, restriction or prohibition of imports, are all plain devices to restrict supplies and create scarcity, while the marketing schemes make no provision whatever for better marketing, increasing efficiency, reducing the costs of distribution, preventing rises in rent, or increasing wages.

Take the potato scheme. It simply aims at reducing supplies and incidentally gives the Potato Board powers to forbid anyone becoming a potato merchant and to forbid a farmer selling direct to a retailer, or even to a consumer.

The upshot of it all will be to create a vested interest in the form of a close corporation of potato merchants, entry to whose ranks can only be accomplished by buying a partnership, while the right to grow potatoes will be jealously guarded by a fine of £5 per acre for every new acre.

In none of the government schemes is any mention made of rent or wages. Yet the policy is put forward to help agriculture, and the only people engaged in agriculture are left unprotected against rack rent and sweated labor.

* * * * *

All through history it has been high rents and not low prices that have caused farming depression. From 1775 to 1795 farmers thrived well enough, with wheat about 46s., yet in 1804 we find a commission reporting that agriculture would be ruined unless the price of wheat exceeded 70s.

Why? The answer was that rents had more than doubled. From 1795 to 1815 Scottish rents had risen from about two millions to over five millions a year. Farmers were ruined and workers were on Poor Law relief. Wheat rose 80 per cent. and poor rates rose 50 per cent., while rents rose 150 per cent.

One wonders if any of the advocates of the Government's policy of crazy price-raising ever think of what actually happens when agricultural prices rise fictitiously.

It happened after the war, yet it seems all forgotten.

When prices rise the competition for farms at once increases and rents and prices offered by the wildest speculators and optimists rule the market. The prudent farmer is compelled to accept these values under the threat of "Pay or Quit."

ARTHUR R. McDUGAL in London *Daily Herald*.

DOES NOT BELIEVE IN TAXES

I frequently receive letters of criticism from readers who after all these years have not developed the picture I have tried to paint of my personal economic philosophy.

I am an individualist and I do not recognize the right of the state to dictate to me in my private affairs so long as those affairs do not impose on the freedom of my fellows.

I do not believe in tariffs, in taxes, in enforced labor, or enforced idleness.

I hold that there is enough natural resources on this earth to provide a good living for every human being on the earth and I hold that the private monopoly of land is the sole reason for the ills that beset civilization.

I do not regard money as wealth, and I hold that the man who from the earth produces wealth is entitled to ALL the wealth he produces.

I hold that the user of the land should pay to the government an annual rental, say one-fifth the value of the land, but that he should pay no taxes on his chattels, tools, house, store building, factory or other improvement.

I am against state bureaucracy and therefore am just as much opposed to state socialism as I am to state communism. I am just as thoroughly against Hitlerism and Mussolinism as I am against state capitalism ruled by the house of Morgan.

Fifty years ago it is to be doubted if there were fifty men on earth who held to the above philosophy of economics. Today there are hundreds of thousands of men who so believe and the adherents of this philosophy are increasing in greater numbers each year than the adherents of any other theory.

The co-operative commonwealth, with all natural resources held forever for all the people, is the only way out—at least that has been my notion for years and all my reading and inspection of affairs merely makes stronger my adherence to this cause of human freedom.

HILL BILLY, columnist in the *Seattle Star*.

SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE LONG AGO

A fruitful and fair means of increasing the resources of the State and of the municipalities may be found in a measure which we Liberals have advocated for many a long day past—the taxation of land values—(cheers)—the recovery for the community of the values that are created by mere growth of population. That should have been done long ago. It would have brought in, had it been done, an abundant revenue today for the lessening of our rates and taxes. It has not been done because of the successful resistance of the Conservative party, and it is now for us to see that that resistance is overcome.

SIR HERBERT SAMUEL as reported in *Manchester Guardian*.

OF THE FIRST MAGNITUDE

The taxation of land values is not a new item in Liberal policy, but it has lost none of its importance as a proposal of the first magnitude.
London Spectator

PRELUDE TO ANOTHER DEPRESSION

The Mortgage Guarantee Company of Los Angeles today withdrew its San Joaquin Valley ranch holdings from the market with

he object of readjusting prices to a higher level in anticipation of a continued upward price trend in agricultural lands.

H. L. Richmond of Fresno, district manager, said his firm is confident ranch properties, particularly vineyards, will increase in value in the next several months.

Richmond said the company's holdings in the valley total about 100,000 acres of which 20,000 acres is in a single block in the Tulare lake wheat area.

Holdings of the Mortgage Guarantee Associates, an affiliate of the Guarantee Company, also will be marked up in price.

Fresno (Calif.) *Bee*

HIGH LAND VALUES INCREASE COSTS

Between 1906 and 1932 the area of the City of Toronto was increased 44%. During the same period land values of Toronto increased as follows:

1906	\$65,410,655
1916	290,787,500
1932	385,514,568

These increased land values simply mean that the comparatively few people and firms who own three-quarters of the total land values of Toronto are able to charge the public several hundred per cent. more for the use of the land than they could in 1906. These increases have helped to increase the spread in the price of milk as well as of many other farm products. The concealed charges upon business that arise from this cause are much greater than is realized.

The largest item of expense distributors have to meet is that of wages. In order that their employees may pay the high rentals which prevail in cities, the distributors have to pay them higher wages than they otherwise would. Very few people know, for instance, that a milk driver, receiving a wage of, say, \$1,200 a year, pays out over one-third of all he earns to settle rents in one form or another. The rental of his own home would probably be around \$360.00 a year, but, added to the cost of every pound of meat, loaf of bread, suit of clothes, and ton of coal he buys, are the rental charges of the retailers and wholesalers and railway companies which handle these goods in the high-costing city land. These charges are concealed in the wages which the milk distributors pay their employees and are not disclosed in such investigations as have been conducted in the past.

The same is true of the tariff. The cost of erecting a plant for the distribution of milk is probably 20% to 25% greater than it would be because of the tariff charges added on to the cost of practically everything that enters into the construction of the building. This is true also, of the equipment used in the operation of the plant. For instance, approximately \$400.00 in tariff charges are added to the cost of a \$1,000.00 truck. Thus a large firm operating twenty trucks pays out about \$8,000 tariff charges on those trucks alone. This has to be added to the price of milk and increases the spread. Again, the employees have to be paid wages that will enable them to pay these concealed tariff charges on practically all the goods they buy.

The public has little or no conception of how vastly the spread is increased by these two factors.

Farm and Dairy is not opposed to further investigations of the spread in the price of farm products. But, if any more are held they should give the attention to these two factors that their importance requires. We doubt if the government at Toronto and Ottawa will want to air up the effect of the tariff on the spread, but unless they investigate it any investigation they conduct will be as fruitless as all previous investigations that have been held over a period of many years.—Editorial *Farm and Dairy*, Peterborough, Can.

GOING TO THE ROOT

Chambers' Weekly is a Single Tax paper. We know how to cure the depression. We know how to bring 40 cents per pound for more cotton than we can produce. We know how to bring \$5 daily to com-

mon labor without a war. We know how to create more jobs than there are men to fill. We know how to end poverty, and along with it end most of disease and crime. And all this without government interference or restriction of production or government meddling in private business. Our programme will have to be adopted if this government is to be saved.

Our programme is untax industry. Nothing that labor creates should be taxed. The State of Georgia should collect no taxes on improvements. There should be no general property tax. There should be no corporation tax, no excise tax, no street tax, no poll tax, no intangible tax, no license tax, no tobacco tax, no automobile tag tax.

The way to end the depression is to remove these taxes. If you do this you will have no recourse but to get the money for the upkeep of government from the value of land. Since land values are made by the public and have no relation to the value of improvements there should be no injustice in such action. What is made by everybody should go to everybody. What is made by the individual should be his. The three factors of production are labor, capital and land. When you place a tax on ground rent it cannot be added to the price, and the owner simply loses what he has been taking. If you tax anything made by labor it can be added to the price. If you take away all ground rent you knock out land speculation. Men can no longer hold land which they, themselves, do not use. Thus you will free the factors of production, and land will be at the disposal of anybody who will use it. All the money paid in interest and on purchase price of land is ground rent. This the government should take for operating expenses. This programme will put an end to any foreclosures. It will practically make land the property of everybody and since land is monopoly this is as it should be. You would still hold title as you do today.

There is land enough for everybody to use. There is land enough in Georgia to support all the population of the entire United States. The land question is the only question before the people of this nation. Permitting individuals to appropriate the products of labor and capital because they own valuable lands is the cause of our depression. When you strike at landlordism as set out above you are dealing with causes. As long as value can go into land as a thing to speculate and gamble in and buy and sell there can be no value in the things produced from land. If the Single Tax were adopted in Georgia today the other States of the nation would be compelled to follow and the depression would not last 60 days. The earth must be set free. The Single Tax must be adopted before there can be employment for all the people of this nation and you had just as well open up your little brain and let the idea seep through

Editorial *Chambers' Weekly*, Atlanta, Ga.

SINCE prospects seem slim that either state or federal governments will relieve industry of taxation or make any effort to take land values for public use, how can the depression be stopped? Barring accidental discovery of new and still unmonopolized natural resources, only by a drastic reduction in the standard of living. Such a reduction is now taking place. It can be seen in the crowding of families and the increased emptying of many houses. It can be seen in the heretofore unknown "penny restaurants" selling food of a kind that few would eat before. This tendency will finally reach a point enabling industry to resume and still pay tribute to predatory interests. The great mass of workers will emerge from hard times degraded to a lower scale of living. When optimists say "we have gotten over other depressions," they do not reckon at what cost.

The Henry George Lecture Assn.

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

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ITINERARY OF JOHN LAWRENCE MONROE, MARCH 4 TO SEPTEMBER 1, 1934

Illinois (Bloomington, Peoria, Springfield) . . .	March 4—10
Iowa (Burlington, Cedar Rapids, Des Moines, Sioux City)	March 11—17
Nebraska (Omaha, Fremont, Lincoln)	March 18—24
Kansas (Topeka, Emporia, Wichita)	March 25—31
Missouri (Kansas City, Jefferson City)	April 1—7
(St. Louis)	April 8—14
Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama (Memphis, Fairhope)	April 15—21
Louisiana (New Orleans)	April 22—28
(Natchitoches, Monroe, Minden, Shreveport)	April 29—May 5
Texas (Dallas, Houston, Beaumont)	May 6—12
(Austin, New Braunfels, San Antonio)	May 13—19
Arizona (El Paso, Tucson, Phoenix)	May 20—26
California (San Diego)	May 27—June 2
(Los Angeles)	June 3—16
(Bakersfield, Fresno, Stockton)	June 17—23
(San Francisco)	June 24—July 7
California, Oregon (Sacramento, Eugene)	July 8—14
Oregon, Washington (Portland, Tacoma, Olympia)	July 15—21

Washington (Seattle)	July 22—28
British Columbia (Victoria, Nanaimo, Vancouver)	July 29—August 4
British Columbia, Washington (New Westminster, Wenatchee)	August 5—11
Washington (Spokane, Walla Walla)	August 12—18
Idaho, Utah (Boise, Salt Lake City)	August 19—25
Colorado (Grand Junction, Leadville, Pueblo, Colorado Springs, Denver)	August 26—Sept.

The next trip will be through Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakota

News from Washington State

WE believe we are on the verge of making history in the State of Washington. Signatures to an Initiative Measure in the interest of "home-owning" are being secured so rapidly, and the Measure is so popular, that the chances seem better than even it will be enacted into law by the votes of the people at the election in November.

This is not a hybrid Measure like the one proposed by Theron McCampbell in New Jersey, or the one to be voted on in Florida, so widely advertised by Arthur Brisbane. Under our proposed Measure no land, if it has any value, will be exempted from taxation. On the other hand, there is no limit on the value of improvements. A man may build a \$100,000 home, and so long as he uses it as a home it will be exempt.

Following are three of the principal sections:

Section 1. Any building, habitation or structure occupied as a home by the owner of the land or real property upon which the same is located for six months immediately prior to the time for assessing property, together with all outhouses or structures upon said land or real property and used in connection with and as a part of said home, and all personal property used for home purposes, are hereby exempted from taxation, and from lis-pendens, levy, distraint or seizure, in any action or proceeding, other than an action to foreclose or enforce payment of a mortgage or lien upon all or any part of the property so constituting such home.

Section 2. All land or real property beneath or about the Home mentioned in the preceding section shall, for taxation purposes, be valued in its primitive state without considering any buildings, clearing, cultivation or other form of improvement thereon.

Section 6. The amount of land and real property constituting the Home mentioned or referred to in this Act shall not exceed five acres in area; provided, however, that land commonly known as farms or ranches shall not exceed forty acres for irrigable land, or over one hundred and sixty acres for non-irrigable land to each home, and no person shall claim more than one home.

All Single Taxers residing in the State of Washington who are in a position to assist us in securing signatures to this Measure are requested to send their names and addresses to me, P. O. Box 193, Seattle, and I will supply them with blank petitions. There is no time to lose. All petitions should be in by July 1.

EUGENE WAY.

ALPHABETICAL policies to bring business recovery are not as simple as ABC but are much simpler than Simple Simon.

A LITTLE boy once described the mind as something like the head that went round and round and made up stories.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE MENACE OF RECOVERY*

This book carefully details the history of the Federal recovery programme as it was developed and applied up to the end of 1933. Eleven chapters cover the historic details, accompanied occasionally by comments which indicate the author's critical points of view, and a last chapter sums up Mr. MacDonald's appraisal of results and his beliefs as to the inevitability of what amounts to a Presidential Dictatorship, marked with a pronounced State Socialist interest. An appendix furnishes significant extracts from the emergency banking, the agricultural adjustment, the securities, the home-owners and the national recovery acts, and the laws passed relating to the Tennessee Valley Authority, and gold contracts and legal tender. An index to contents is included.

The writer of this review has not seen anything referring to the present volume, but it can be here testified that in it "the new deal" has been very competently examined and explained.

Among the concluding sentences of the last chapter are the following: "President Roosevelt has staked his political future and that of his party upon the success of a recovery programme which was to bring order out of chaos and place the economic activities of the nation on new and solid foundations. The aim, now that the programme has been unfolded, is seen to be the reorganization of our society on collectivist lines, with the federal government as the central source of authority and Federal power the directing and compelling force. The fruits of the programme (to the end of 1933) have been some artificial stimulation of business and industry, some artificial relief for the farmers, and some artificial mitigation of unemployment and personal suffering, but in their pursuit the administration has become a dictatorship, the public debt has been swollen to unprecedented peace-time proportions, the gold standard as it had existed for ninety years has been abandoned, and the dollar has been left to find its level in the shifting sands of commodity prices. There is no dictionary which defines 'recovery' in such terms."

This useful book should be followed by one which undertakes to show that our people may be led to see that the revolutionary departures which have been made for citizens to agree to give any programme rank and rational attention when the failure of collectivist and state socialist policies, so far adopted by Mr. Roosevelt, make it necessary to turn back if possible to original United States ideas of human association in conditions of freedom and equal opportunity. It may yet be seen that the source of prosperity is human labor when applied without hindrance to natural resources, the fundamental condition being that there must be a natural division of labor products. A natural and ethical division is demonstrable. There must be the full share of workers and the managers which they really employ. There must be a return to the owners of wealth (labor products) used to aid production, such return covering both replacement and the market rate of interest which may from time to time arrange itself without legislative attention. There also will be a surplus to which neither labor nor "capital" are entitled—the item of "economic rent," or annual rent of land. This surplus is properly a concern of the whole social aggregate, and can be ethically used for public purposes after being gathered with that expectation in mind. An end can be made of codes and price-fixing, of subsidies and processing taxes, of rules for methods of labor organization and the fixing of minimum or any other kind of wages.

Thirty-five or more years ago Henry George, who is entitled to be considered as absolutely unique in his equipment and methods of economic analysis and scientific explication, was subsidized and set apart for the very purpose of laying the foundation of a just social order, and his book, only partly unfinished, is available in any quantities or which a demand is created. Free from financial embarrassment by reason of the financial assistance of two business men, he gave his best to the world, and it is high time right now that American citizens, with or without the hearty co-operation of President Roosevelt, should

begin another economic research, to start where George left off in his search for truth to be developed by a scientific examination of the natural laws which are concerned with the distribution of good things—with abundance and not scarcity—with leisure and a chance to enjoy it without fear or favor, and without dread of want or lack of gainful employment.—GEORGE WHITE.

*The Menace of Recovery. By William MacDonald; cloth, 400 pp. Price \$1.75. The MacMillan Company, N. Y. City.

DOLLARS AND SENSE

This book is a practical questionnaire with answers covering the realm of finance including debts, monetary standards, inflations, currencies, etc. It deals with economics as an underlying base of all finance and business. It puts in simple terms technical financial language so that anyone who is interested may understand.

The author displays not only a clear detailed knowledge of economics and finance but a broad knowledge of their applications. If this book is read carefully and the information digested the reader will have an excellent background for a keen appreciation of current financial events and policies.

Examples of this series of questions (and answers) taken at random are: What is money? What is the purpose of the National Industrial Recovery Act? What is its Constitutional base?—its provisions?—its weakness? Other questions are what are bank deposits, ear-marked gold, call loans, stocks and bonds?

Separate chapters in questionnaire form, are devoted to simplifying inflation, guarantee of bank deposits, public works, devaluation of the gold dollar, and the public debt.

The last few chapters are especially illuminating, dealing, as they do, with such intricate subjects as taxes, taxation, the tariff wall, etc. The followers of the philosophy of Henry George might find some minor points debatable but otherwise thoroughly approve the book and its integrity of purpose.

In considering the problem of taxation the author is vivid, stressing the power of taxation for weal or woe. He is very clear in stating that certain taxes may be shifted, enriching some at the expense of others, and in emphasizing the "Single Tax" cannot be shifted, he voices a vital truth.

Also one finds varied brief explanations of different tax systems and social movements, their strength and weakness. It is evident that the author makes no attempt to give a complete picture as his personal appraisals of these are sometimes contradictory.

In recommending this book we note some deficiencies and ignore some important lapses, but in most respects and as a whole we believe it to be the best book of its kind as yet brought to our attention.

The sentiment expressed is one of the concluding paragraphs which we quote in part should appeal to all:

"Our descendants will look back upon this day of starvation wages, long hours, child labor, ruthless competition, bulging quarries and hungry men with the same incredulity that comes over us as we look back upon the unrestrained violence and cruelty of the Middle Ages."

C. H. KENDAL.

*Dollars and Sense. 172 pp., cloth. Price \$1.75. John Day, Inc., N. Y. City.

Correspondence

RATS!

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

We read of efforts by government to reduce surpluses. We are paying farmers to refrain from raising wheat or cotton or hogs. We are paying others to plow under every third row of cotton, and the end is not yet.

Surpluses are just beginning. I would plead for consideration of a plan I am about to disclose. It seems very strange that the monu-

mental brains among the "brain trust" should have overlooked the simple plan I propose. My recommendations are as follows:

A. Pass a law raising the tax on rat poison and rat traps.

B. Use half of this return to establish rat-propagating and after there were enough rats so that a continuous supply were assured the surplus rats could be released.

C. Have one section of the law arranged so as to make it a criminal offense to kill any rats.

D. Another feature of the law should provide for the taxing of cats or rat-terrier dogs.

Now it is well known that rats are able to eat up a great amount of food. They are not at all particular as to what they eat, whether meat, grain or other food products. We would be able to save paying on a "processing tax" and we would not need to go to the trouble of killing young pigs. In fact if rats were encouraged to do their part in keeping down the surpluses many of the ills we now have would disappear.

Of course, it is no use trying to argue that if people could get access to land through a land value tax we would be in a position to do away with poverty and thereby increase consumption and in this way take care of any surplus. Such a simple plan is not fantastic enough to appeal to the "brain trust" but there is no doubt that my plan of taking care of the surplus by increasing the rat population to develop would appeal to them.

I have no patent on this idea and offer it freely.

Minneapolis, Minn.

WALTER MUNSCH.

VILLAGE OF MILK RIVER, ALTA, CAN.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Population estimated		-	-	-	-	460
No. of	-	-	-	-	title holders	93
" " non resident	"	"				36
" " Voting "	"	"				57
" " Population not	"	"				403
" " Voters total	-	-	-	-	-	150
" " " Title holders	-	-	-	-	-	57
" " " Not title holders	-	-	-	-	-	93
460	Population creates Milk River land values.					
150	Voters decide how it will be distributed.					
57	Residents will benefit and—					
36	Non residents will benefit if land value is not taxed.					
403	of the population will be defrauded if land value is free from taxation.					

Do we believe in justice or in allowing a special privilege for some to rob others to continue. Think it over.

The land owners of the U. S. rob the population of the U. S. to the tune of \$14,000,000,000 every year.

If the Single Tax was not in operation in Milk River the land owners here would rob the whole people of \$3,500 every year. We have an assessed value of \$70,000 and a 50 mill rate.

Milk River.

FRED PEASE.

WHY DOES THE MOVEMENT LAG?

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

As you will know I have been a subscriber to the Single Tax Review and its successor, LAND AND FREEDOM, for about twenty-five years. Longer ago than that I became a convert to the Henry George philosophy. As a young man I was more energetic and tried at times at least to help the cause. I wish I was physically and financially able to help more now.

However the immediate thing that I have in mind is that a highly

educated friend of mine says that if the Single Tax contained a sound economic philosophy which would apply to our present dilemma, the great professors of political economy in our colleges and universities would accept it and proclaim it.

I have tried to answer him but he does not seem to accept my reason.

Fremont, Neb.

J. TILTON YOUNG.

REPLY

There are many truths in the world that have waited long for their acceptance. Some of them are moral truths, some spiritual, some economic. For the failure of their accomplishment there are many answers, ignorance, inertia, selfishness and what not.

Machiavelli divided men into three classes, the first (and they are very few in number) who discover great truths and announce them. Then there is the second group who are able to perceive truth when announced—and these too are few in number. Then there is the mass of mankind who remain wholly unable to comprehend—and these are overwhelmingly the largest in number.

Now if we accept this classification, and we may do so with perhaps some qualification, this truth remains. The mass of mankind are sound enough at heart to discern if dimly, a principle that is just. So the second group in Machiavelli's classification wield an influence over the third group—the great majority of mankind—who are intellectually disqualified, but who follow the leadership of those who speak with authority. Slowly but finally even they are influenced and a great truth if sufficiently reiterated is accepted and takes on the character of an echo.

That the third group will not see or are incapable of seeing the whole truth accounts for the slow and piece-meal acceptance of great reforms. When such a change as Henry George proposed is up for consideration it encounters all the opposition that is included in inertia, ignorance, distortion, fear, selfishness and greed. Its slow progress is not slow if we take all the obstacles into consideration; it will only appear slow to those who are righteously impatient.

Here is a note of hopefulness for our friends. We seem to be living in a time when the principle for which we contend is on the verge of a signal triumph. The last thing—a planned economy—that being tried out in Washington exhausts the series of inventions that are introduced as substitutes for justice. Dove has told us in his "Theory of Human Progression" (1850) that mankind will try everything before they accept our remedy. The Roosevelt program may be regarded as the last redoubt to which the enemy has retreated. For however well intentioned the N. R. A. may be, it must be regarded as the last formal surrender of all previous methods of warfare against poverty, as well as a gesture of hopelessness that nothing else is possible. Its failure therefore—and it must fail—will result in making more visible what are now but the shadowy outlines of the problem and clear the way for the triumphant advance of the friends of liberty. Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

RENT, INTEREST AND MORTGAGES

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Upon what percentage basis is the economic rent calculated present? At 5% or 6% or? Please give several concrete examples from actual cases, if possible.

Will this rate still prevail under the Single Tax? If not, what will be the percentage?

What is the prevailing house interest?

How would you classify mortgages (1) on land (2) on real estate? Would you classify the returns as interest, or rent, or profits of monopoly? The Schenley Estate, for instance, holds a million dollars worth of mortgages. I contend that in such cases, the "interest" in mortgages is really "rent," or at least profits of monopoly? What do you think?

Knowing that few persons have a more comprehensive grasp

George's economics than you have I confidently expect that your answers will clarify these important problems.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

JOHN C. ROSE.

REPLY

In New York City the rent of land amounts to approximately $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the capital value of land.

On a land assessment of about nine billions in 1932 the city collected out 225 millions. Taking 5% as the minimum of capitalization nine billions of land value indicates that not less than 450 millions of land rent remained in the possession of land owners; and 225 millions, is 450 millions equals 675 millions which is $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ on 9 billions.

Under the Single Tax the rate of interest will be between 3 and 5%, and this will be accompanied by wages several times what they were under our, so called, prosperous conditions.

The net interest that has been earned on houses only (rent excluded) is not over 5% and is nowhere near that now.

Under the Single Tax there would be no mortgages on land. Mortgages would be against buildings and improvements only. The return on such mortgages held by the Schenley Estate are no doubt against land and improvements and so their return includes both rent and interest.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

HAS NEVER BEEN TRIED ANYWHERE.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In arguing with an opponent recently he said, "They tried Single Tax in New Zealand and it was a failure."

How would you reply to that? Answer in next issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

Youngstown, Ohio.

JOHN F. CONROY.

REPLY

The Single Tax was not tried in New Zealand. Several cities and mining communities in New Zealand have placed a tax on land up to a penny in the Pound Sterling on its assessed, or capital, value. There are 480 pence in the pound, so that a penny represents less than 1%. The Single Tax would have collected a minimum of more than twenty times that amount.

The Single Tax aims at the collection of the full rent of land (not less than 5% of its capital value) and the abolition of all other taxes. In New Zealand they tax every conceivable thing that man produces, they tax all human effort, thrift, and talent.

The "Single Tax" has not been tried in New Zealand nor anywhere else.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

HAS FAITH IN THE N. R. A.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

As an old Single Taxer I am disturbed over the attitude of LAND AND FREEDOM toward the Roosevelt administration, especially the National Recovery Act. Evidently you see nothing to commend in the policies pursued at Washington, either in the emergency measures adopted or in those which must be regarded as permanent and founded on sound principles and would have been accepted as such by Henry George himself. In the latter category I refer to the Roosevelt effort to bring great natural resources under public control or ownership, such as Muscle Shoals, now comprehending the entire Tennessee Valley; St. Lawrence river water power; Columbia river water power and that great enterprise known as Boulder Dam. No governor nor president has taken the courageous stand on these four tremendous far-reaching sources of power and wealth as has President Roosevelt. He deserves the gratitude of every follower of Henry George for what he has already initiated in that line and is valiantly striving to force through to a successful end. In essence they exemplify the appropriation of the unearned increment for public purposes, and the creation of a source of wealth from monopoly. Surely all Single Taxers believe in that programme even if it be only a step toward the desired goal.

As for some of the other things to which the Roosevelt administration seems to be committed, such as the cutting down of the supply of grain and live stock, I think we should understand that they are temporary plans to meet a present and urgent economic necessity. They act as a corrective of overproduction and bring about better prices for the farmer who, as you well know, has been suffering for years from unprofitable prices for what he raises. The plan is clearly one to meet an emergency. So are many of the strictures being applied to manufacturing industries through codes. They do not fit into what we are accustomed to understand as a free democracy, I know, but they are methods devised to make clearer the fundamental needs of the times.

Of course you are aware that the Single Tax philosophy cannot be gained in a single stride or in many advances but must come by indirection, as have most of the revolutionary changes come in the long past. Franklin Roosevelt, it should be conceded, is not only the most progressive but the most sympathetic president with the truly democratic aspirations of the people we have ever had in Washington. Why should we not go along with him? Why so rigidly attempt to adhere to the letter which killeth and ignore the spirit that giveth life?

Albany, N. Y.

JAMES MALCOLM.

REPLY

We do not doubt that James Malcolm is a sincere Single Taxer. He has been an efficient teacher of our philosophy for many years. But what do we mean by the term anyway? The so-called Single Tax is a proposal to get rid of all taxes and take economic rent for public purposes. The administration has invented a few new taxes and has retained nearly all of those that it found already existing. We refer to the so-called processing taxes, which have been added. And are we so doubtful of our doctrine that we should feel called upon to emphasize the importance of going slowly as if we feared the consequences of a great reform that we insist will accomplish so wonderful a change?

If anything, the letter of Mr. Malcolm shows the necessity of going much faster and demanding the *immediate* restoration of the land to the people. We are in danger of losing our grip on the fundamental philosophy of Henry George. And an indestructible part of that philosophy is its democracy which cannot be reconciled with

- a. Codes regulating wages and prices.
- b. Threats of economic death (that is starvation) for those guilty of the violation of these codes.
- c. Destruction of crops to equalize prices. (Whether this be temporary or permanent.
- d. Government regulation of private industry.
- e. Subsidies for those withdrawing land from use.
- f. Purchase of marginal land.
- g. Destruction of little pigs.
- h. Transfer of governmental powers from the legislative to the executive branch of government, thus preparing the way for the abandonment of our democracy for a thinly disguised dictatorship.

And then we are asked to believe that Henry George would have sanctioned this monstrous programme! Henry George believed in the natural order. His teaching entailed a philosophy of social reconstruction in which by establishing man's true relation to the earth we might rebuild a free society. Nearly everything that Roosevelt and his administration have done would have been anathema to him.

The temptation to say nice things of the occupant of the White House and his amiable intentions should not blind us to the changing character of our institutions which is being insidiously brought about. If we want socialism, restriction, regulation let us turn to Franklin Roosevelt; it is the saddest kind of a joke to ask us to accept him at the hands of a party bearing the name of democracy and Thomas Jefferson.

We did not dream that it would ever be necessary to argue this way with a Henry George man. We trust our correspondent will not be

angry with us when we say that to accept these strange Roosevelt nostrums is to repudiate nearly every tenet in the George philosophy.
—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

TENANT FARMERS IN TEXAS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The 1910 Census gave Texas 219,575 tenant farmers!

The 1920 Census gave Texas 232,309 tenant farmers!!

The 1930 Census gave Texas 301,660 tenant farmers!!!

What the next census will show I am afraid to think. And how easily all this might be changed by amending tax laws to make the speculator pay as much for holding land idle as others pay for using—just as hotels do with out-all-night customers. This would eliminate the speculator and give every man a chance to get under his own vine and fig tree—which must have been what the Lord intended when He made land so plentiful.

For fifty years we have been trying to find a more appropriate name for our movement than Single Tax, but aside from the C. L. P. group, nothing yet has been found that fits the requirements. Our movement naturally divides into two branches—the heavy artillery so ably represented by Mr. Graham Peace in England, and the light infantry which still holds to the "Single Tax." Both branches are necessary in any great movement, and this division shows progress. But the name Single Tax has been found to be a drawback because it suggests tax reform instead of land reform—our main object. Since it seems impossible to get rid of the name entirely,—being "blown in the bottle" as it were,—let me suggest that whenever the name is used an interrogation mark be placed after it to indicate a misnomer, thus: "The Single Tax (?)." The use of this little interrogation point will do much to awaken the curiosity of the unconverted and give us a chance to blow our horn.

Houston, Tex.

P. W. SCHWANDER

AN INTERESTING ANALOGY

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

A remembrance of the Congress: Some seemed stumped by the proposition that the land value tax may so cheapen land that the rental value will shrink and amount to little, thereby leaving the community without sufficient revenue. Let him who doubts take thought that when the wife (or whoever it is that keeps the flower garden) wishes to enjoy an abundance of blossoms from her sweetpea or aster bed, or whatever flowers she cultivates, she keeps cutting the blossoms as fast as they come into full bloom, and the plants favor her with a long continuous wealth of flowers to grace her home. Should she let them go to seed her plants are soon worn out and barren of blooms.

Alma, Wis.

THEODORE BUEHLER, JR.

THINKS HE MAY BE HERETICAL

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

At the risk of being regarded as heretical by my Single Tax friends I am writing the following for such comment and criticism as it may provoke.

I have come to believe in the possibilities of reaching the Single Tax by way of the income tax. At times I have felt that this would prove the easiest approach.

1. A tax on incomes with earned incomes exempt would be the Single Tax. In the final analysis land and labor are the factors of production and rent and wages the categories of distribution. Unearned income and rent are the same.

2. Among people generally an income tax is at least fairly popular.

3. The same may be said of the exemption of earned incomes.

4. The ethical question is involved in the words, earned and unearned. In this form it is easily grasped by the masses. In the end we shall win through the ethics rather than the science of our philosophy.

5. It may bring to us political co-operation on the part of those who believe that unearned incomes include more than land rent.

6. It will force to the front the distinction between earned and unearned incomes. More than that, it will make it decidedly to the pecuniary interest of the entrepreneur to show how little of his income is unearned with pecuniary interest and ethics both urging him on, the entrepreneur may turn out to be a clear thinker. We have never yet had personal interest urging a considerable group of able men to star for the Single Tax.

7. It would work beautifully in the case of 99 year leases of land in the center of our great cities. These usually contain a clause providing that the tenant shall pay the taxes on the land. A tax on incomes would not come under this clause.

8. The real problem is one of distribution, not of production. To the scientific mind the just distribution of wealth grows out of the way in which wealth must be produced; but to the ordinary mind the introduction of production into the argument brings only confusion. The ordinary mind will grasp the fact that there is a distinction between earned wealth and unearned wealth; but will fall down realizing that it is the distinction between wages and land rent. It is good teaching to attack the problem through the distribution of wealth rather than through the production of wealth.

Chicago, Ill.

H. B. LOOMIS.

JUST MIXED

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The writer, some time ago, was assigned to interview a prominent attorney, son of a former United States Senator, and himself a director in one of the largest financial institutions in the country, on the political situation.

He began by saying that the cause of our political troubles was due to universal suffrage, and illustrated it by adding, "While I always vote the Republican ticket as the party best able to govern, my drive who has been in my employ for thirty years and whom I support, voted the Socialist ticket, thereby cancelling my vote, not realizing that men in business and finances know much better what is good for the masses than they know themselves.

"I well remember the first time Henry George came over here from England to lecture on Socialism. I always believed that he was sent here by the English Socialist Party to conduct a propaganda in the country. I went to Cooper Union," the attorney continued, "to hear Mr. George. While I did not agree with him he made an excellent speech. His English was superb and clear so that no one could misunderstand what he meant. A real orator! He made the usual attack on capital and private property, holding that all property should be taken by the Government and divided among the people.

"After his lecture a number of those who believed as he did held a conference and suggested to Mr. George that the best way to reach the people would be to print a newspaper. Mr. George replied: 'I have no money to start a paper with.' His advisers then agreed that they would raise the necessary money and later a paper was published in the interest of Socialism.

"Almost from the beginning the paper was a financial success and Mr. George began to make money. Then he was unwilling to divide with those who had little.

"Realizing what a false position he was placed in, he abandoned preaching Socialism and having a hobby for something he began to preach the Single Tax, placing all taxes on land.

"I suppose that when Mr. George got hold of some land," said the attorney, "he would want to collect taxes from something else."

It is amazing how one of the best minds knows so much about many things that are not so.

N. Y. City.

OLD NEWSPAPER REPORTER.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

In order to appreciate the humor of this, it may be well to say that there is but one accurate statement in all this bunch of inaccuracies. That is the one fact that Mr. George did start a paper. But he never

ade any money out of it. He did not come from England, for he was born in Philadelphia; he never taught that all property should be taken by government and divided among the people; he was not a socialist of that kind (who by the way is an utterly unknown species of Socialist anyhow) nor of any other kind; his paper was not published for the interests of Socialism; he never made a financial success of anything, for he did not look for that kind of success. Otherwise, the statement of the gentleman, or what remains of it, is accurate. Mr. George once edited a paper, which is the sole lonesome fact in this list of things that are not so.—EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM.

PRAISE FROM SIR HUBERT

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

You may quote me, if you like, in warmest commendation of the educational value of the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM. Aside from the usual cogent editorial observations upon the blind and dangerous political trends at the Nation's Capital, the feature articles by Raymond McNally and J. Edward Jones are particularly notable. Cocoa, Fla.

CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

THE Lethbridge, Alberta, *Herald*, comments editorially on the attendance at the Henry George Congress in Chicago of twelve Single Taxers from the town of Milk River, Alberta, and says: "Parties may have policies and plans and change them, but with the Single Tax as far as Milk River is concerned, it is a permanency and must prevail in the world if it is to be a happier place to live in than it is now. We admire them even though we are dubious about some of the claims put forward by them, for their faith and stick-to-it-iveness."

ARVIN R. MATTESON, of Rochester, N. Y., renewing his subscriptions, writes: "Such teachings as are found in LAND AND FREEDOM may help direct the people into wider avenues of freedom and justice."

FRED PEASE writes us from Milk River, Alta, Canada: "The Henry George Congress at Chicago was a wonderful experience for the boys. Meet all Georgists in New York for us. The boys all wish to be remembered to Miss Schetter and dear Mrs. de Mille, with whom we fell in love * * *. Our Premier Mr. Brownlee has appointed a commission to inquire into the incidence of taxation and the public is to be allowed to present their views to that august body. The Milk River Single Taxers will not neglect this opportunity. Some of the men appointed are favorable to our plans and may be able to do something for us. We are asked to submit a paper for consideration."

MAYOR MCNAIR of Pittsburgh spoke recently in Cleveland, O., at the City Club, and he created a very favorable impression. His answers to questions were made with his usual readiness.

CHARLES R. EAMES reports from Elgin, Ill., that after the address by Hon. Francis Neilson at the forum last Autumn the local bookseller sold an unusual number of copies of "Progress and Poverty." Mr. Eames suggests a name for a Single Tax paper which is at least novel—"The Site Draft."

THE *Press Scimitar* of Memphis, Tenn., makes use of the Henry George Congress address by our friend Hon. Abe D. Waldauer as reprinted in LAND AND FREEDOM, and accompanies the article with a brief biographical sketch and portrait of the brilliant young leader of the enclavial movement.

AN old subscriber from England writes us: "I had come to the verge of an unwilling decision that LAND AND FREEDOM was one of the things

that must be cut out in these hard times but the excellence of the last three issues has made that impossible."

THE *Churchman* for February contains a report of the activities of the Schalkenbach Foundation signed by the secretary of the Foundation, Miss Antoinette Kaufmann.

"FOR those who desire a right social order and for those that see how we can attain it, LAND AND FREEDOM is a great feast for its readers. It gives the collective thought of our movement," writes E. H. Boeck, of St. Louis.

OUR readers will be interested in the recent itinerary of Clayton J. Ewing. On Jan. 20 he had a fine visit with our friend James P. Kohler, at Coral Gables, Fla. On Jan. 23 he addressed a gathering of Quaker farmers near Fairhope and on the morning of the 24th, he spoke at the Organic School in Fairhope, being introduced by Mrs. Marietta Johnson. On the evening of the same day he spoke in New Orleans at the Carrollton M. E. Church, his subject being the "Economics of the New Testament." This meeting was arranged by W. E. Clement. On the evening of Jan. 25 he addressed a meeting of the Round Table Club in New Orleans. This meeting was arranged by Henry Garic. Mr. Ewing spoke for fifty minutes, his subject being "Can Business and Industry be Relieved of Confiscatory Taxation?" On Jan. 27 he visited our friends in Memphis, Hon. Abe D. Waldauer, Judge Pittman and General Taylor. This is rather a busy record even for Brother Ewing.

CAPTAIN ARMISTED RUST (U. S. N. Retired) Single Taxer and long a subscriber to this paper, was for many years superintendent of the Massachusetts Nautical School and captain of the school ship Nantucket.

WEST VANCOUVER, B. C., in which town there is no tax on improvements, had a cash balance in its treasury at the end of the fiscal year of \$3,472 and had retired \$40,000 of its bonds.

R. B. WILSON, of Emmett, Ida., is teaching political economy in the high school building and last spring taught a class near Eagle, Ida. His nine lessons of two hours each brought more than twenty-four to embrace the remedy; they organized an Economics Club and have been bombarding Congressmen and Senators with resolutions unanimously acted upon.

CHARLES LEBARON GOELLER, of Endwell, N. Y., is printing at surprisingly low cost, tracts and leaflets on the Single Tax and last year sent out over 50,000 of these. This year he hopes to double the number.

EDWIN J. JONES, of Westfield, N. J. writes us in the following hopeful strain:

"I have been a Single Taxer just short of 50 years. Have never been swerved from my rock-ribbed beliefs in the doctrines of Henry George to any other ism. At times it seems as though sincere believers must be discouraged and disheartened at the seeming slow progress of our movement. That is more apparent than real. I feel. I shall probably not live to see it, but I believe sincerely that within ten years the doctrines of Henry George will be seriously considered in National and State politics."

THE *Canadian Unionist* for January continues the series of papers on Canada's Natural Resources by A. C. Campbell. In this issue he treats of the Dominion Fisheries. These articles are admirably written and are of great historical significance.

WE are glad to hail the advent of a new Single Tax paper from Atlanta, Ga., *Chamber's Weekly*, which also covers the news of Atlanta.

It is a large paper with a lot of editorial matter along our lines. In another column will be found an extract from one of its editorials.

IN Northern Niageria, now the Northern Provinces, urban and rural land is let on permits of indefinite terms. There is no litigation to secure such titles and the people live in increasing comfort as shown by production returns. Land rent alone is taxed and there is no need of other taxes. This is from the report of Ormsby-Gore, conservative under secretary for the colonies.

LUCIUS GARVIN, 26 years old, the son of the late Lucius F. C. Garvin, has been reappointed to the position in the philosophy department of Indiana University (Bloomington, Ind.), for the second semester. At the Christmas conference, he was elected an active member of the American Philosophical Association, and his thesis, "Are Particulars Constitutents of Propositions?" appeared in their publication, *The Monist*. Dr. and Mrs. Garvin are living at 611 So. Fess Ave., Bloomington, Ind.

DR. GERTRUDE E. KELLY, whose death is announced, a leader for many years in the fight for Irish freedom and one of the earliest woman physicians, was also active in the eighties in support of Henry George and Dr. McGlynn. She was born near Waterford, Ireland. Eminent as a physician and professor of surgery she was given a dinner in 1929 at which over 500 representatives of law, medicine, social service and woman suffrage sat down. Hers was a long and useful life.

WE quote from a letter to Harry C. Maguire by J. R. Firth, mayor of Strathfield, New South Wales in 1916, 1928, 1929, 1930 and 1932. Alderman Firth writes: "When you state that Sydney raises all its local taxation from land values, that applies not only to the city of Sydney but to all the surrounding Metropolitan Municipal areas. It is also true that any suggestion to go back to the old system of taxing buildings would not even be calmly discussed in this city. Public opinion is overwhelmingly in favor of what we call rating on unimproved land value which has been in operation in this city for eighteen years.

"As to the effect of the abolition of taxation on buildings. While in the very oldest portions of the city there are some small districts which we call slum areas, by comparison to the balance of the Metropolitan area they would not be looked upon as slum areas anywhere else in the world.

"In Sydney we are taking 33⅓ per cent of the assessed ground rent, which is equivalent to 25 per cent of the Annual Unimproved Value."

DR. E. A. COPELAND, of Jackson, Miss., who has announced his candidacy for governor of the State on a Single Tax ticket, has with some of his associates opened up a Single Tax headquarters in Jackson. He writes: "We are converting the people every day. If we can get the necessary information to them at this psychologic time, it will mean victory."

THE Wilmington (Del.) *News* publishes several "love letters" from distinguished people and among them is one from Henry George to Mrs. George after 23 years of married life.

The Commonwealth Land Party of Australia have sent forth a number of telling pamphlets. One is "A New Thought in Politics" and another "A Demand for Justice." The C.L.P. of Australia has headquarters in Victoria. C. J. Crowe is president and V. Spinks secretary.

MRS. C. A. SUTHERLAND, daughter of our old friend Alexander Hamilton, of Victoria, Canada, writes: "I like your reply to a letter

about natural rights in Jan-Feb. number. All Single Taxers are proud of LAND AND FREEDOM. What a fine work you are doing."

WANTED at this office: Copies, one or more, of the Autocrat State, copies, one or more, of Captain Jinks, and the Earth for All Cendar, by Ernest Howard Crosby, and copy of the Japanese Notice of Political Economy, by James Love.

JUDGE A. B. PITTMAN made an address recently before a luncheon club in Memphis and compared landlordism to "kitty pinching" a poker game. The *Memphis Appeal* sent a young lady to report a speech who had no knowledge of landlordism or poker, and Judge Pittman was reported the next day to have labelled Capitalists "kitty pinchers." This report was published through the Association Press and found its way to the press of this city. No Single Taxer who read the report is likely to be deceived, but others may be who do not know Judge Pittman. The *Memphis Appeal* published a retraction the next day, but this denial did not receive the same publicity.

A. C. CAMPBELL, of Ottawa, Canada, writes: "I do not know if it may be with others but I can speak for myself that such work as yours, the running of a medium that keeps us in constant touch with the spirit of the movement, is a work that is helpful to every one of us. Long may you be inspired to keep on."

MRS. AMALIA E. DUBOIS, sister of our friend F. C. Leubuscher, writes: "I enjoyed the last issue of your magazine, especially the editorials and the article by Raymond V. McNally on 'The Price Complex.'"

HAROLD SUDELL writes from Brookline, Pa.: "You are getting a fine magazine. Mr. Pollack, head of the Manufacturers Appropriation Company and an old newspaper man, recently commented on its excellence."

A GOOD review of Dr. Raymond Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George" appears in *Social Service* from Eugene M. Kayden.

GILBERT SELDES, columnist of the *New York Journal*, in a notice of a book by Prof. Tugwell, says: "It is nothing against Messrs. Tugwell and Hill that the best thing in the book is a quotation from Henry George."

THE Johnstown, (Pa.) *Democrat* of Feb. 16 reproduces lengthy extracts from LAND AND FREEDOM.

THE *Cotemporary Review* of recent date has an article on Land Value Taxation by James F. Muirhead. Mention is made of the "mental" work by Prof. George R. Geiger.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY, of Tacoma, Wash., asks us to watch and keep in touch with Congressman Knute Hill from that State as an avowed Henry George man.

CONGRESSMAN GOLDSBOROUGH quoted from Henry George speech appearing in the *Congressional Record* of March 3.

S. EDWARD WILLIAMS is speaking nightly before labor bodies in California in advocacy of the Ralston amendment.

PROF. JAMES HARDY DILLARD writes us: "The mills of the

and slowly but we must hold the faith that they *do* grind. My congratulations on the paper and your constantly excellent issues."

WALTER J. TRINER, of Caldwell, N. J. has been elected School Commissioner, after an exciting canvass. His vote was larger than that of any of the candidates, so evidently his well known Single Tax convictions did not militate against him.

KARL B. MICKEY, whose admirable letter in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* appears on another page, writes to W. A. Cronenberger of that city as follows:

"I have never been active in the Single Tax movement. I became a believer in the fiscal policies of Henry George before I ever met a Single Taxer. Shortly after the war, attracted by the alliteration of the title, I read 'Progress and Poverty.' Upon concluding the book I was annoyed because I had failed to find the 'catch' in it and so I read the book from cover to cover the second time. The second reading convinced me."

To which Mr. Cronenberger adds: "There are many more like him and it's too bad. They miss the catch and so do not try again."

Too lengthy to reproduce but admirable in every respect is a two column article in the *Catholic Columbian* of Columbus, O., on Henry George. Its author is Dr. John K. Stanislaus, and the doctor promises after a review of "The Philosophy of Henry George" by "the brilliant young American philosopher, Dr. George Raymond Geiger."

COL. W. E. EASTERWOOD, JR., is quoted in the *Houston Post*. "The economic problem of all the ages, greater than free commerce, easy money and all the rest is how to secure a free distribution of the land. Try to cover it up as we may the fact remains that whoever owns the land controls the country."

W. C. GOOD, former Canadian M. P., expounded the philosophy of Henry George in Toronto early in March. He is reported to have said: "His argument for socializing the economic rent is now endorsed by all economists and practically all schools of social reformers, though there are differences of opinion as to how the principle should be applied."

WE do not suppose that any follower of Henry George will be deceived by the efforts of the newspapers in Pittsburgh to discredit Mayor McNair. It appears to be a settled policy of privilege and their journalistic organs to belittle and misrepresent the Chief Executive of the city. Mr. McNair goes about his business undisturbed.

WE acknowledge receipt of two admirable pamphlets published by the Henry George Foundation from Pittsburgh and written by Ernest O. Kooser, of Somerset, Pa. One is entitled "Trade and Rate," and the other, "The Use of Force."

GEORGE E. EVANS, President of the Henry George Foundation, has been appointed Superintendent of the Bureau of Building Inspection, under the new administration of the City of Pittsburgh. Mr. Evans is very deeply interested in the housing problem and has accepted this position with a view to making some real contribution toward the solution of this problem. Having been engaged in the building business for a number of years, this is a function of the city government with which he is thoroughly familiar. The new Superintendent is taking prompt steps to deal with slum conditions and has also been sponsoring a programme of home building for which federal aid has been solicited.

RALPH E. SMITH, who was originally appointed by Mayor McNair as Magistrate of the Morals Court, has since been named Director of Public Safety and has taken over the conduct of this very important branch of the municipal government.

As we go to press the executive committee of the Henry George Foundation has under serious consideration the choice of a convention city for the Henry George Congress for 1934 but had not yet reached a final decision, the choice apparently involving the respective claims of Toronto, Washington and Chicago. An announcement will be made at a very early date as it is planned to hold the regular annual convention either in September or early in October, depending upon the location.

W. P. HALLENKAMP, of Columbus, O., writes us:

"You, your readers and Single Taxers generally ought to be told of the passing of A. A. (Arch) Maclean at Columbus, O., on Feb. 10, 1934, at the age of 44; for the movement, because of his passing, has suffered more than an ordinary loss.

"His was a mind that encompassed one of the most comprehensive and clearest understandings of the fundamentals of Single Tax it has been my good fortune to encounter, among the many Single Taxers whom I have met; and I doubt if there are any who could excel him in the conciseness and conviction in explanation of its principles. I don't know that Arch ever delivered a lecture, spoke from any platform, or wrote any treatise, on Single Tax; his work did not lie in that direction, and yet I am sure he accomplished as much good for the cause through the engaging facility he possessed for discussing it in conversations and on personal contacts. His converts are many—won to the cause by the magnetising sincerity of his individual effort and convinced by the clearness and logic of his explanations. The loss of such a one indeed is a real loss.

"Arch was a true son of his father, John S. Maclean, who learned his first Single Tax lessons from the lips of Henry George, himself, and who now survives to mourn the passing of Arch with a father's heartbreaking sense of bereavement increased by a sense of loss to the cause he, too, has served faithfully and well. Besides his father, a widow, four children, a brother, two sisters, and a host of friends survive, all of whom are undoubtedly the better for having known Arch Maclean."

THE Canadian papers announce the death of Thomas Mower Martin at the age of 95. Mr. Mower was known as the father of Canadian art. He was represented in the National Gallery at Buckingham Palace and had also exhibited in New York. He lived in Toronto at 115 Erskine Avenue. He was a subscriber of *LAND AND FREEDOM* and was presumably a Single Taxer. We know nothing of his activities along our lines, but that he was interested is evident.

PETITIONS are being circulated by Democrats in Pittsburgh to enter Mayor McNair in the race for governor in the Spring primaries. "It is all right with me," was Mayor McNair's characteristic comment.

A FINE article by Prof. Broadus Mitchell appears in the *Baltimore Evening Sun* of Feb. 28. It is entitled "Sweat vs. Steam." Prof. Mitchell concludes: "The problem clears completely if we perceive that we are to benefit by embracing our mechanical achievements, not by retreating into the Middle Ages, not by becoming machine-smashing Luddites."

BILLS looking in the direction of our principles are before the legislatures of both Massachusetts and Washington.

DONALD MACDONALD, of Anchorage, Alaska, whose "News From Alaska" appears on another page, carried every ward in 1912 in Everett, Wash., for the exemption of personal property and improvements.

OLIVE MAGUIRE writes us from Berkeley, Calif.:

"Isn't the fact that Georgism holds no position of prominence before the public today, a commentary on our past methods of presentation? Every time an election is held, a great school of inquiring students is ready-made for us, yet except in isolated cases we have persistently overlooked the opportunities.

"In our own way, we No Taxers seem to be as foolish as the rest."