

November—December, 1934

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE-TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

Henry Ford and Henry George

(Significant Correspondences)

Charles O'Connor Hennessy

The Henry George School

Frank Chodorov

What Shall We Do to Be Saved?

Frank Stephens

Reply to Frank Stephens

John Luxton

Henry George Congress

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LAND AND FREEDOM

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JOSEPH DANA MILLER, Editor

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

CHARLES JOSEPH SMITH, Treas., 150 Nassau Street, N. Y. City

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

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SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

ENGLAND: J. W. Graham Peace.

GERMANY: Adolph Damaschke, Lessingstrasse II, Berlin.

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

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

DENMARK: Abel Brink, Copenhagen.

BULGARIA: Lasar Karaivanove, Plovdiv.

MEXICO: Prof. R. B. Brinsmade,

Av. Centenario 219, San Luis Potosi City, Mexico.

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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

THE sufficient answer to the architects of economic planning is that natural law has already provided for it. That is to say, in the natural forces governing production and distribution we discover the great natural law of cooperation and competition. Such economic planning as may be legitimately undertaken must take into account these natural forces. It will then be found how little is needed in the way of governmental laws of direction, control or regimentation.

EX-PRESIDENT HOOVER has said: "Government may promote cooperation, but to liberty cooperation is a concept of consent among free men, not a compulsion of regulated men." He is thinking here only of government regimentation and not the kind of regulation—if we may give it that name—imposed by our economic system. Neither Mr. Hoover nor Mr. Roosevelt propose to change that. Mr. Hoover talks of liberty but the kind of liberty he talks about is the regimentation of the wages of the worker by the unemployed man clamoring for work at the factory gates or elsewhere where the opportunities for work seem to beckon.

HOOVER'S thought is purely superficial. He views the depression as a "transitory paralysis." If this is his view it is to be feared that he has gone no further in his analysis than the administration he is criticizing. We have had a number of these "transitory paralytic" attacks—only they are of continuous recurrence. The spasms of an epileptic patient are transitory, but epilepsy is a disease. So there must be some reason for it, some cause of the disease, and Mr. Hoover has made no attempt to discover it. The Roosevelt administration has adopted no remedies for the disease, but Mr. Hoover has suggested no remedy at all. Madame Roland is reported to have said on her way to the guillotine, "Oh, Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" So with that liberty in whose name are concealed apologies for tyranny. In the case of Mr. Hoover it is a verbal device to hide realities—perhaps not consciously.

It is pointed out that during the depression 30,000,000 children were attending school and 23,000,000 auto-

mobiles were driving around the country. We do not doubt, that at the time when "great estates were ruining Italy," as Tacitus has told us, the imperial Caesars were able to point to similar signs of "prosperity" in a dying civilization. This is one of the curious tricks the imagination plays us when a purpose is to be served, or shall we say, when privilege is seeking a defense. Under the deceptive cry of "liberty" the Republican party may yet be able to rally a successful opposition to the Roosevelt administration on a purely negative programme. But the victory will be an empty one.

IN these days when natural law in economics and government is set aside it is refreshing to scan a book which a correspondent, George White of Long Branch, N. J., has sent us. It is entitled, "The Science of Government Founded on Natural Law," and was written nearly a hundred years ago, in 1841. The author is Clinton Roosevelt, undoubtedly an ancestor of the president. We quote the opening paragraph which is noteworthy: "I toil and toil and others reap the fruits. Who will show me real good? To whatsoever point I turn my sorrowing regards, naught but misery and the prospect of still greater misery do I witness. Whichsoever party gains the victory, we still bear the burdens of society. In Great Britain also, the land from which our statesmen with an apparent consciousness of mental weakness, copy all their precedents and principles of law and government, it is self-evident, that with the increase of the means of happiness, the great body of producers have the less and less, and if like causes still effect like consequences, so must it be in time with us when our public lands shall all be occupied. Yea, even now, those who produce the most by genius and industry secure the least, while those who seek not to perform that which is truly useful to society, accumulate the most of all the fruits of toil and ingenuity." There is a little after this in the work of Clinton Roosevelt that is fundamental, but the kindly vision that inspires much of what follows, though quaintly and imperfectly expressed, makes significant reading at this time.

WE have received much interesting correspondence from E. W. Nicolaus, of New Zealand, editor of the *Commonweal* and one of the leaders of the Commonwealth Land Party of that country, with Father J. A. Higgins,

who is official interpreter of the Encyclical for New Zealand. This correspondence is so important, revealing as it does a new attitude on the part of a distinguished priest toward our philosophy, that it must be dealt with in a manner befitting its significance. It may have such far-reaching results that what has already occurred must be laid before our readers in detail, supported by other developments which in the next few months may be forthcoming.

The Henry George Congress

THE Ninth Henry George Congress has met and adjourned. It is time to take stock and ask ourselves if anything really worth while is accomplished by these annual events.

It is delightful of course to meet the old friends. Personally it was a marvelous experience to meet Chas. B. Rogers of Fort Atkinson, Wis., and James C. Fuller of Kansas City, with whom we have corresponded for many years; Mayor McNair, with his breezy personality and his politically inventive mind; John Z. White, splendid veteran of the movement, untouched by the years, eloquent and vigorous as ever; Claude Watson, with his splendid enthusiasm; A. W. Falvey, whose plans of organization (somewhat too elaborate and complex we thought), which had entailed much self-sacrifice in study and deliberation and for which he deserves our thanks.

We have to note, too, the clear rational thinking contributed by Henry Hardinge to the proceedings; the constructive suggestions of Mr. Evans, the radio talks and addresses by Mrs. de Mille, Mr. Hennessy and Clayton J. Ewing at a number of Chicago churches.

These are to be listed on one side of the ledger—how about the other side? The total amount of money paid out by those attending the convention must be close in the neighborhood of \$10,000—perhaps more. What could be done with this money? Say one thousand free scholarships in the Henry George School of Social Science, or a contribution to John Lawrence Monroe, whose work in the formation of local clubs is one of the most valuable of our activities.

What we say is in no sense a criticism of Secretary Williams nor of those responsible for the programme of the conventions. We have to try things. They have done what they thought best under the circumstances. But may be it is now time to retrace our steps, or at least to bring the history of these annual gatherings for the last nine years to a critical examination of their value.

We do not think that the real pleasure experienced in meeting the old friends a sufficient return to justify these annual conferences. What we have to consider is the effect upon the movement, whether the result of the money and effort expended is to advance the cause as a whole. Frankly we are in doubt. We might timidly

advance a counter programme for which we would like consideration, which is the appointment of a Henry George Day and the celebration by local meetings in every city in the United States with appropriate exercise under the auspices of the Henry George Foundation and the Henry George Fellowship. Such nation-wide celebration would, it seems to us, attract attention which would arouse both local and national interest. The day selected for such celebrations might be Labor Day which is near enough to the birthday of Henry George.

We might list as liabilities of the recent annual conference the speech of Clarence Darrow in its possible effect upon strangers who might have attended, the strange pleas for income and inheritance taxes, and other lapses from the true faith and sound economics which could not but have amazed some of the men and women unacquainted with the vagaries of our good friends. At other times we have been compelled to listen to speeches on public ownership, proportional representation, the money question, or what will you have. It seems all so futile and unrelated to the movement for the collection of economic rent and the abolition of taxation. And though there was somewhat less of this than at previous gatherings, less of such side-tracking of the essential truth, we have now grown more conscious of it and less patient with it.

Do we get any appreciable amount of publicity to compensate for the effort and money expended? We do not. The Chicago papers gave us only an item or two. In Memphis we did better because the editors, especially the gracious editor of the *Memphis Press Scimitar*, are liberal and friendly. But John Lawrence Monroe gets more space for a single lecture or interview. Is it not time that we pause and consider?

THE PROCEEDINGS

MORNING, Oct. 8.—George E. Evans, president of the Henry George Foundation, presiding. Invocation by Rev. Peter Tkash, orthodox Greek pastor from Pittsburgh. Mr. Evans read the chapter on Liberty from "Progress and Poverty" and quoted from Patrick Edward Dove. He reviewed some of the happenings of the year, the work of Single Tax clubs, and the labors of Mayor McNair of Pittsburgh. He paid a tribute to Oscar H. Geiger and Sir. George Fowlds who have passed away. Mr. Clayton J. Ewing spoke on "The Psychology of Success," and Hon. Fred Pease, Mayor of Milk River, a Single Tax town of Alberta, Canada, spoke of events in Western Canada. The appointment of a committee on resolutions followed. Mrs. Anna George de Mille delivered a short talk on Ways and Means. Her address will appear later. Mr. Evans spoke feelingly of Francis W. Maguire who was in the hospital and who has since gone to his reward. Mr. Maguire's work during his illness was carried on with great effectiveness by John C. Rose.

MONDAY, NOON, OCT. 8.—Hon. Peter Witt of Cleveland delivered an eloquent address full of his usual fire.

MONDAY, OCT. 8, 2:15 P. M.—Otto Culman presiding. Mr. Hardinge, of Chicago, read a paper, and Mr. W. B. Foster of Pittsburgh, in the absence of Mayor McNair, who had been called home on official business, told of the progress in that city. A letter of welcome was read from the Mayor of Chicago and Mr. Maurice Welty spoke, his subject being, "A Message for American Youth." Mr. Harold S. Bittenheim, editor of *The American City*, spoke, his subject being, "If Henry George Were Writing Today." Mr. Schwartz of Minneapolis was also heard at this session which concluded with the reading by Victor A. Rule of a paper by Benjamin W. Burger on "The Single Tax in Perspective," Mr. Burger being unable to attend.

MONDAY, OCT. 8, 8 P. M.—Public meeting, Joseph Dana Miller presiding. Speakers, Clarence Darrow, Hon. Peter Witt, Victor A. Rule, and Hon. Abe D. Waldauer.

TUESDAY, MORNING, OCT. 9.—Henry L. T. Tideman residing. Miss Antoinette Kaufmann talked on the work of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. To this Hon. Chas. O'Connor Hennessy added a few words. Miss Kaufmann's report of these activities will be found elsewhere in this issue. Dr. Millikin of Hamilton, O., was heard, his subject being "A Biologist Looks at the Single Tax."

TUESDAY, OCT. 9, 1:30 P. M.—A meeting to consider the report of A. J. Falvey, he being chairman of committee on organization. The sense of those present seemed to be that a loose form of organization was best adapted to our requirements.

TUESDAY, OCT. 9, 2:15 P. M.—Chairman Ewing presiding. Speakers were Frank Chodorov who spoke on the Henry George School and Walter Fairchild who read of Land Values of New York in Application to the City Budget. The committee on resolutions met at five o'clock to consider their presentation to the main body on the following day.

TUESDAY, OCT. 9, 8 P. M.—Banquet. The dinner was well attended, George E. Evans presiding. Rev. Chas. F. Kegley of Chicago made the invocation and Miss Annette Thorn, soloist of the St. James Episcopal Church, gave vocal selections. Speakers were Walter E. Demmler, Pittsburgh, Hon. Chas. O'Connor Hennessy, Hon. Edwin C. Harrison, State Senator from Cleveland, and Andrew P. Canning of Chicago. Mr. Hennessy spoke of conditions in Great Britain and made a plea for the Henry George School and the proposed Henry George Fellowship. Mr. George M. Strachan paid a feeling tribute to the late Oscar H. Geiger and Sir George Fowlds.

OCT. 10, MORNING.—August Willeges, presiding. Dr. Chas. J. Lavery, of Aberdeen, S.D., read the paper which appears elsewhere in this issue. Claude Watson, Edward Jones, Wiley Mills, and Fiske Warren spoke at this session.

OCT. 10, NOON, LUNCHEON.—The time was occupied by a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Henry George Foundation. Secretary Williams reported on receipts and disbursements. Resignation of F. C. Leubuscher was received and accepted with regrets. Mr. Foster of Pittsburgh and Mr. Fiske Warren were elected trustees. Messrs. Rule, Schwartz, Fuller and Copeland were elected members of the Advisory Board. At the conclusion the present officers of the Foundation were reelected.

OCT. 10, 2:15 P. M.—Clayton J. Ewing presiding. George M. Strachan spoke, his subject being "Worshipping False Gods." Homer Hoyt, author of "One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago," reviewed by Chas. O'Connor Hennessy in September-October number of LAND AND FREEDOM, gave a short but interesting address and exhibited maps illustrative of the growth of Chicago. He also answered questions. That great veteran of the movement John Z. White talked for nearly an hour, speaking with a full resonant voice and apparently in as fine a physical condition as he has ever been. Dr. Freyermuth of South Bend, Ind., read a letter from Senator Borah of Idaho, in which the Senator voiced his beliefs in the principles of Henry George.

OCT. 10, 8 P. M.—Claude Watson presiding. This, the final session of the conference, heard Mr. Moir of the Milk River delegation, Mrs. Squires, J. Edward Jones, H. L. Tideman. Mr. Macauley read a letter from Jackson H. Ralston on the California situation. With a final eloquent farewell message from Claude Watson, chairman, the Ninth Annual Convention of the Henry George Congress came to an end.

The rest of the evening was spent in social interchange with those who remained. The accident to John Lawrence Monroe was commented on with keen regret. The presence of J. C. Lincoln on the last day gave us an opportunity of meeting this devoted friend of the movement. Mrs. Christine Ross Barker, whom many New Yorkers will remember, came from Toronto accompanied by her daughter Mary.

Henry George Day was the occasion on Thursday of a meeting at the World's Fair of a small audience at which Mrs. Anna George de Mille and Andrew P. Canning were among the speakers.

SOONER or later we are going to learn that no nation can borrow itself rich, nor can it TAX itself into prosperity.—Los Angeles *Post Record*.

THE streamline train has arrived, following the streamline airplanes, automobiles and vessels.

But the Ship of State is still planned after the manner of the box car, the ox cart and the jinriksha, as evidenced by our antiquated revenue laws, vicious penal laws and inadequate relief measures.

JOHN EGAN in *World Telegram*.

The California Campaign

LETTER READ AT HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

IT was suggested to me some time ago that I should take part in a discussion at the Henry George Congress as to the practical ways of advancing the reform to which we are devoted. For various reasons it is impossible for me, as I have heretofore stated, to attend and take part in the deliberations. As such substitute for personal presence as it may be, I write this communication with the hope that it may be submitted to the Congress.

Let me first discuss the present situation of the largest attempt to further our general desires in the political field—the effort now going on in the State of California. The proposition which has been advanced in this State contemplates, as you know, the immediate constitutional abolition of recent sales taxes and their prohibition for the future. Further, it calls for the exemption at once of \$1,000 in assessed value of improvements on homesteads, and successively over a course of five years, the annual abolition of twenty per cent of taxation upon remaining improvements and tangible personal property. At the end of this period, for city and county purposes, and so far as the State may make a direct levy upon them, there will be no taxation whatever on improvements and tangible personal property, but all such taxation will be transferred to land values.

The importance of the proposition will be manifest when one reflects that it will affect the industrial and social life of between six and seven millions of people, and will cover a greater extent of territory if adopted than has heretofore been effected by any general measure at all similar. Furthermore, as the rate of taxation in California is high as compared with other jurisdictions where like exemptions prevail the economic effects of the adoption of the measure will be correspondingly greater. In a general way, the proposed measure, once put into play, will not go far from fifty per cent as far as needed for the complete attainment of our ideal.

The first step taken in the campaign in favor of this amendment was the unanimous adoption in September, 1933, by the California State Federation of Labor of a resolution furthering the plan. This was followed by its endorsement by the Single Taxers of Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco; then later by the approval by the Attorney General of a suitable title to be used in placing the proposition upon petitions for a statewide initiative.

A large number of people in Single Tax organizations and trade unions, as well as paid canvassers, worked to secure the number necessary to place the proposition upon the ballot this fall, the number being 110,911, and the time limit for this year being August 7. As it was, we fell short of the number by 1,599. Since August we have added enough verified signatures to give us 2,625 overplus. The result is that while the proposition will not be voted upon this fall, under the California constitution it will go before the voters at the latest two years from now, or before, if the Governor shall so designate, at a special election. We have therefore a period of education in the State which may run from six months to two years.

It is impossible to give credit to all persons concerned in bringing about this result, but particularly I am justified in mentioning the labors of George M. Patterson of Los Angeles, E. M. Stangland of San Diego, J. W. Southwick of Stockton and S. Edward Williams of San Francisco, who have given unstintingly of their time and energy.

At the present time we are making such effort as seems possible in the way of letter-writing and speaking before organizations in order to further the success of the movement. We have, however, spent very appreciable sums in the gathering together of the names referred to, and are now practically entirely without means.

Laying aside for the time being the matter of furthering the campaign, I may say that in the newspapers of California our principles are becoming the subject of discussion. In the political field we may believe that we have helped in the making of real progress. For the first time in the history of major political parties of this country,

the State Democratic platform recognizes the existence of a land question to be dealt with through taxation. Despite association with other planks sometimes somewhat incongruous and vague, the Democratic Convention at Sacramento ten days ago accepted without question the following statement:

"Large land holdings held out of use for speculative purposes constitute a means of exploitation of an increasing population and of future generations. Such holdings should be made to yield a fair tax to the State. Also our natural resources of wealth, which have heretofore escaped their just proportion of taxation, must be recognized as natural sources of State revenue and to be made to bear their just proportion of taxes for that purpose."

Our campaign may well have had its influence in bringing about the insertion of this particular plank, the more so as Upton Sinclair and Sheridan Downey, the Democratic candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor respectively, and George Creel, the defeated candidate for nomination, took more or less part in the formation of the platform and were all of them approvingly cognizant of our efforts.

In a practical way, what can be done in other States? Each State presents, in my judgment, its particular problems as to action, which problem will require careful study. In some States it is relatively easy to present our ideas to the people. I pointed out, over three years ago, in *LAND AND FREEDOM*, that the two choice States for this purpose were Massachusetts and Michigan, and after them, California. The reason then given for their designation holds good today. In those States, resort to the initiative is relatively easy. In addition their situation as to density of population makes the problem of campaigning simple, and their large manufacturing populations offer possibilities of sympathetic appeal.

It will occur to many, and with apparent force, that progress in particular States is impossible because of the smallness of known Single Taxers and their poverty of resources. This is very true, but not as important as on the face would appear. A much more important factor is the intensity with which people believe, and the individual sacrifices they are willing to make, in order to accomplish their beliefs. In a general way I would say that twenty earnest determined and thoroughly self-sacrificing men and women can inaugurate a campaign in any except the largest States—at least where the initiative and referendum exists—and with fair prospects of success.

A trouble with the Single Taxers has been that they have not realized their own potentialities of success. They have overlooked the fact entirely that the vast majority of the voters belong to the dispossessed classes, and are ready to listen to those who can point out to them how they can come into their own. Let me illustrate the point by the ease and readiness with which all labor organizations have welcomed our proposition, from the time when the Central Labor Union of New York named Henry George as a candidate for Mayor forty-seven years ago, down to the last local or Central Labor Union which has unanimously endorsed our proposition in the State of California.

Of course, we must not make the mistake of expecting too much from labor unions—a mistake which many of our brethren make when they reproach them for want of action. The labor unions, as bodies, stand ready to give the backing of their moral influence and their votes at the polls, certainly to the extent of nine-tenths of the numbers. Except as individuals may act, they will not in any considerable degree give money or systematic labor. This condition extends, I am sorry to say, not alone to the trade unions, but to the regular bodies of avowed believers in the Single Tax. They accept their doctrine in a casual way, without being disposed to sacrifice money or time in any unusual degree to advance their cause. I do not wish to say this in any censorious or captious fashion; it is probably the usual condition of affairs that few people feel deeply any call to which they profess allegiance. If this is true as to churches—a

we know it is—we need not expect anything else from those who advocate an unusual doctrine.

Purely therefore by way of illustration, and not by way of censure, I may say that not twenty people in the United States, outside of California, have given any visible signs of interest in our California contest, and by this I mean contributing money, or expressions of sympathy, or offers of help. As a matter of fact, it may well be the case that the first fervors of adhesion to the cause have been burned out in the passage of years. Among those who forty years ago were concerned in the Delaware fight and who still remain alive, we in California have heard from but one.

Referring, however, to what I was saying shortly above, when the test comes the Single Taxer who is honest with himself will have to confess that he has little more ground of complaint to the action of trade unions than he has to the usual action of those who, being better informed, should be more in earnest. May I give a quotation I heard when a boy, made by Tom Hughes, the author of "Tom Brown of Rugby," "Woe to the faint heart or the feeble knees of the man who looketh two ways."

I am sometimes reminded of the scriptural paragraph which tells of a certain man who made a great supper and bade many, and they all with one consent began to make excuses: "I have bought a piece of ground and I must go and see it." "I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them;" "I have married a wife and therefore cannot come." Now some may say, "You have striven to do too much at a time," or "too little;" or, "I would have phrased the matter differently;" or, "Fifteen years ago we disagreed about something;" or "It is useless and ridiculous to think that we can succeed against exceeding odds, and any money we give will be thrown away;" or—but the excuses for not working are innumerable.

They are also, I regret to say, those who will appeal to a slogan,—Do not follow the step-by-step method." To them I have only to say that if our principles are as fundamental as we believe them to be, there are but two methods of bringing them into play; one is, step-by-step—here a little and there a little; and the other is revolution. The latter none of us want, and when we speak of the former, let us not overlook the fact that only step-by-step do we progress along the street to our given aim, or learn a language, or acquire a profession, or accomplish any reform that is at all worth while—a comparatively recent illustration being Woman's Suffrage. In fact, the step proposed is, as I have before indicated, a very long one.

If we are to accomplish our reform which is of a political nature, it must be done through using the instrumentalities of politics, and this sooner or later. For my part, I believe that we have delayed much longer than is necessary, meanwhile erring through presenting preconceived measures in some cases, and in others through attempting the formation of an independent political party. It is not my purpose, however, to pursue this line of thought, but to call attention to another essential thing.

We have held up the Single Tax to view from every point and in every colored light. We have dissected it to the bone. We have thought that none who did not do the same could be among the elect. And we have to no small extent forgotten that this country does not operate in an atmosphere of superculture, but it is a democracy and largely ruled by the feelings and intelligence of what we call the common man. Therefore, it could not be necessary that the progress of the Single Tax should be halted until the last man in the country has taught nuances familiar to us.

Let us remember that the appeal to the man in the street can be made in simple and understandable language. He will readily understand that there are but two sorts of values—those created by the individual and those created by the community; that in the name of justice no part of the first values can be taken by the State and in the same name as much as the State needs may be taken of the value the community has originated. This simple lesson can be mastered by the most uncultured, and he can be made to realize that certainly the most of the evils of society proceed from its non-recognition.

Approaching the problem from the point of view just advanced, it will be the fortune of any speaker to make converts of the majority of any meeting he may address, the hearers not finding their benefits in land speculation. Our political advancement may not need to be halted any longer on any idea that dilettante discussions are necessary to precede it and convince the majority before we join battle.

Remember that the vast majority of men are not interested in theoretical discussions relating to some unknown time in the future. They are interested in what may happen in the immediate present.

Meanwhile we may take such solace as we can in the fact that Henry George said of the truth, "It will find friends—those who will battle for it; suffer for it; if need be, die for it. This is the power of truth."

We of California have exhausted ourselves in getting the measure upon the ballot. For the making of the campaign the next six months or two years, as the case may be, we have scarcely any funds. We feel we have a right to ask those of kindred belief throughout the country to help us, for in helping us they will be helping themselves. We therefore with confidence appeal to the Single Taxers of this country to give of their means, even until it hurts, to help on a campaign the labors of which we stand ready to undertake.

Palo Alto, Calif.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

Resolutions Adopted by Henry George Congress

IN SUPPORT OF THE HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL

Whereas, it appears to this Congress that the grievous social and economic ills of our country at this time, as in the past, and the recurrence of periods that impose vast suffering and misery upon the American people through recurrent business depressions and unemployment, are the result of causes first clearly delineated more than fifty years ago by Henry George in his great book "Progress and Poverty," and

Whereas, it is a fact becoming more widely recognized that Henry George's delineation of these causes, and his proposals for their removal constitute a convincing and unanswerable revelation of economic truth, and,

Whereas, it seems to us that the absence of a more general recognition of the root causes of business depressions and unemployment in a land of plenty and a failure to apply the simple but certain remedies proposed by Henry George, is the greatest tragedy of political life in these days, therefore be it

Resolved, that it is our deliberate judgment that the most vital public need of our times is the work of sound economic education, according to Henry George, and further

Resolved, that we commend the movement already formed in New York for the extension throughout the land of the Henry George Fellowship, an educational fraternity, having no political aims, but aiming solely at uniting men and women everywhere in a comradeship devoted to spreading the knowledge of the vital significance to human welfare of the philosophy and economic teachings of Henry George, and further,

Resolved, that we heartily endorse the programme sponsored by the founders of the Fellowship to extend its educational work throughout the United States by the organization of groups in all population centers in the country who will apply the teaching methods that have proven so effective in the Henry George School of Social Science, in sending out into the world earnest men and women equipped for leadership in good citizenship by a sound education in fundamental economics.

THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAMME AND CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN

Resolved, that the Henry George Congress regards as ethically and economically unsound those policies of the Federal Government aimed at the curtailment or destruction of the products of the farm or other forms of wealth; and further

Resolved, that we condemn the payment to landlords of large sums of public money for withdrawing land from cultivation, and thus lessening opportunities for employment, while increasing the cost of living to the masses of our people.

Resolved, that we petition the Congress of the United States to levy an annual tax of one per cent for Federal purposes on all land values throughout the entire jurisdiction of said Congress.

Whereas, the Amendment to the Constitution of California formulated by Judge Jackson H. Ralston, to be voted on at an approaching election, meets with the approval of this Convention: Therefore be it

Resolved, that this Convention hereby extends its sincere sympathy and support to our comrades in California, and invites the Georgists of other States who favor political action to assist according to their ability.

ECONOMIC PLANNING

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In thus reaffirming these statements, we call attention to the developments of the past year which have proved the correctness of our affirmations.

FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL

We, the members of the Henry George Foundation of America in Congress assembled, declare

The adoption of the Single Tax is the only means of preventing government by socialism, communism, or a form of government in which the individual becomes the servant of the State in place of the State the servant of the individual,

To attain freedom, justice, abolish unemployment and retain our democracy, we offer the economic philosophy of Henry George, otherwise known as the Single Tax.

Natural resources, land and water rights, acquired through forfeiture, foreclosure or purchase by any administration, national, State or local, if not held as communal should not be surrendered in fee simple but should be retained and let upon leases whose value is regularly assessed and collected as public revenue, thus placing all reclamation, homesteading and subsistence homesteads under the enclavial system.

IN MEMORY OF THE DEPARTED

Whereas, there have passed from us since our last meeting together fellow workers, able, devoted and deeply loved, notable among them Oscar Geiger, George Fowlds, Chester Platt, Stoughton Cooley, and Fred C. Bahni

Resolved, that this grievous loss leaves upon us who remain an even heavier responsibility for devoting our lives to carrying on the all important work we have in common, shown to us by Henry George and even more needed now than when he led us in human form as he still leads us in spirit.

Other short resolutions were adopted endorsing the Henry George School of Social Science, the Henry George Fellowship, as well as resolutions of sympathy for Francis W. Maguire (since deceased) and for John Lawrence Monroe who met with a serious accident that prevented him from attending the Conference.

An Important Point

BENJAMIN W. BURGER has written the following letter to Senator Copeland:

Dear Senator:

In yesterday's *New York Times* you are quoted:

"When only fifteen per cent of a person's blood is in circulation he is in a coma and close to death," he continued. "Until the New Deal came into existence business was in a state of coma and has been since 1929, when the panic started. Just as a person's health improves when his circulation increases, so it is with business. Now that the flow of bank credit is increasing from a mere fifteen per cent to a more normal figure, business is increasing. The coma is lifting and after the November elections the nation will soon be on the rapid progress to recovery."

Your statement reveals why the Roosevelt measures must fail. I am not a physician but the fallacy of your statement is obvious to me.

When the conditions under which a person lives become more favorable his health improves *and his circulation increases*. One of the results of living amidst better conditions is improved blood circulation, which clearly, is an effect, not a cause.

To attempt, artificially, to increase blood circulation, while ignoring the conditions which produce health, must prove ineffectual. Like wise, when business is active, bank credit increases.

To attempt to increase bank credit, as this Administration is doing without changing the conditions that cause bad business must result in failure. Business is bad, and must remain bad, so long as it is taxed to death.

Until the people collect their full ground rent for their community needs, and abolish taxation, so long must industry lag.

To extend bank credit as a means to stimulate business, or increase the blood circulation to create health, is analogous to lighting a fire under a thermometer as the means to increase the temperature of a cold room.

Warm the room and the thermometer will take care of itself.

Rent-Producing Machines

IT is plain that if a man does not own any land he must live upon the land of another, and he must, directly or indirectly, pay to him that owns it a premium or rent for permission to be there. This is the condition of the vast majority of the people in England, and even man, woman or child in the community, who has no share in property in land, is—whether conscious of it or not—as much a rent-producing machine for the benefit of the landowners as the cattle that browses in the fields.—JUDGE ARTHUR O'CONNOR, K.C.

The Henry George School

ADDRESS OF FRANK CHODOROV AT
HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

WE who have studied the Single Tax and are satisfied that it is a fundamental truth, based upon justice and fortified by logic, are inclined to believe that therefore this great truth must somehow and at some time prevail. This is an erroneous belief, arising from a fond hope rather than a reasoned conviction.

There is nothing inevitable in an idea. No matter how fundamental a concept might be, it lives only in the minds of men. It dies with them. The transmission of ideas from one generation to another is the result of education, not procreation, and unless this process of education is continuous there is no reason to believe that any truth, no matter how cogent or how intrinsic, will survive.

Nay, error seems to have more vitality than truth, and, like witchgrass in a garden, not only outlives but often crushes it. Twenty centuries of organized teaching of Jesus' ethical precepts have brought them no nearer reality than when first pronounced; in fact, a veritable law of the jungle seems to have completely obliterated the beautiful concept of the Brotherhood of Man. In the field of political economy, instead of the perfectly ordered and truly pragmatic philosophy of Henry George, the world is accepting and putting into practice the impossible, crazily-conceived and soul-destructive notions of Karl Marx. If it is true that "the truth will prevail"—a compensatory shibboleth for those who are too lazy to make it prevail—then it follows that socialism must be true and the Single Tax false, since we find that socialism is being written into the fundamental laws of all nations, including our own, while the principles of economic freedom and human progress find acceptance only in esoteric and inconsequential groups.

The truth does not of itself prevail. To make it prevail, it must be iterated and reiterated, honestly, fiercely and intelligently; it must be constantly sown in the minds of men by every known method of propaganda, and the sowing and re-sowing of that truth must be accompanied by just as careful and continuous plucking of the weeds of error. It is, I believe, because we have not been as diligent in this process as we should have been, that the great truth we so fervently believe in has been submerged in a sea of socialistic falsehood.

The truth may be lost, forgotten for long, long years. As I said, ideas live only in the minds of men, and when the natural order of things the men pass on, their ideas pass on with them. We know that the effect of the private ownership of land was known to Moses, to the Gracchi brothers, to Spinoza, to Thomas Jefferson, and to many others. Each in his time called the attention of his contemporaries to the inequity of this system; and each

passed on. Even though Henry George gave to the land question the most complete and most convincing expression, what warrant have we that even his treatment of it may not be obliterated by the destructive hands of communism and fascism which are crushing thought throughout the world?

For seventeen years I have been engaged more or less actively in the Single Tax movement. I have attended many Single Tax gatherings. Do you know what impressed me most when I first went to the meetings? It was the fact that the active workers in the movement were mainly old men and women, and I wondered whether I, a young man, had any business with a movement so dominated. Many of these valiant workers have passed on and I am rapidly approaching the same period of old age. As I look about this audience I notice that the average age of this group must be, if you will pardon my frankness, about the half century mark. In the parlance of the insurance actuary, our period of expectancy is probably not over twenty years—a very, very short time.

Unless we start making converts to our cause, and start very quickly, we can look forward to the gradual attrition of our movement, and to the relegation of the philosophy of Henry George to the dust-covered dullness of seminary study. Unless we do this at once we can look forward to the Single Tax becoming within twenty years merely a subject for research workers to comment upon as an oddity of the 19th Century.

It was with some such apprehension that our late, beloved Oscar Geiger started two years ago a school—the Henry George School of Social Science. He started it entirely with his own meagre resources. He was advised by sincere friends to delay this venture because of the almost insurmountable financial difficulties he would encounter. But he could not delay. He knew, as he told me, that his years were numbered, that the need for the work was great, and with a faith born of supreme love he undertook his task of creating Single Taxers through the orderly process of education, thorough education. But the task was too great for his frail body. In two years he laid the groundwork for one of the most necessary steps in our movement, and he did it by taxing his strength to the limit, by depriving himself of necessary relaxation, by living frugally. He died a martyr to our movement.

Geiger is gone. But even in his going he helped the Single Tax cause, for many of us who were not as helpful as we might have been during the two years he slaved for our School, (and a number of his students) have been inspired by the memory of his martyrdom to carry on the work he started. Enough money has been subscribed to enable the School to conduct its work for the ensuing term. We have been fortunate in being able to secure the services of a very excellent director, Mr. Norman C. B. Fowles, who combines with his thorough

knowledge of the philosophy of Henry George a keenly analytical mind, a power of persuasion arising from deep sincerity, and a thorough business training that augurs well for the orderly progress of the institution. Mr. Fowles will be assisted in his work by a group of ardent workers, who, it is interesting to note, are mainly young graduates of the School who have been inspired by the teachings of our great prophet.

The second year of Oscar Geiger's work saw the School firmly established in a home of its own—in a presentable, centrally located New York building, with classroom, library, office—all the appurtenances of a regular institution. More important than its physical progress was the fact that the Board of Regents of the State of New York had recognized the School by granting it a temporary charter—which will become permanent if, within the next three years, enough support is given the institution and enough students attend its courses to assure its permanency. This recognition of the Board of Regents is quite important. It is the first time, I believe, that any governmental educational body has given its stamp of approval to the teachings of Henry George—the first time that "Progress and Poverty," "Protection or Free Trade" and the "Science of Political Economy" have been used as text books in any recognized school in this country. This recognition in New York carries with it a very significant corollary, for teachers in the elementary and high schools in that State are entitled for their attendance at our School to receive "certificates of alertness."

This certificate of alertness is issued only by recognized institutions of learning. It is accepted by the State Board of Regents as an evidence of the teacher's desire to improve herself or himself culturally, and is taken into consideration when this teacher applies for advancement. A knowledge, therefore, of Henry George has a very real, intrinsic value to every New York school teacher. Do you realize how important this is to our movement? We are able to appeal to these teachers to study our philosophy not only because of its great message of human freedom, but also because a knowledge of it will help them in a material way. What finer body could we add to our cause than these men and women who are moulding the minds of the coming generation? While the school work must of necessity be purely educational, without propaganda, I defy anyone to teach "Progress and Poverty" without emphasizing the great change in our social order that must follow the institution of the Single Tax, and I defy anyone who has studied this book to avoid telling others about it. There are 36,000 school teachers in the City of New York. What a wonderful field for us to work on!

The school year is divided into two parts. Part One consists of a study of "Progress and Poverty" and of "Protection or Free Trade." The text books for Part Two are "The Science of Political Economy" and Prof.

Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George," which is, by the way, the greatest contribution to our literature since Henry George. There are fifteen lessons of two hours each in both parts, making a total of sixty attendance hours. The class room work is, of course, accompanied by home study of at least equal duration. Oscar Geiger left us a detailed teacher's manual, consisting of a series of questions covering every chapter in "Progress and Poverty." These questions the students are required to answer in class, and discussion among the students then ensues. Can you imagine any more thorough method of making converts to our movement? The graduates of this School not only know Single Tax, they are prepared to teach it.

The extra-curricular work of the School consists of monthly forums held in a public hall. As a rule these gatherings are addressed by one of the old guard, but some of the students last year were sufficiently advanced to be able to make speeches of their own; they always engage in the discussions following the main address. Also on Saturday afternoons the School conducts a young folks' discussion group—mainly high school and college students who foregather to discuss topics of the day. While the director helps to keep these youngsters in line economically, they do most of the talking. There are boys and girls in this free-for-all from sixteen years of age to about twenty-one—and it would do your hearts good to hear them talk Single Tax. Tea is served.

The School also conducts a correspondence course. It is significant that one of Geiger's graduates, now a senior at Columbia University majoring in Economics, has been placed in charge of this department by the new director. This course, covering only "Progress and Poverty" so far, was taken by about fifty students last year. I have been studying and reading "Progress and Poverty" for the past twenty years, and I really thought I was thoroughly versed in the subject, until I received from Geiger last year the printed questions which the correspondence students are required to answer. I must confess that there were a number of questions which I could not answer without making reference to the text book. I do not believe there is one in this assemblage who could answer all the questions propounded in this course without doing likewise. Try it. Send for the correspondence course and you will discover how much of "Progress and Poverty" you have forgotten—and you will realize, moreover, how thoroughly grounded in Single Tax are those who take the course. The correspondence course is not divided into terms; it is a continuous performance.

Last year, which was really the first completely organized year for the School, eighty-one students enrolled in Part One. Every one of these students paid ten dollars for the course. More than half of these took Part Two, which also carries a ten dollar fee. Text books are furnished by the School. The majority of those enrolled

were public school teachers, but there were also business men, lawyers, college students, a journalist and others.

At the completion of the first school year a commencement dinner was held, which was attended by one hundred and fifty-one persons. That the School, which is conducted purely as an educational institution, where knowledge rather than propaganda is emphasized, really produces Single Taxers, was shown by the fact that the graduates organized themselves into a students' council for the purpose of increasing attendance at the School, raising funds for this purpose, and for considering ways and means for advancing a knowledge of the Henry George philosophy. I will refer to this work again later. There are no Single Taxers in this room more ardent than those who have taken the course at the School.

(Here follows a summary of the enrollment for this year's course:)

STATEMENT OF DIRECTOR N. C. B. FOWLES

We are about to enter our third week of class work at the Henry George School of Social Science. We have nearly 140 young people enrolled in our classes and are hoping to tax our maximum capacity at an early date. Of this 140 there are less than five who have ever had real contact with the writings of Henry George. These young people are as fine a lot of young people as the most meticulous Single Taxer could possibly desire. Eager, energetic and anxious to learn that ails the world and to do their part in producing order out of chaos if it is left to them.

There are twenty-two teachers from the New York City Educational System here to gain "Alertness Credits;" sixteen of the more capable students from Universities and High Schools in this vicinity; twenty-six from business offices comprising executives, secretaries, stenographers and clerks; thirteen from the professions exclusive of teachers. The balance consists of salesmen, housewives, tradesmen, etc. There are five young clergymen enrolled. Surely groups such as these are what we need.

The classes are conducted by such representative believers in Henry George as Stephen Bell, Otto K. Dorn, Walter Fairchild, Will Lissner and the Director. Mr. Lissner took both courses under the late Oscar H. Geiger last year and is conducting Part Two this term. He is a young man and a staff writer on the *New York Times*.

All of the instructors came forward without personal consideration to do their part in serving the School—moved by the knowledge that at last a practical plan had been developed of securing the necessary new blood in our movement to carry George's proposals into all walks of life.

Thirty-seven of the students now enrolled came to us through former students now members of the Student-Alumni Council—an evidence of how the School can be made to perpetuate itself, that should justify much to those who "care."

An evidence of the splendid inspiration of the late Oscar H. Geiger is exemplified in the person of William W. Moore, a young Columbia student who, after taking the course under Mr. Geiger last year, handles the Correspondence Courses in connection with the Henry George School of Social Science. Much more could be said about all this but enough has been told to indicate that our late founder at last hit upon a most effective plan whereby we, whose hair has grown gray in this movement, can enlist the energies and intelligence of our young people in the "Great Solution" which George and Geiger both gave their lives to advance.

This School, a memorial to the genius of its founder, affords a plan whereby a constant stream of our young people may pass through our class rooms, receiving in their passage a thorough knowledge of our great philosophy and take their place in a con-

stantly growing Student-Alumni Council to insist upon Reason and Justice as necessary view-points in the economic councils of men.

And now, let me ask a pertinent question. Why are we gathered here? Why have we come from all parts of the country to attend this conference? Surely not from selfish motives, nor even for a desire to meet other Single Taxers for mere social intercourse. We come to these gatherings because we hope that out of them somehow a practical programme for the advancement of our cause will be discovered and put into practice. We want the Single Tax. But we know that until there is a substantial number of people in this country who are of the same conviction as we are, the hope of enacting this fundamental change in our laws can hardly be thought of. In other words, the first requirement of a successful Single Tax movement is—more Single Taxers—many, many more than we have now.

I dare say that every one in this room became converted to this cause after reading "Progress and Poverty." You may have been influenced to read the book by some friend, or by hearing someone talk on Single Tax. But you really were not a fullfledged convert until after you had read the book. Now then, if that is how you became one of the elect, it would seem to me that the one method of proselyting which should suggest itself to you most readily would be any scheme whereby others would be brought to study the book. No matter what form our movement eventually takes, right now the practical thing to do is to make more converts to our cause by teaching the gospel at the fountain head where all of us have studied. And there is no more direct and thorough method of doing this than by the school method as evolved by Oscar Geiger.

Schools should be started everywhere in the country. They need not be pretentious affairs such as the one in New York. Everybody in this room can start a school in his or her living room. One New York business man conducts a class in his office at night; he has eighteen students this fall, mostly business associates. If every Single Taxer here were to make it his or her task to teach "Progress and Poverty" to a half dozen people once a week, beginning next month, just as it is done in the Henry George School, do you realize that by February 1, we should have several thousand more Single Taxers? What a lot of pleasure it would be to every one of us to do this! What satisfaction it would give us to know that we have done a bit of really constructive work?

The School has prepared a Teachers' Manual for just this work. It consists of a series of questions on each chapter of "Progress and Poverty" which your pupils must be prepared to answer. It also gives suggestions on how to conduct classes and to direct discussions. The School will have this manual ready for distribution very shortly. It will be sent on receipt of one dollar, which barely covers the cost of production. The trustees of the

School hope that a thousand classes will be started in all parts of the country this fall, and have optimistically ordered that many manuals.

I mentioned the fact that the graduates have organized themselves into a Students Council for the purpose of increasing attendance at the School. Their first step was to found an Oscar Geiger Memorial—which consists of a fund of money to be used only to buy scholarships for those who desire to take the course but are unable to pay the tuition fee. Already two thousand dollars have been subscribed to this fund, which means that two hundred will thereby be enabled to take the course. Scholarships have been extended to unemployed school teachers who are anxious to secure certificates of alertness for later advancement, to social service workers, to college students and others. A Thursday night class of business men has been augmented by the use of scholarships on the assumption that these business men will pay for their tuition after they have attended the classes and have learned that our method is the only sane, logical, practical one for the solution of the problems of business.

The School Council has requested me to ask you to subscribe to the Oscar Geiger Memorial so that more scholarships can be given, more converts to the Single Tax cause made. It is the hope of the Council that one thousand students can be enrolled in the class starting after the Christmas holidays. If that hope is realized, it is evident that a body of Single Taxers will have been created by graduation time next May that will be a sufficient guarantee for the continued operation of the School without any necessary appeal to old time Single Taxers—to say nothing of securing a permanent charter from the New York State Board of Regents. If the School can teach the Single Tax to one thousand men and women each term, it is quite evident that within a few years there will be enough Single Taxers in the City of New York to make possible a really effective campaign for the enactment of the Single Tax.

Many of you will remember the campaign conducted during the war to secure adoption of French and Belgian orphans by Americans. The foster-parents and the foster-children rarely ever met, of course, but correspondence between them was encouraged. Now, the School Council comes to you with a request that you adopt a Single Tax orphan—somebody in the vicinity of the School to whom a scholarship can be offered. If you know someone in New York to whom you desire to offer the course, that person shall be told of your offer and urged to accept it. If you have no choice, the council will see to it that your scholarship will be well placed. And at the end of the school term your orphan will write you that he or she has completed the course which your generosity has provided. Thus you will have the satisfaction and pleasure of knowing that your ten dollars have actually produced a new Single Taxer. You will not have contributed to paying for rent, or a secretary, or postage,

or printing, or railroad fare—your money will make a Single Taxer. And you will receive a receipt at the end of the term from the convert you have made.

Nor are you limited to one orphan. Every ten dollars subscribed to this Geiger Memorial Fund will provide one scholarship, every hundred dollars will provide ten scholarships. You can have an entire orphanage of your own. Or, if you cannot afford ten dollars send what you can; your contribution will be added to others to make the necessary tuition fee for one scholarship. This is a sure-fire way of making converts; it has been tested and proven effective. It is the way you and I became Single Taxers. Think of all the money that has been spent on Single Tax efforts that have been so meagre in results, when this method should have suggested itself to us years ago. It is so obvious, so simple, that it has escaped our attention. Oscar Geiger has shown the way. Let each of us follow along this right path and adopt at least one Single Tax orphan today. Perhaps the orphan you adopt will be the great political genius, the realist who will inject into our movement that measure of practicability which it has always lacked, and will lead a future generation of Pharaoh-ridden slaves to the Land of Promise.

Untax the Forgotten Man —The Consumer

ADDRESS OF DR. C. J. LAVERY
AT HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

FORTY-ONE years ago it was my privilege to meet Henry George here in Chicago and hear him expound his philosophy of the more abundant life. He was a prophet and foretold the social and economic mess in which we have been floundering the last five years. His method is so simple that legislators of the nation and the States should understand it. I believe many of them do but are restrained from adopting it through force of habit.

HABIT

Habit is a powerful thing. It makes legislators levy processing taxes, sales taxes, gross income taxes and net income taxes on industry when they should know that they reduce purchasing power and continue the vicious cycle that might be interrupted by taking the public product, land rent, for public expenses. They change the name but not the nature of the tax that they impose because of habit. Instead of taking the load off the overburdened farmers, railroads, gasoline and motor vehicles they apply another tax with a new name, because of habit.

SLOGAN

Last year, Mr. Thomas Rhodus, in a speech which was published in *LAND AND FREEDOM*, gave us a slogan "Take Taxes Out of Prices." That, I believe, is an im-

portant contribution. It is my purpose to direct your attention, and I hope, the notice of legislators, to a rational course of action that will do that.

FARMERS' NEEDS

I am a farmer, owner and operator of a farm in South Dakota. I know what farmers need. There are three essentials that are costing us more than we can afford to pay, namely: Land on which to work, transportation, and governmental activities. Our greatest expense is transportation, and that is not only true in respect to farmers; it is the largest one item of expense that every one pays. Our second highest is land to use, and that is also true of all citizens. The price of land must be reduced. Taxes are third in importance and must be shifted from transportation, which affects the price of goods. This also applies to and affects the entire population.

TAX EXEMPTION

Our carrier charges could be reduced materially if in exchange for such reduction our Federal Government would exempt *all* transportation industries from their present duties as tax collectors. Congress alone can do that. It would take years for forty-eight State legislatures to give us that relief. A Federal levy of one per cent on *all* land values, urban and rural, would yield the national treasury about one and a half billion dollars a year; which approximates the taxes on railroads, motor vehicles, gasoline, and other transportation facilities for *all* governmental purposes.

MOTOR VEHICLES AND GASOLINE

The National Automobile Chamber of Commerce declared that the sum of over one and one eighth billion dollars was paid by highway users of the United States for their 1933 motor vehicle taxes. The State and Federal gasoline taxes, excise taxes and registration fees were the biggest items in the bill. Out of each dollar the average motorist spent for gasoline, taxes ate up 30 cents. In spite of so called over-production gasoline is taxed so high that many folk can not buy it. Farmers use 26 per cent of all trucks. United States residents own one motor car for every five and one-quarter inhabitants. Just think of those facts when the crying need is more purchasing power.

RAILROADS

Now view the railroads. They are paying over one million dollars a day in taxes. Add the cost of their tax departments and interest on moneys involved and their total tax cost is over three million dollars daily, all added to their rates and paid by consumers, in high prices for goods and services.

TAXES VERSUS BUYING POWER

The cost of motor vehicle and railroad tax last year hindered consumers buying two and a half billion dollars worth of products of labor. Please visualize the extra

wants that such a huge sum might have satisfied were taxes taken out.

I hold no brief for the railroads, the motor vehicle makers or the oil companies, nor have I any idea what their reaction will be to this proposal, but I do represent many farmers, who want freight rates cut 50 per cent.

The need for such an adjustment is urgent. Our foreign markets are gone. We are no longer a debtor nation, former-foreign creditors are now interested in other producers who are in debt to them. We must find a new market for our farm and factory products. We can make it here at home and a better one, by shifting taxes from our carriers to land values. Of our entire population 92 per cent are consumer-workers who will gladly buy 10 to 15 per cent more than they do now if Congress will "Take Taxes Out of Prices."

It is also urgent because our frontier is gone. For two decades there has been no common land to which our people could go and produce their living. We must open up a new frontier. There is but one way to do that; namely, tax land values.

A FEDERAL JOB

We can not wait for the several States to make the required changes in their tax structures. We must petition and importune Congress, collectively and individually, to start this sane and workable method for recovery by exempting *all* carriers and their facilities from *all* taxes, and underwriting any and *all* such tax levies by States or other taxing bodies, that measure of relief to be financed by a Federal levy of one per cent on *all* land values. A good start in the right direction needs no more; and, to be successful, we must not compromise on anything else. *All* taxes must be exempt so that tax departments can be eliminated.

LAND LEASE CONTRACT

The land tax cannot be passed on to consumers except by lease contract and that subterfuge is not always certain. Landlords don't like it too well. Any rise of the land value tax will tend to do away with that evil and other economic and social dislocations. It will make reform possible.

There is a maxim that good salesmen know and heed: "An appeal to reason that is not also an appeal to a want is never effective." Now let us reason together. Cheaper land and building material would eliminate slums without aid or benefit of government. Building contractors would borrow money from the banks and buy material, hire labor, and then the sound of the hammer would be heard in the land and thus circulate more money and employ the idle. Everybody is paying carrier taxes now, and we know that the landlord pays no tax. Every one knows that that is not a "Square Deal," or a "New Deal;" so it can not be Rooseveltian. Now consider the want side. Farmers and everybody want lower freight rates.

I want this adjustment by Congress about \$1,000 worth per year. Builders and all shippers want lower freight rates. Wage earners want their pay check to buy more things. Railroads have been clamoring about taxes for years, but they are not politicians.

Farmers need no other help from government and it can give no other without "Robbing Peter to pay Paul." Each farmed quarter section would save annually about \$350.00 and the additional one per cent land tax would cost it an average of \$19.60 in South Dakota; a clear profit of \$330.40 for each 160 acres. A 50 per cent cut in freight rates would do that.

LABOR

How about labor? Wage earners could buy the things wanted for less money and would sell their product, the labor of their hands and head, on a constantly rising market. Any legislation, however devised or executed, can not relieve labor of its obligation to pay all land rent, all wages, all interest, and all profits; but *can* remove the cost of government, taxes, by shifting that load to land values, starting with transportation taxes.

Where is the money going to come from? Land monopolists will pay the bill, and that is as it should be, as the most valuable land is all monopolized. It will come from land rent and will cancel an equal amount of taxes if Congress legislates in the interest of 92 per cent of the population, the consumer-workers; instead of maintaining the other eight per cent in the enjoyment of their tax-free monopoly.

RAILWAYS PUBLIC HIGHWAYS

Railroad rights-of-way are public highways and should be tax and rent free. They, and *all* other land owned by the railroads, should be purchased by the Federal Government at what they cost and paid for by retiring an equal amount of their funded debt. That would take them out of the land business and reduce their interest charge. They could then concentrate on railroading.

NO PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Right here let it be distinctly understood that public ownership or operation of the railroads, their betterments or equipment, should not be considered for three reasons: First, railroading is industry, and government should not engage in industry or business in competition with citizens, except a natural monopoly, and railroads are no longer that. Second, our politicians are not, in any sense, qualified to organize, direct, and operate railroads, and until they are, we want none of them in *that* activity; and third, it would be more bureaucracy, and bureaucracy mad with power and graft. We have enough, and a surfeit of that now.

NOT CONFISCATION

It is impossible to make common carriers pay taxes, but not so with landlords who hold valuable land out of use for speculation. It is hard, however, to visualize any landlord being reduced to the breadline. If William

Randolph Hearst had to pay an extra one per cent tax on his 240,000 acre San Simeon ranch, or his block after block of rich land in New York City, or his rich mineral land in the Black Hills in South Dakota, I believe that the Hearst family would still eat. It might hurt Columbia University while receiving land rent of \$3,600,000 a year for the site under Rockefeller Centre, and also Trinity Episcopal Church in New York City, with productive land assets of \$27,879,400; but there might be compensations. A land value tax of one per cent, or even higher might not be an unmitigated misfortune to any of the eight per cent of our population.

RUSSIA

I wonder if the "Once Was" landlords of Russia are now cursing themselves for being so stupid when they were governed by habit, and made the consumer-worker pay all land rent and all taxes as our landlords are doing today. I wonder if our landlords and legislators ever think of that. It is excellent food for thought.

We, here in America, have a different and better way to reduce, and eventually adjust, our economic, social and political dislocations. Our method will be slower perhaps than the Russian, but it will confiscate no property nor curtail anybody's liberty; it will set up no dictator or autocrat; it will despoil no homes nor spill any one's blood, regardless of his previous social or economic status; it will open up our closed frontier so that our people can own land if they choose. It will be 100 per cent American.

NOT REVOLUTIONARY

The Henry George method has to be developed. It is in no sense revolutionary, nor is it a dogma to be memorized and repeated by rote. It is a course of action with tools already shaped and at hand.

Let us shift taxes gradually, step-by-step, and one step at a time, beginning where that adjustment is most needed, the transportation taxes, because they are wrapped up, and hidden, with every item of goods and services that everyone buys. We must start somewhere and concentrate on one thing at a time. This is not a plan. I hate the words: plan and planned economy. The human element renders such planning impossible without regimentation and that is unnecessary and un-American.

We should become very insistent and persistent in a united campaign directed toward Congressional action that will take taxes out of transportation prices by means of a tax of one per cent on land values.

HOW TO DO THIS

How shall we go about this job? In my humble opinion we should, here and now, memorialize the United States Chamber of Commerce, and through that body, every commercial body in the several States, every railroad president in the entire country, and the National Auto-

mobile Chamber of Commerce, and petition both houses of Congress and all appropriate committees of each, urging and asking for this imperative need at the earliest possible date.

CALL ON PRESIDENT

A committee appointed by this Ninth Annual Henry George Congress should wait on His Excellency, President Roosevelt, at his convenience, and present our united supplication that he ask Congress to approach the problem of "The Forgotten Man" from a new and untried angle; namely: Untax the consumer by untaxing the carriers.

* * * *

We present this address of Dr. Lavery of Aberdeen, S. D., with its very novel proposal. But because of lack of space we make no comment at this time. The convention refused its endorsement embodied in a resolution, after some debate and a short speech in its defense from Dr. Lavery. We leave it to our readers to make their own comment.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

Activities of the Manhattan Single Tax Club

ABOUT a dozen Single Tax addresses were made by President Ingersoll during the past two months exclusive of his speeches relating to his campaign for the Governorship of New Jersey.

Among the notably successful meetings was that of Alpha Tau Fraternity, on Oct. 27, at 438 Atkins Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., where a large audience of young Jewish students listened with rapt attention to an exposition of the economic gospel of Henry George. A mass of intelligent questions and alert discussion made the occasion particularly interesting and showed that the students had caught on to the implications of the Single Tax.

Regarding the meeting at the Unitarian Parsonage, 113 Cottage Place, Ridgewood, N. J., on Oct. 28, under the auspices of the Fireside Forum, President Ingersoll reports: "One of the most satisfying meetings I have ever addressed. Held in a neat little church in a thriving town. The pastor, Rev. Milton E. Muder, is a real personage leading real progressives. A capacity audience that made me feel at home. Talked for 15 minutes about my campaign for Governor; then half an hour on national, political and economic crises and the three alternatives they present: (1) Back to Bourbonism and monopoly; (2) 'Forward' to socialism or communism; (3) Onward to democracy and the Single Tax. Many questions were propounded and the meeting lasted until after midnight without losing an auditor. A number of Single Taxers and near-Single Taxers were present, including De Witt Clinton, Jr. A very different audience from last night's crowd of students at Brooklyn, but equally inspiring."

President Ingersoll has made more than 600 Single Tax radio broadcasts during the past year, but owing

to the fact that these presentations were mostly over the local stations, his radio message (according to expert radio guessers) possibly were not heard by more than a million and a quarter listeners. But he would have had to address about twenty thousand average Rotary Club meetings to get his message across to an equal number of hearers.

He has now completed an arrangement with Radio Station WOR for a weekly fifteen minute duly listed and advertised broadcast, and is also assured of completing a similar arrangement with each of two other leading national stations. This means that Single Taxers propaganda will be listened to over the radio each week by many millions of men and women. No such extensive, continuous use of the radio for the promotion of any economic or political cause has ever before been attempted.

A meeting of the Club was held recently at which plans for expanding its activities and increasing its efficiency were discussed and the question of securing more adequate and commodious quarters was considered.

One outcome of this meeting has been that the Club has already moved into a new room at 1165 Broadway (between 27th and 28th Streets) with nearly double the space of that formerly occupied at 1182 Broadway. And the new quarters are of more than double the value as compared with its former location, because of exceptional light and other obvious advantages. These new quarters equal those once maintained uptown by James R. Brown. There are here on display on the walls of the club room about 250 portraits of famous Single Taxers of the past and present representing every country of the world. There is an extensive economic library. Here can be seen priceless mementos, documents and souvenirs relating to our early history.

Henry George men, not only of the New York metropolitan district, but from all parts of the United States and from other countries are urged to make these rooms their headquarters, and to avail themselves of their facilities and of the opportunities they afford for meeting the comrades in the faith.

An informal social meeting of the Club will be held on Friday evening of each week, and all Single Taxers are urged to attend this meeting, regardless of membership.

The following letter which is now being sent to all members of the Club will explain the nature of the effort that is being made to improve the business set-up of the organization.

"We are undertaking to set the financial affairs of the Club on a permanently sound foundation by the securing of pledges for monthly contributions from our far-flung membership. (The activities and membership of the Club have always been national in scope.)

"To accomplish our purpose we need to secure only the

small minimum of 100 Contributing Members who are willing to contribute \$5.00 each per month.

"This will provide the Club a financial back-log of steady, dependable income and will remove the uncertainty that has in recent years attended the collection of its revenues.

"This oldest of Single Tax Clubs, whose founder and first enrolled member was Henry George, must continue its long and illustrious career and must increase its effectiveness as an agency for spreading the only gospel whereby the world may be saved from industrial chaos.

"Whether you become a Contributing Member or not, we urge you to favor us with your opinion of our plan for rebuilding the financial structure of the Club. And we will be deeply grateful if you will give us the names of any Single Taxers in your neighborhood who, in your opinion, might be considered prospects for Contributing Membership."

The Club is making a special effort to enroll young women and young men on its membership list.

CHARLES S. PRIZER.

Good News from Pennsylvania

WE know you will be delighted to hear that in our smashing Democratic victory yesterday in Pennsylvania our good Single Tax friend, Charles R. Eckert, of Beaver, was elected to Congress from the 26th District by a very substantial majority. As you know Mr. Eckert is not only a life-time Single Taxer, but was one of the founders of the Henry George Foundation and has been a trustee since its inception. He made the Single Tax an outstanding issue in his campaign and in that connection published an excellent pamphlet, entitled "Primer on Good Government and Sound Economics."

At the same time, Mayor McNair's Secretary, Theodore L. Moritz, also an ardent Single Taxer, was elected to Congress here in Pittsburgh in the 32nd District, and Attorney Bernard B. McGinnis, another charter member of the Henry George Foundation and life-long Single Taxer, was elected to the State Senate in the 42nd District.

Our new United States Senator, Joseph Guffey, I am glad to report is a charter member of the Henry George Foundation and, while not so prominent or active in Single Tax affairs, has frequently shown his sympathy with the principle of land value taxation and its practical application.

Another item of good news is the appointment this week of our old friend Hugo W. Noren, as a member of our Board of Assessors, succeeding John J. Murray, who was elevated by the Mayor to the position of Director of Supplies. Mr. Noren's name was sent by the Mayor to City Council Monday and while he has not yet been confirmed, it is altogether probable that this appointment will be duly approved. Two other active members of our Henry George Club, Charles L. Brinton and Oscar C. Stoehr, were appointed to the Board of Assessors a few months ago to fill vacancies, so the Single Tax group is now well represented on this Board having to do with the taxation function of our municipal government. In this connection, the *Pittsburgh Press* published quite an interesting article last Sunday concerning the influence now being exerted in our municipal government by the Henry George Club of Pittsburgh.

P. R. WILLIAMS.

NOT all advocates of taxation according to ability to pay are racketeers but all racketeers, are practical advocates of such taxation.

The Land Value Tax in China

THERE is a farm problem in China, one thousand years old, but only recently has there been a movement for rural reform, akin to our own farm administration complex. What this China matter really is has recently been set forth in good English by Prof. W. H. Ma, head of the political science department of the University of Nanking. This economist explains that about eighty-five per cent of China's huge population consists of farmers and agricultural workers, who constitute the foundation of the Chinese economic organization. A moment's thought should convince one that any drastic change that will effect China wholesomely as a whole must, of necessity, be based on a participation in the uplift movement by this agrarian majority. And yet for centuries this rural element has been virtually without participation in the government.

The need to give full recognition to the farming element was voiced by the late Sun Yat-sen in his famous programme for national reconstruction that is cherished almost as a constitutional programme by the republic. The patriot laid down the principle that the hsien (large rural districts) should be the basis for local government reforms. And in the manifesto later adopted by the first national congress of the Kuomintang, it is declared that "the hsien, or district, should be the unit of local self-government. That the people of every self-governing hsien should have the rights of electing and of recalling their own officials, as well as the rights of initiative and referendum in making laws."

It is further specified that 'land tax, the tax on the increment of land values, the products of public lands, and all profits derived from the forests, rivers and mines should be placed at the disposal of the local governments for developing local enterprises, relieving the poor and the aged, supporting orphans, carrying out famine relief and maintaining public health as well as similar public enterprises.'

This is a revolutionary programme, indeed, from the older method of relying on the mandarins and war lords to exercise those control and functions at their whim and will.

However, as to the expenses of the state, each hsien should remit to the national treasury a certain percentage of its income, such percentage to be not less than ten per cent or more than fifty per cent of its total receipts.

As a general resume, article ten of the manifesto announces that "the organization of rural communities should be improved so as to ameliorate the living conditions of the agricultural population." With the hsiens making their own laws and having power to enforce them, the prospects for farm life improvement would appear far brighter than ever before in the young republic's history.

New Orleans (La.) *Times Picayune*.

THE purchaser of, say a \$500 automobile, in Michigan is soaked three per cent of the price or \$15 by the sale tax. So when located near enough to the State boundary the purchaser crosses over to a more intelligent State and buys his auto there. Michigan auto dealers don't like this but are helpless. Many manufacturers are now buying coal and other supplies outside of the State and thus escape the tax. Michigan coal dealers are feeling the pinch. The legislators who passed the measure and Governor Comstock who signed it are astonished. They did not know there would be such results. They wanted to "relieve real estate," that is all. Well, real estate is being relieved all right—of a lot of paying tenants. Who ever said the sales tax is a "painless" tax had better not come to Michigan and say it.

HENRY GEORGE AND HENRY FORD

OPINIONS differ, I suppose, about the educational value of the recent Henry George Congress at Chicago, which brought together ardent Georgists from various parts of the country for the exchange of views and renewal of faith in their inspiring philosophy of just social relationships. For me the occasion was worthwhile, not alone for the pleasure and inspiration which one derives from contacts with fine personalities; with men of keen mentality and soundly logical processes of thought and expression, men interested in an utterly unselfish way in the solution of the problems of human society.

For another reason, that made an impressive appeal to my interest and imagination, I found my visit to Chicago worthwhile. Let me tell you about it.

* * *

Henry Ford's Big Show

It was before the closing of that remarkable Century of Progress Exposition on the Lake Michigan shore front. Of all the varied attractions within the gates of that big show the most impressive educational appeals seemed to be those found within the great building of the Ford Motor Company. The Ford Exposition, I am told, attracted immense crowds during the last year. Perhaps the visitors were chiefly interested in the great circular building in which were presented the exhibits illustrating the drama of transportation from the earliest historic period to date. There you could see actual specimens of man's means of locomotion, from the state chariot of King Tutankhamen to the wagons and coaches used before the advent of the first automobile. Then you were able to inspect, specimen by specimen, the motor vehicles, from the earliest crude contraption of not so many years ago to the latest finished Ford car. This transportation exhibit alone was impressive for its significance as a measure of the progress the human family has made in the invention and adaptation of means to ends.

* * *

But the Spirit of the Thing!

But to me, as a follower of Henry George, there were many things about the big Ford show most interesting and suggestive; things that seemed to breathe a spirit of Americanism in its best tradition of freedom, of knowledge of the essential fundamentals of economic truth and just government. There were legends, for example, painted high and clear at intervals upon the walls of the Hall of Transportation. Some of these legends strongly suggested to me the views of Henry George. To a bright young man in attendance I addressed a question as to the authorship of these wall

preachments. He said, evidently with pride, "Those, sir, were written by Mr. Henry Ford himself!"

It seemed to me then that I could find parallels in the writings of Henry George for most of the texts that Henry Ford placed before the eyes of the multitudes who passed through this great building at the Fair.

* * *

Ford Texts and Henry George

Since returning to New York, I have found what appear to be definite resemblances between those wall texts of Henry Ford and the views revealed in the writings of Henry George; enough to suggest that, perhaps, the great American industrialist has some acquaintance with the books of the great American philosopher and economist. For example, Henry Ford says:

1

"Never yet has enough of any good thing been produced for use."

Now Henry George has preached many a sermon from this text. He puts it briefly in "Social Problems," (p.76) this way:

"Evidently the glut of markets does not really come from overproduction when, there are so many who want the things which are said to be overproduced, and would gladly exchange their labor for them did they have opportunity."

And this way in "Progress and Poverty," (p. 267):

"For while the great masses of men want more wealth than they can get, and while they are willing to give for it that which is the basis and raw material of wealth—their labor—how can there be overproduction? And while the machinery of production wastes and producers are condemned to unwilling idleness, how can there be overconsumption?"

2

Henry Ford says:

"High Wages and Best Materials—the only road to low prices."

Henry George in "Progress and Poverty," (p. 444), says:

"It is but a truism that labor is most productive where its wages are largest. Poorly paid labor is inefficient labor, the world over."

* 3 *

Henry Ford says:

"If we had more justice, there would be less need of charity."

In "Social Problems," (p. 86) Henry George says:

"That justice is the highest quality in the moral hierarchy I do not say; but that it is the first. . . . As the individual must be just before he can be truly generous, so must human society be based upon justice before it can be based on benevolence."

4

Henry Ford says:

"Industry is mind using nature to make human life more free."

And in "Social Problems," (p. 80) Henry George says:

"Mind, not muscle, is the motor of progress, the force which compels nature and produces wealth. . . . We have only begun to grasp that dominion which it is given to mind to obtain over matter. Discovery and invention are born of leisure, of material comfort, of freedom. These secured to all and who shall say to what command over nature man may not attain?"

5

Henry Ford says:

"With one foot on the land and one in industry America is safe."

And Henry George says in "Social Problems," (p. 137):

"The occupations that resort directly to nature are the primitive occupations from which, as society progresses, all others are differentiated. No matter how complex the industrial organization, these must always remain the fundamental occupations, upon which all other occupations rest, just as the upper stories of a building rest upon the foundation."

6

Henry Ford says:

"The farm and the shop each needs what the other produces."

And Henry George says in "Social Problems," (p. 120)

"All trade, it is to be remembered, is the exchange of commodities for commodities. . . . Whatever increases the quantity of things offered in exchange for other things at once increases supply and augments demand. And reversely, whatever checks the bringing of things to market at once reduces supply and decreases demand."

7

Henry Ford says:

"The auto made roads and roads make commerce and civilization."

And Henry George says in "Social Problems," (p. 126):

"The greater distances over which produce and goods must be transported, the difficulties which separation

interposes to that commerce between men which is necessary even to the ruder forms of modern production, all retard and lessen production."

And further, "Progress and Poverty," (p. 48):

"Production includes not merely the making of things, but the bringing of them to the consumer."

8

Henry Ford says:

"If you stabilize anything it is likely to be the wrong thing."

Henry George says, "Progress and Poverty," (p. 319):

"Governmental regulation of industry and accumulation are the substitution of governmental direction for the play of individual action, and the attempt to secure by restriction what can better be secured by freedom."

9

Henry Ford says:

"The growth of food, the making of tools, and transportation—three basic jobs."

And Henry George in "Social Problems," (p. 99) says:

"Food, clothing, shelter, all the articles that minister to desire and that we call wealth, can be produced by labor, but only when the raw material of which they must be composed is drawn from the land."

10

Henry Ford (who plainly believes in freedom of trade) says:

"It is not good business unless buyer and seller both gain by it."

Henry George says in "Science of Political Economy," (p. 316):

"It is by exchange and through exchange that man obtains and is able to exert the power of cooperation which with the advance of civilization so enormously increases his ability to produce wealth. The motive of exchange is the primary postulate of political economy, the universal fact that men seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion. This leads men by a universal impulse to seek to gratify their desires by exchange wherever they can thus obtain the gratification of desire with less exertion than in any other way. . . ."

11

Henry Ford says:

"Individualism is what makes cooperation worthwhile."

And Henry George says in "Science of Political Economy," (p. 18):

"To consider in like manner any one of the many and great advances which civilized man in our time has made over the power of the savage, is to see that it has been gained, and could only have been gained by the widening cooperation of individual effort".

* * *

Basic Materials in a Ford Car

The social and economic philosophy revealed by this partial quotation from Henry Ford's little preachments to the multitude at Chicago seems clear enough. But the analogy and correspondence with the teachings of Henry George seemed particularly noticeable in one particular exhibit at the entrance to the main Ford Building at the Fair. Here was set up a large revolving hemisphere, probably twenty feet high, surmounted by one-half of a Ford V8 car split longitudinally. As the sphere revolved it revealed to the eye colored sectional pictures in bas-relief showing the sources of all materials that went into the construction of the car. Thus, life-like representations followed one another of men laboring beneath the surface of the earth, or in the fields or forests, to produce iron, copper, zinc, glass, cotton, wool, rubber, asbestos, cork, aluminum, and soy beans. From each picture as it passed, an arrow extended pointing to the section of the car on the top which was supplied with the material whose source was thus graphically depicted. At the top was the legend: "The Basic Elements of Earth Combined by Creative Genius."

* * *

"Man Must Go to the Earth"

Nearby, a compact box of little samples of iron, copper and zinc ore, and of the various other basic materials, going into a Ford car was sold to visitors for ten cents, bearing at the top the legend "*Man must go to the Earth for All Materials.*"

Thus was shown Henry Ford's educational aim—to illustrate and emphasize graphically the fact that the basic elements which labor produces by access to mine, field and forest, when "combined by creative genius," constitute the sum total of all that is necessary for the limitless production of wealth for the satisfaction of human needs and desires. This exhibit, it seemed to me, would have delighted Henry George, were he in the land of the living, as it delighted Mrs. Anna George de Mille, his daughter, when she visited the Ford exhibit in my company. This last described exhibit might well have carried this legend from "Social Problems," (p. 132):

"As wealth consists of materials and products of nature which have been secured, or modified by human exertion so as to fit them for the satisfaction of human desires, labor is the active factor in the production of wealth, but land is the passive factor, without which labor can neither produce nor exist."

* * *

"Work and Wages for Everybody"

Henry Ford may not be a Georgist; may never have read any of Henry George's books. Unmistakably, however, it would seem that his mind has grasped many of the essentials of George's philosophy of social regeneration through economic freedom. Recently, in an illuminating interview reported by Anne O'Hare McCormick in the *Times*, Mr. Ford is vehement in scorning unemployment insurance as a solution of the unemployment problem.

"That is a typically political solution" he says, "and one of the best ways to insure having unemployment."

"In general," reports Mrs. McCormick, "Mr. Ford scouts the idea that the satisfaction of human wants cannot and should not supply work and wages enough for everybody."

CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY.

A Radiant Science

SKYSCRAPERS and slums and vacant lots are results of a common cause, land monopoly, which is in its turn the result of a faulty system of taxation. And the whole question of the right to the use of the earth is interwoven with the need for revenue in such manner that political economy instead of being the dismal science it has been called, becomes the most fascinating of studies. Any science may well be attractive but the one dealing with human relations is doubly so now that Henry George has put the law of wages upon a solid foundation and given a basis for economic reasoning wherein each step is logical and orderly.

ALBERTA GEISER, in *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*.

FOR the benefit of steel trust employees Congress put an enormous tariff on steel. Since they are not getting the benefits the employees are threatening to strike. This being the case any one who honestly believes that the tariff is intended to protect labor would immediately conclude that it might as well be abolished and would tell the steel trust so, which would promptly bring the steel trust to its knees. But how many honest protectionists are there in Congress? Just as many as have given the steel trust this warning. Have you finished counting them? Neither have we.

BY strangling the land taxes the Chancellor has deprived himself of one fruitful and just source of revenue. He has done this to entrench landowners in their monopoly. They are to continue to appropriate socially-created wealth, while the rest of the community are to bear the ever increasing taxes on the necessities of life.

PHILIP SNOWDEN.

THE nine thousand words used in the Darrow report were a waste. They could have been boiled down to this: "The New Deal is an effort to resist nature and nature is irresistible."

FOR good results a trusty brain will beat a brain trust any day.

What Shall We Do To Be Saved?

By FRANK STEPHENS

THE invitation of the Henry George Foundation to its Conference of 1934 announced: "Ways and means for further advances will be discussed." The first on the list of prospective topics was: "Economic Problems." Among those following were: "What Price Economic Ignorance?" "The Problem of Ownership Income," "If Henry George Were Writing Today," "The Henry George School of Social Science," "Economics and Politics," "The Single Tax and Its Relation to Other Reforms." Surely these were enough to warrant the belief that in the discussion of: "ways and means for further advances" one might bring up questions relating to the science of economics as presented in "Progress and Poverty," especially if these questions arose in relation to immediate and pressing economic problems.

So believing I came to the Conference seeking knowledge, plainly within the scope of economic science, as taught by Henry George, which is of vital importance to those of us who are now living our religion in the Enclaves of Single Tax and to the whole movement as soon as the time comes for which we are all striving when we shall have succeeded in making our economics and philosophy matters of general consideration.

It is one of many debts owing to the Enclaves by our whole movement that in their management such questions have arisen of which there has been no recognition as being matters of great, practical importance before the Enclaves were forced to consider them. My hope was that among our leaders gathered together from far-off parts of this country and Canada would be found some to answer what we and our neighbors thus far cannot.

To my surprise I found not only complete ignorance as to the matters in question on the part of all present but an almost complete and for the most part indignant refusal even to permit their discussion. To attempt it without interference with the announced programme of speeches, I obtained from the management, leave to announce two meetings for such discussion, from 8 a. m. to the scheduled openings of the morning sessions at 9:30. The first of these brought together seven delegates, one for a few moments only, the second brought together two.

I thereupon asked that through the courtesy of LAND AND FREEDOM I might express some opinions as to the matters where no one would be compelled even to listen to them to whom the process of thinking on economics is over-difficult or repellent. Forty years ago, in the Henry George Club of Philadelphia, such subjects were discussed and debated to a general agreement with an earnestness, honesty and intelligence which is today unknown in our

movement so far as that movement is known to me. I am old-fashioned enough to believe that this may account for the living faith of those days as contrasted with the dreary uncertainty and pessimism so sadly run to nothingness in the Conference address of Mr. Clarence Darrow.

In the matter of "further advances" we are all agreed that our present advance is too slow for the feverish haste in which our entire civilization is dashing into despotism and chaos. We are all in disagreement as to the cause of that fatal slowness. In my opinion it is because advocates of the Single Tax know so little about it and are so especially ignorant of the economic truths on which our philosophy is built up as "a house founded upon a rock." So general is this ignorance that all which now saves us from being overwhelmed and forgotten as a school of belief is that the ignorance of those who oppose us, socialists, communists and reactionaries alike, is even greater.

In this opinion I quote the agreement of our gifted, learned and devoted fellow-worker, George L. Rusby, "I share your view that nearly all of our so-called Single Taxers are without knowledge of the basic principles underlying the proposition. Clear perception of the vital differences is lacking. It is this incomplete knowledge of the fundamentals of the George teachings among Georgists themselves that is largely responsible for our present drifting towards communism and disaster."

I do not believe that the cause of our deplorable slowness is, as so often urged at the Conference, that we have had so little political success and that so few of our people have been elected or appointed to political office. As we proved by the failure of the Delaware campaign of 1895-6 the rivalry and trading of our own people for election to local offices is fatal. Office holding is always dangerous to principles. Tom L. Johnson, after his congressional experience, told me no man could hold political office in Washington and not be the worse for it. So it was surely with two men whom I knew first as earnest and self-sacrificing reformers and who ended as disappointed and disillusioned office seekers, Champ Clark and Wm. J. Bryan. Everyone knows what Ramsey MacDonald once was and what he is now. It is conceivable that even Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson and Newton Baker were once honest and truthful men. Henry George said the business of the politician is to minimize resistance. Usually this is done by compromise and deceit, if not by saying what one does not believe, at best by saying only so much of what one believes as is acceptable to the majority. And the majority is always cowardly and reactionary. Further there is no necessary relation between ability to get votes and ability to legislate justice.

This is no reflection upon our friend McNair. He may prove to be the exception. But in the first place there are not many McNairs, and, in the second, hindsight, though less valuable than foresight, is apt to be more accurate.

Nor is our advance, as so often claimed in conference

speeches, so slow because we must await a great leader. We have had that leader in life and in inspiration as great a leader as ever lived. Confucianism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Christianity, these did not have to wait for the coming of a second great leader. They succeeded because of the wisdom and will with which their apostles preached the gospel of their first leader. So it must be with us and the swiftness or slowness of the advance of our cause depends upon our acceptance of Henry George as a teacher of social science and human brotherhood and the wisdom and will with which we preach his gospel.

It is in this connection I assert that willing as his followers may be to work for his truth, "suffer for it and if need be die for it," they have not knowledge enough of the science of which he is the greatest of all masters to advance his cause other than slowly and haltingly. John Dewey said the philosophers since Plato's day worthy to be classed with Henry George can be counted on the fingers of the two hands. He might have added that those of George's followers competent today to plead his cause with George's logical exactness can be counted upon the fingers of one hand.

The pleas at this Conference, the purposes of all the ingenious plans for organization and propaganda, were that we must educate as to George's teachings. Those whom we should educate first of all as to those teachings, their tremendous possibilities, and the economic science from which they are drawn, are ourselves.

All depends upon our attitude toward the teacher. I speak as one who believes he was as wise a man as ever taught and his book the greatest and most needed that was ever written. But it is too much to demand that a man writing a scientific text book, along lines in which he was to a great extent a pioneer, should make no statement that would be proven wrong by the studies and experiences of the succeeding half century. Could that be asked of those who then wrote as authorities in the science of astronomy, chemistry, mathematics, even apart from their relations to the marvelous other sciences, radio transmission and the like, of whose very existence our scientific grandfathers knew nothing?

To follow in the footsteps of a great leader one need not lie down and roll in the mud where he made a misstep. What is necessary is to move forward along the paths he opened with the guidance of his motives and methods. It is not necessary to declare that one will never press farther along than he attained. This is the plain meaning of those words of Henry George which his followers so disregard, that he did not want men to accept his opinions but wanted them to think for themselves. Loyalty to his memory does not consist in repeating words, even his wonderful words, like a Tibetan-praying machine, but in carrying on his studies in the light of the last half-century's added experience and with the method by which he so triumphantly succeeded.

As to his method of research he leaves no doubt, and

his followers have failed in the first and fundamental one, which he enforced by the precept of Socrates: "The beginning of wisdom is in the definition of terms," and by that of Marcus Aurelius which is printed before the title page of "Progress and Poverty:" "Make to thyself a definition or description of the thing that is presented to thee."

Our failure here is almost unbelievable. The five men who with myself accepted the invitation to a conference discussion of economics are prominent enough in our movement to be known by name to practically all our fellow workers. Yet not one of us could give a definition which the majority of us would accept of any of the following familiar economic terms—Wealth, Money, Interest, Utility, Value. Most of those present believed Value to be a thing, an object. And we are those who propose to educate the world in the science of economics in a crisis when the world is dashing to destruction through ignorance of that science.

Further proof of our incompetence is given by our refusal as Single Tax advocates to discuss the money question and the interest question in our conferences and public meetings. Our spokesmen push their heads into the sand, or rather into the mud, gurgling forth: "If you had all the money in the world and I had all the land what would you do if I ordered you to get off my land?" and then we plume ourselves on having silenced all questioners as to money and interest, the two topics about which questions are most earnestly asked today throughout the civilized world.

Senator Harrison in his excellent address at the Conference Banquet pleaded for more cooperation with reformers of other schools and asked why it cannot be. The chief reason is that all other groups of reformers, socialists, communists, anarchists, liberals generally, believe the money question to be of tremendous importance and are united against what they consider the fatal exactions of interest. Our little few alone among so-called reformers refuse to talk about money and attempt to defend interest by those arguments of Henry George thereon which were ridiculed and thoroughly refuted forty years ago by the Philosophic Anarchists led by Tucker and Yarros, and are not now accepted by any considerable number of Georgists.

It is not that we ought to accept the opinions of other reformers as to the relative importance of questions of money and interest, but we ought to educate ourselves on these subjects as to which "Progress and Poverty" has not taught us, or has not taught us correctly. We should be ashamed of our cowardly evasion: "We will not debate these questions with you but if you will debate the land question we can beat you." This is too much like the reply of state socialists when we ask how they, believing as we do in the common right to the use of the earth, think it can be made of effect by communal collection of economic rent and they reply: "We'll cross

that bridge when we come to it." We ought to know enough to meet them in debate on their chosen topics, money and interest, fight them to a finish there, and so give them respect enough for our knowledge of economics to lead them to listen to our arguments on the land question.

Of like cowardice and absurdity was the assertion of the gifted orator from Cleveland who twice so thrilled us with his eloquence when in admitting he is not able to answer the question Arden so earnestly asks: "How shall we assess the rental value of land when collection of economic rent has ended selling values?" he shuffled out by saying: "Let us be elected first and we'll find out what to do about it afterwards." The cheapest ward politician would not insult his constituents by such a quibble.

This is the question brought up as vital to the existence of the enclaves, a question I have asked year after year at these Conferences only to be told not to press it then and not to bring it up thereafter. Sometimes one or two delegates would rise and say they could answer it, but on following up all, either by interview or letter, I found in every case that they did not know about it enough even to understand the question.

Our fellow workers in New Zealand and Australia have gone fartherst in this inquiry. Those in England, as I know from letters of the high authority appointed to assess land values in England before MacDonald's wretched failure had ruined what Snowden had tried to do, cannot answer it. The ablest man of my acquaintance along these lines, a professional expert in land appraisal, has not answered it to my understanding, nor have the experts of the Somers System nor those two of our Single Tax editors who are best versed in the knowledge of Georgian economics.

There were present in the Conference the leaders of the various educational and propaganda groups of our movement, one in particular of international reputation, also officials and assessors of the cities of whose advances in tax reform we boast the most, and there were there also the best known leaders of the enclavial movement, but all I could secure from them was a request to take my question away unanswered and not trouble future Conferences with it.

If by an unlooked-for happening in these mad, present day conditions where anything may happen unlooked-for, President Roosevelt and his advisors should turn to one of our belief for council and should be told our faith in the results that would follow ending land speculation and land monopoly by the collection of economic rent, this is the question they would first ask if they understood our plan. Is there no one of us who could answer it?

I must not ask space to develop the related thesis that the vast majority of so-called Single Taxers are not Single Taxers at all but state socialists who favor land

value taxation. Their opinion of Henry George is in reality about that so quaintly set forth by a Chicago newspaper when first reviewing: "Progress and Poverty:" "The author appears to be a kind of communist, yet he means well"—not a profound judgment perhaps but at least better than that taken by *The Nation* in its review and consistently maintained to this day: "We have to consider Mr. George's position essentially unsound."

Yet our exhorters are right, we must educate, poorly as we have thus far fitted ourselves to be teachers, but with more vivid realization of what is likely to be the goal of the blind led by the blind. We must educate, and the time between this and the chaos of the next Dark Ages is lessening fast. Probably the so-much deplored failure to draw more young people into our movement is due to the fact that they look upon the past, the shameful record of social outrages perpetrated or tolerated by us their elders both before, during and after the World War, as an open book which everybody has read. Therefore they very sensibly have no respect for our opinions. As to the present they see that our society is without leaders or principles, in the guidance of no one.

Yes—we must educate. The Past is everybody's, the Present is nobody's but the Future—if there is to be a Future—must be ours.

Comment on Frank Stephen's Article

By JOHN LUXTON

MR. STEPHENS takes a very gloomy view of the situation as far as Single Taxers are concerned. The idea that the science of economics as expressed in "Progress and Poverty" is not fully adequate in solving whatever problems may arise now, or in the future, so far as man's economic welfare is concerned, is not to be tolerated for an instant by those who understand the Single Tax. But one must be sure that such are legitimate problems and not just fears entertained by those unable to use the tools at their disposal.

The author of the article asks: "How shall we assess the rental value of land when the collection of economic rent has ended selling value?" This question has bothered him for years and he says that Conference after Conference has avoided answering it. He claims that the existence of enclaves depends upon it.

Since selling value depends upon the economic rent the solution of the problem is simple. Destroying the selling value does not wipe out economic rent, but wiping out economic rent does destroy selling value. We are well acquainted with the latter phenomenon. The diversion of traffic from lower Fulton Street, in Brooklyn, due to the erection of the Brooklyn Bridge, caused a fall

in property values in that section following a migration of business toward Flatbush Avenue. The lower part of Jersey City suffered a similar decline due to the opening of the McAdoo tubes. Mr. Stephens seems to be under the impression that the result of taking the economic rent will first destroy selling value and thus the basis for determining rent. We Single Taxers are all agreed that it will do the former. That is the goal we look forward to. The latter will never happen when the Single Tax is fully in force. It is not so in force in enclaves where a limited number of disciples are struggling along trying to prove objectively the soundness of their philosophy. First there are county and State taxes to be paid, after these the income tax, gasoline taxes, and whatever other taxes the ingenuity of politicians and lawmakers may concoct. The opportunities in enclaves are limited. There is no great competition for certain sites, such as the local butcher, grocer, drug, or hardware store. Hence there is no bidding for sites, and a seemingly difficult job of assessing ground rent arises.

This is a problem that belongs to enclaves alone, and it is up to enclavists to solve it in the only practical way. Require of each business man an accounting of his stewardship each year; an itemized account of all expenditures and all income, the value of his own services judged by the prevailing rate of wages in the same lines elsewhere, the return on his capital at prevailing rates, all insurance payments, and a small percentage, to be determined by the enclavists in their general meeting, to be applied to an emergency fund for the particular business. These items include all interest and wages. They also include the tribute paid to State and county in the form of taxes. Since these latter expenditures are really a legal form of robbery they have the choice of deducting them from the business man's wages and capital return or of deducting them from the rental value which in the enclave should be the surplus after all of the enumerated expenses are taken out of income. I think that they should be deducted from the rental value, since in this way only is it possible for the tradesman in an enclave to enjoy the full product of his labor.

Lest it seem that this method of computing the rental value of business land in an enclave does not take into consideration the return due to a man's superior knowledge and skill, let me explain that only under pure and unadulterated Single Tax will any man receive full justice in an equitable distribution of wealth. The residential property in an enclave will have to be assessed in the same manner that the prices for seats at the theatre, the legitimate stage of course, are assessed. Such property can be assessed without difficulty at the start of an enclave's existence by considering the same principles that real estate operators consider in any new development. Any misjudgment will show itself later on and can be adjusted satisfactorily to all concerned. Later

assessments must be determined by the budgetary and site value of the lots.

So much for enclaves, of which I do not approve unless they can be made colonies free and independent of all taxes whatsoever. Can a man travel to his best advantage, when burdened like Sinbad with the old man of the sea? When the entire State collects the economic rent the problem does not exist. The selling value will have been destroyed but not the economic rent. Land is assessed now, not by government assessors but by experts in realty values, for the purpose of buying and selling real estate. There is no guesswork about it. Government assessors err very often by from ten to twenty-five per cent in assessing resident sites because graft, favoritism, and ignorance are to be expected in our method of carrying on government business on account of the prevalence of privilege throughout our social fabric. But real estate salesmen who survive the ups and downs of business depressions are no amateurs or shysters. Shysters blossom out with much noise, glaring advertisements, fancy cars, clothes, and suites, but they wither and disappear after a year or two. The real estate man whose name remains year after year rarely makes any mistake in computing the possibilities of any parcel of land. From these possibilities he arrives at the selling price. If he is commissioned to buy the land he sets a limit to his bids, starting low and working up, but he never pays more than he believes to be the real value based upon the potential economic rent capitalized at five per cent. To arrive at the potential economic rent he has canvassed all property owners in the neighborhood, learned the rents of improved property, prices asked, prices offered, length of time on the market, and all other information upon which to base his conclusion. If he is selling land he knows all these things in advance, sets his lowest price and attempts to get the highest price possible. He expects the prospective customer to meet him on his own ground and then begins the "higgling" of which Oscar Geiger used to speak. When a final price is agreed upon both buyer and seller are satisfied. The only persons taken in in the buying of land or land and improvements are the gullible and inexperienced. Can one imagine a group of investors in a power site, bankers and promoters, proceeding to buy without first having information furnished by expert engineers and real estate men in their employ?

If it is possible to assess land values accurately in private business it is certainly possible to do the same under government auspices when monopoly and other forms of privilege shall have been destroyed by the working of the Single Tax. Thus, Mr. Stephen's question which he has propounded for so many years resolves itself into a private problem for enclavists, in fact a skeleton in the closet which enclavists should be careful to conceal from the eyes of practical folk.

I am not sure that we are "all agreed that our present

advance is too slow for the feverish haste in which our entire civilization is dashing into despotism and chaos." I am one of those who believe that civilization must go on to the bitter end and end in chaos and destruction, the final end of despotism, because our present civilization is so honeycombed with class prejudice and injustice that it is not fit to survive. Single Tax is capable of working wonders with it if put into force but the working of the wonders will take years. It were better to start from scratch, let man slowly find himself as he emerges from the destruction of our rotten civilization, and with the knowledge available, and the horrible example of man's refusal to be guided by his own discoveries, the man of the succeeding civilization can profit where we have failed. But this is not the opinion of others and I offer it here only to show the fallacy of Mr. Stephen's statement. There is no need for stampeding truth into a headlong rush to oblivion simply because civilization is doing so.

Far be it from me to find fault with the faith of those of many years ago, but I am so confident of the living faith of those of the present generation who accept in its fullness the doctrine of the Single Tax that I do not believe that the Single Taxers of forty years ago were any more animated by the spirit of man's love for mankind than we are. One must not forget that in all ages those who respond to a dynamic and magnetic leader are legion, and this applies to leaders who are scoundrels as well as to angelic characters such as Christ and Henry George. We grow by what we feed upon. What has Clarence Darrow fed upon but the mental fodder supplied by the environment during these last fifty years. The Haymarket riot and succeeding legal massacres, the treatment of John P. Altgeld, the Pullman Strike, Homestead disorders, etc., to name a few, are not mental nourishment for one who believes that the Declaration of Independence means what it says.

When one considers that man is a biological entity the fact that not one of five prominent Single Taxers could agree upon certain definitions is not to be wondered at. Mr. Stephens expects too much of the human race. It is still in a state of evolution mentally. Also it is hidebound by an enormous mass of misinformation that has been accumulated from the beginning of man's time on earth and passed on as learning. To be fully educated is impossible since man spends so much of his time unlearning nonsense. I speak from a quarter of a century of experience in the educational field.

Money and interest are problems understood by so few people in the world that there is no wonder that even Single Taxers balk at trying to discuss them. This is due to confusion even in the minds of experts in banking and finance. If Communists and Socialists rush into discuss these issues it is because they have been clever enough to learn of the ignorance of the average man on such matters. Mr. Stephens should know that the late Oscar Geiger was able to confound both Socialists and Communists on the subject of money and interest, and

did so frequently at the forums of the Henry George School of Social Science. He did not put his head in the sand, not by a long shot. Lest Mr. Stephens fear these Socialists and Communists let me assure him that they are mere windbags, changing their premises and meaning of terms many times in a single discussion. How on earth can one convince such folk?

If all mankind could vision money in its true light, a draft upon the stock of existing wealth, to be used in exchange for goods or services at the convenience of its possessor, much of the confusion in regard to it would disappear. The really important problem for man to solve is the acquisition of it and not its meaning, which never was in doubt. Interest is too often considered merely as the charge for the use of money when it is in fact the return for the use of some one else's wealth. It may be that certain men believe that Henry George was refuted by this or that expert on interest, but Mr. Stephens accepts the refutation without giving reasons and proof. If Mr. Stephens lends me his typewriter and in consequence has to stop writing until I return it, thereby losing the chance to earn wages with it, or is compelled to hire one in its place, he is certainly not enjoying the use of his own property. I should make a return for the loss to him if I believe in an equitable distribution of wealth. If I don't I am accepting charity. The return is interest. No Socialist nor Communist will deny its justification in the case I mention. But we should not permit them to stray from the field when discussing these topics. From sad experience we know their methods in argument and that is the reason why many of us will not argue with them, and not that we are just cowardly evasive.

Mr. Stephens has weighed Single Taxers in the balance and found them wanting. He says that the vast majority are not Single Taxers at all but state socialists, favoring land value taxation. I must admit that after all this I am at a loss to tell what sort of Single Taxer Mr. Stephens is. Does he believe in the collection of the economic rent in lieu of all taxes, or does he believe in them with a proviso? He has betrayed his own ignorance regarding the computing of ground rent and his confusion as to money and interest. He has failed to explain why Single Taxers fall down in expounding Henry George's theory but sees a way out in educating the coming generations, admitting the shortcomings of the teachers. Perhaps the confusion in Mr. Stephens' mind comes through the refusal to see man as the biologist sees him, an animal forced to draw his sustenance for growth and repair of tissue, and for the release of body heat and energy to carry on the functions of a living organism, from the ground, the water, and the air around him and who must have free access to these great storehouses of body-building and life-sustaining materials or perish from the face of the earth. Considering man in this light, money and credit become mere tools made by man to assist him in the fulfilling of his biological mission to live.

The Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

SINCE our report in August many things have happened in and out of the Foundation office that may be of interest to LAND AND FREEDOM readers.

In September, Prof. Brown's booklet, "Talk About Taxes," was sent with a letter and book circular to our list of 1,800 professors. The booklet is a popular one, and several teachers use it in connection with their class work. Librarians have asked for it in considerable numbers. Let no one think that this half yearly work with the teachers and professors is ineffective. From it proceeds a very fair number of orders for books that are used directly in the classroom. The unabridged "Progress and Poverty" is the most popular; "Significant Paragraphs from Progress and Poverty" comes next. Recently a well-known professor in the University of Illinois placed his order with us for 67 copies of the unabridged book.

In early October we prepared a letter which was sent to 2,000 county school superintendents and 1,500 high school principals. More than fifty school officials ordered copies of "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems," or both. The letter stated in part:

"Henry George who wrote 'Progress and Poverty' in 1879 spent the succeeding years lecturing and writing upon the need for a new conscience and spirit in the planning of our economic and social life. He lived to see his great book translated into many languages and read by millions of people all over the world. Today, more than fifty years after the initial appearance of George's arguments against special privilege, monopoly, and the evils of our existing tax system, 'Progress and Poverty' and the companion book 'Social Problems' still belong in the best seller lists, and are being read by thousands."

Among the teachers and county superintendents who responded with orders for the books were the following: County Superintendent of Schools, Edgard, La.; Groton, N. Y.; Anson, Me.; Somerset, Pa.; Coeymans, N. Y.; Minneapolis, Kan.; Nazareth, Pa.; La Salle, Ill.; Allegheny County, Pa.; Marinette, Wis.; Colfax, Wis.; Washington, Ind.; Modoc, Calif.; South Pasadena, Calif.; Windom, Minn.

Recently we found that the seventh printing of "Progress and Poverty" and the fifth printing of "Significant Paragraphs" had been exhausted. Orders were placed for new printings of each. The latter book has a bright new jacket, is printed on better paper, and altogether makes one of the most attractive little propaganda books yet produced. New editions were necessary for "Protection of Free Trade," and "The Land Question," (the latter containing besides its title book the famous debate with the Duke of Argyll, entitled "Property in Land," and the "Open Letter to Pope Leo.") These books will be ready for the Christmas season. They match each

other in size, bright yellow jackets, and attractive blue bindings. Eventually we hope to offer a complete set of George's works, with these books forming the nucleus of the set, the other titles to be added later as a demand for them appears. The cost involved, however, in putting all of George's writings into print is large, and for the time being no further editions are contemplated. It is estimated that the Foundation has spent about \$20,000 in printing books to date. A total of 50,000 books have been printed, and about 45,000 distributed by sale and otherwise since 1926. *Since May this year*, 2,344 books have been distributed, of which 1,100 were the unabridged "Progress and Poverty" and 500 were "Social Problems."

It was the privilege of the undersigned to attend the Conference in Chicago during the week of October 8, and to make a report and explanation of the work that is being carried on by the Foundation. Many pleasant contacts were made, and the secretary was glad to greet among the many, such good friends as Mr. Ewing, Mr. Strachan, Dr. Freyermuth, Miss Brownlee, Mr. Taber, Mr. Warren, Mr. Waldauer, Mr. and Mrs. Tideman, Mrs. Monroe, Mr. Sikes, Mr. Merrell, Mr. Jones, Mr. Canning, the Pittsburgh group, and scores of others, well-known by correspondence, if not by personal meeting.

Mrs. de Mille and our president, Mr. Hennessy, spoke of the plans that were being made for a Henry George Fellowship—a nation-wide organization of those who believe in the teachings of Henry George and want to enlist for action. The Fellowship, they said, was an outgrowth of the student alumnae of the School in New York. On another page of this issue you will find a complete report by Mr. Chodorov of the Fellowship plan and scope.

It should be mentioned that four large posters were prepared by the Foundation and used as display placards at the Convention. One showed all of the tracts and pamphlets printed; another showed reprints and publicity used to attract the interest of outsiders in Henry George's teachings; another showed the extensive advertising placards and campaigns used by the Foundation to encourage bookdealers to stock up with Henry George's books; the last placard showed the many circulars designed and sent out in very large quantities to engage the interest of outsiders. The display was accompanied by a book table, on which every book and pamphlet available from the Foundation and from other organizations, was on sale. The undersigned wishes to acknowledge the kind cooperation of Mr. Mooney and Miss Tideman in helping her to manage the book table for the three days and three evenings of the Conference.

During the time of attendance at Chicago, the office of the Foundation in New York sent out ten thousand copies of Mr. Hennessy's article "One Hundred Years of Land Gambling." Readers of LAND AND FREEDOM will remember that this article appeared in the September-October issue under the caption "An Immensely Im-

portant Book." A further five thousand copies of the article are on order, and if quantities of 50 for \$1 are desired, it may be well to send in quickly, as we are using the pamphlets for special work among new groups and the supply will not last long. The feature which gives it special value is that after its engrossing study of land speculation in Chicago, Chapter IX. points to the Georgist argument, and a quotation from Book V of "Progress and Poverty" shows the importance of the whole land question as related to our present nationwide dilemma. This is followed by a striking advertisement for the Georgist books. Many strangers to our movement have studied this circular, and have thus been led to read George's books. At present the pamphlet is being sent to members of the American Political Science Association.

Among the interesting donations of books are the following: A copy of "The Philosophy of Henry George," and "Moses" were sent to Dr. William Lyon Phelps by our president, supplementing correspondence by Mrs. de Mille with Dr. Phelps. The October *Scribners* contained interesting mention of Dr. Phelps's appreciation of "Moses," and called attention to the Foundation as the place where copies may be had. It should also be stated that Mr. Kelly of Scottsdale, Pa., had entered into correspondence with Dr. Phelps, and that through his efforts, Dr. Phelps wrote a splendid article for the newspapers.

Recently Mr. David Gibson had us send 25 copies of "Progress and Poverty" and 6 copies of "Protection or Free Trade" to the Cleveland Public Library. Paul Bellamy, the son of Edward Bellamy, happens to be an editor on the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, and through his efforts, notice was given to the readers of that newspaper of the fact that the books were available to the people of Cleveland. A set of books was sent by the Foundation to the Chicago Public Library.

In September a postcard was addressed to 1,250 well-known book stores, advising of the fact that Ida Tarbell had written an article in the September *Forum* on Henry George, which might send some people into bookstores in search of George's books. We suggested that it would be well if the dealers placed "Progress and Poverty," and "Social Problems" in stock. Mr. David Gibson arranged for an extensive display in two leading bookstores in Cleveland, and twenty-five copies of "Progress and Poverty" were sent to each store.

As may be gathered from these reports, our work is, in the main, educational in character. Experience has shown that the most cogent appeal for the Single Tax, or the Georgist economics, is Henry George's own argument. Therefore we stress the distribution of the books as the surest way to lead newcomers to an understanding of George's essential philosophy and economic programme. You can vastly help this programme by seeing that friends and acquaintances receive some Henry

George books and purchasing them in quantities at special prices for Christmas giving. The Foundation receives your order for books, with the names and addresses of people to whom you want to make gifts, and the books are carefully wrapped, with a Christmas card bearing your greeting. They are then held until a few days before Christmas, and are timed to reach destination the day before Christmas. We have given this special service for years, and hope that as many as can will avail themselves of it, as it is a convenient and happy way of solving the Christmas gift problem for certain good friends who are not near enough, in the sense that relatives are, to receive elaborate gifts, but who would be immensely pleased and interested to receive such a book as "Social Problems," "The Philosophy of Henry George," or "The Prophet of San Francisco." If you have an idea for book gifts that you want the Foundation to help you with, write to us at 11 Park Place, New York. We have attractive and economical assortments to meet your particular need.—ANTOINETTE KAUFMANN, Secretary.

A Fundamental Difference

THERE is no evidence at hand to warrant claim that the private ownership of the wealth produced by the individual must be harmful to the community. We have not yet had the full and clear statement of the right relation between community wealth and private wealth. In order to think straight and reach right conclusions the fundamental basis of property must be realized.

Ought not our discussions start from the basis of ownership that should righteously be inherent only in the community? If we recall that immense tracts of land in this country are held by titles derived from grants made by Kings and Queens of England, do we not at once reach the conclusion that such grants were arbitrary and without any moral foundation? Thus we make clear that such rights as private ownership of land has, relate only to the force of tradition recognized through governmental acquiescence in such basis for ownership. The very fact that titles to land are continually disputed, gives the evidence respecting a wrong basis for the present ownership. There is, of course, some moral obligation relating to such legal affirmance of ownership during the centuries but that moral obligation certainly cannot be claimed to be perpetual. The history of communal life the world around and the definite re-constitution of ownership, decreed by the laws of Moses thousands of years ago, demonstrate the universal recognition of a fundamental difference between landed and personal property. This issue should be thought out by every voter for himself or herself to help toward righteous public opinion.

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY, in *Saratogian*, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

No God-Created Monopoly

WHATEVER conception we may have of the creation, we cannot honestly believe that this earth was created to be monopolized by one part of the human race, to the exclusion of all others. To believe this is to deny the omniscience of the Creator, as well as the democratic theory of the equal rights of man.

A. H. MCCARTHY in Fort Worth (Texas) *Express*.

EVERY Henry George man should be on our subscription list. Single Tax clubs should see that their members subscribe.

BOOK REVIEWS

A WORK THAT IS PROFOUND BUT NOT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND*

Moral philosophy is not an easy subject but it can be made simple and interesting. This Mr. Lambek has succeeded in doing. But though it is vastly thought-provoking the reader must dig for himself and this is perhaps a necessity for all philosophic thinking.

The author has indicated the danger of the abandonment of self-control, and rejects with proper emphasis a philosophy of life which seizes upon the pleasures of the moment regardless of a regulated moral motive.

Here is what he says on this subject:

"Every day of our lives we sacrifice something in order to gain an advantage later on; but, as it is the individual himself who determines what he will sacrifice, who judges between the cost and the gain, it cannot be said that the moral demand is imposed upon him from outside. It grows up within the individual, and can only be described as a part of the Me, an inner coherence lending it strength and harmony, a consummation of its being."

So much for the influences that should control the conduct of the individual. The author now passes on to a consideration of the social consciousness and its development, and the principles underlying an equitable society. It may be gathered that he starts right in this inquiry for he begins by saying, "Equality is the natural state." Elsewhere he says, "The central point in moral justice is the principle of social equality."

Again we quote:

"The principle of coherence in the production of values demands that the same person who sows the grain shall also reap the harvest."

He lays down four rules for the government of society, among which is that the gifts of nature to mankind should be shared by all. "The values existing in nature can neither be produced by the members of the community, nor can they rightfully be acquired by anybody as his private possession because the values had no former owners from whom he could acquire them."

There are wise words on the subject of competition, income and inheritance taxes, regulation of prices, etc. He also says: "To prohibit interest on capital must be considered a violation of the right of ownership."

We are grateful for this book. Every sentence is weighted with thought. Even where he says: "All is not done by seeing that the annual ground rent is paid into the exchequer; it is also necessary to arrange for the proper use of the revenue, so that it is employed for the benefit of all," we will not quarrel. He does not miss a single point in the great debate to which he has made this very valuable contribution.—J. D. M.

*"Government by the Principle of Moral Justice," by C. Lambek. Paper, 96 pp. Levin & Munksgaard, Copenhagen, and Williams & Norgate, London.

AN ATTRACTIVE BOOK*

In "Twenty Million Dollars Every Day" (the amount of taxes on production paid by the American people) Otto Cullman has presented economic principles in a condensed and interesting form.

He insists that "Consumers, not producers, dominate industry," and that taxes on production to the amount of twenty million dollars every day seriously cripples purchasing power. He further insists that legitimate governmental activities result in market values, and that if the government would collect these sums for its own use, instead of allowing them to be appropriated by private parties in the form of ground rent, it would no longer be necessary to burden industry with the twenty million dollar daily tribute.

In such event he argues that governments would live on their own earnings, and that private producers would enjoy, untaxed, the results of their various enterprises. This would make goods cheap, and thereby enormously increase the purchasing power of the people. In fact, the entire product of industry, including both private and public income, would appear on the market as purchasing power,

thus creating a demand that would absorb all available labor, and raise wages to the highest possible point.

In this connection, he quotes the National Association of Purchasing Agents to the effect that prices in general have not been reduced during the last century; the explanation being that as improved processes have been introduced, that normally would reduce prices, taxes and ground rent have advanced in equal or greater ratio, thus preventing the general enjoyment of the increased productive power. Mr. Cullman therefore urges that: "The machine age has checkmated itself with mass production by failing to secure equivalent consumption at the same time."

The book should be of material aid in convincing supporters of "capitalism" that there is a serious defect in customary capitalistic methods that all clear thinking men and women know are threatened with destruction by private monopoly—not by communism which, in and of itself, is an entirely negligible matter.

It is to be hoped that the book will have a large circulation among business men, to whom its appeal is frank, open and good natured.

JOHN Z. WHITE.

*"\$20,000,000 Every Day, A Plan for National Recovery," by Otto Cullman. Cloth, 67 pp. Price \$1.00.

BOOKS RECEIVED AND TO BE REVIEWED

Conference Papers at the Edinburgh Conference on "Land Value Taxation."

History of the Movement in Denmark by Fru Signe Bjorner.

AN EXCELLENT REFERENCE BOOK

The New York Red Book for 1934, edited by James Malcolm, contains portraits and biographies of State officials; returns of national, city and State elections; population of the States; 1930 census by States and counties; new amendments to the State Constitution; a list of former State officials from the beginning of the State Government; home ownership in the United States, and a history of the State Senate.

The volume is an excellent reference book for the press and those interested in governmental affairs.

Correspondence

AGREES WITH OUR CRITICISM

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In the last number of LAND AND FREEDOM I notice a letter from Mrs. H. J. Bailey, of Omaha, Neb., censuring the editor for too severe criticism of the President, and especially for sending a copy of the letter addressed to Sleepy Garment Mills, Centerville, Mich., to the President. I think the editor did the right thing. The President is surrounded by advisors who tell him only what they think he wants to hear and it is right that he should get the opinions of others.

I think we will hear much harsher criticism before 1936.

Del Piedra, Calif.

S. W. WATERS.

IS SINGLE TAX INTERDICTED?

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I went down and talked before the Mayor on the proposition of a one per cent tax on land, without considering improvements. I also stated that many people have forgotten Henry George, the man who ran for Mayor of the City of New York. LaGuardia replied he hadn't forgotten and he often thinks about him. I told him that many of his cabinet are in favor of Single Tax but they did not talk about it before they were appointed to office as they thought it was not the time, and since being appointed to office they do not talk about it because it would not be becoming, and that the real explanation, however, is that they did not have the courage then, and they do not have the courage now. I thought it best not to ask the Mayor whether he personally believed in a tax on land. I think now I should have, and here's a curious ending. Not a single newspaper mentioned I had ever spoken or that I had proposed a tax on land. The same

thing happened last year at another hearing, the newspapers carefully refraining from saying that Henry H. Klein talked on taxing the public utilities and giving facts and figures, and they did not mention my talk. I wonder if there is any way of finding out whether they have a definite rule in the newspaper offices that taxation of land values must not be mentioned.

N. Y. City.

HARRY WEINBERGER.

THE MICHIGAN ELECTION

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The election in Michigan was not exactly a display of an intelligent use of the ballot. The intelligent voter, if any, had little opportunity for such display. Probably no candidate of the major parties deserved to win, so in regard to them the result gives Single Taxers nothing to rejoice or grieve about. Two proposed constitutional amendments were defeated which should have won. One repealed the sales tax so far as it falls upon food. The other forbade further increase in automobile taxes. Both were too sensible for a legislature to submit and were put on the ballot through the initiative. They were defeated chiefly through the efforts of the real estate racketeers and their demagogic false cry of "Don't exempt wealth." However, the measures were so timidly drawn and so full of flaws that while their adoption would have been an encouraging gesture it would have been little more. Another measure defeated contained an excellent provision for classification of property for taxation. But it was coupled with an income tax provision which made its defeat most desirable. Strange to say the Single Tax idea of property classification was inserted for the purpose of securing exemption of land values from taxation.

As elsewhere politics in Michigan is a contest between blunderers and plunderers. The winner in the senatorship contest, Senator Vandenburg, opposes the blundering New Deal but favors the plundering tariff. His defeated opponent, Picard, promised to be a rubber stamp for the blundering Roosevelt administration, including naturally its plundering tariff policy and subservient complacency with a plundering land system. In the governorship contest an eminently respectable blunderer, Judge Lacy, was defeated by a similar blunderer named Fitzgerald, largely through doublecrossing of Lacy by Jim Farley's local representative, Abbott. Both candidates timidly favored repeal of the larceny known as sales tax so far as it falls on food but opposes stopping the robbery of purchasers of other things.

Of course, the present super-blundering Governor Comstock had much to do with discrediting the Democrats and encouraging the Republicans. He afflicted the State with the sales tax and was consequently beaten for renomination at the primaries by Judge Lacy. He was favorite however, of Abbott's, who revenged his loss of a renomination by stabbing Lacy in the back.

Detroit, Mich.

SAMUEL DANZIGER.

MORE OF LINCOLN

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In Lincoln biography by John Wesley Hill, (Putnam's 1920) are some interesting items.

1.—A four-page statement by Dr. Gulliver of an extended talk with Lincoln on his search for truth and for skill in demonstration. (Pages 28-30.)

2.—Mention of the fact that Dr. Robert Browne, the author of the two-volume book that has been quoted from in support of certain ideas of Lincoln on the land question, was "on terms of intimacy with Lincoln and shared a degree of his confidence which was given to few men."

3.—A story about Lincoln and the tariff. When he was asked for an opinion, Lincoln concluded mention of an incident which occurred in a grocery store where he was a clerk, by saying, "So it is with the tariff. Somebody loses; but I do not know as yet just who it is."

Long Branch, N. J.

GEORGE WHITE.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

The Crusader, edited by M. L. Kathan, of Orphir, Ore., a new periodical in pamphlet form, 16 pages and cover, is issued monthly and is full of interesting matter. It can be had for one dollar a year or ten cents a copy. Sample copy will be sent on request.

J. P. KOHLER, of Coral Gables, Fla., is everlastingly busy in the good work. In October he addressed the Citizens Labor Forum and the Apartment House Association. Mr. Kohler writes us: "I am getting in some good work here. The town is dead broke, 28,000 unemployed and 180,000 vacant lots being sold for taxes." The Miami press is very generous to Mr. Kohler and publishes liberal reports of his lectures.

We have received a pamphlet entitled "Principles of the Baha'i Faith," from Dr. W. B. Guy of St. Augustine, Fla. Dr. Guy writes us: "I am thoroughly in harmony with your ideals. Your movement is also in harmony with the Baha'i movement. The rent of land which the Creator gave to his creatures should pay all the needs of government. Why make God's gift a source of graft, injustice and profit?"

WILLIAM MATTHEWS, of Spokane, Wash., has begun his fall classes in economics and sends us a programme of his courses. He quotes from the Constitution of the State the following: "A frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is essential to the security of individual rights and the perpetuation of free government."

JAMES B. ELLERY has an excellent Single Tax letter in Gloucester, Mass., *Daily Times*.

CHARLES LEBARON GOELLER has completed the issuance of 250,000 tracts.

The Dallas Journal of Dallas, Texas, prints a letter from W. V. Howerton, of Austin, Texas, in which Mr. Howerton in an effort to enlighten a correspondent quotes at some length Dr. McGlynn's statement of his faith to the Catholic doctors at Washington. Mr. Howerton comments on a statement of the correspondent whom he is answering who says: "The cosmopolitan wearers of the rosary returned quietly to the poetry of socialistic Catholicism." To this Mr. Howerton replies very properly: "The statement carries unjust implications regarding the church."

OUR old friend Frank G. Anderson, of Jamestown, N. Y., was 77 years old on Oct. 5. His birthday was observed informally. Few among our ranks have been more devoted or more active in the good work.

The State Journal of Lansing, Mich., prints a well written defence of the Single Tax from Ray Robson.

HENRY L. TIDEMAN, of Chicago, writes: "The review by Chas O'Connor Hennessy of Homer Hoyt's book in September-October LAND AND FREEDOM is a charmingly good job. I can testify that Mr. Hoyt is not unfriendly to the Single Tax though not an avowed advocate."

ON Sept. 23 (Sunday) Mrs. Anna George de Mille addressed a Single Tax meeting at the Moonlight Theatre at Arden, Del. Her speech was broadcast. Frank Stephens presided and Dr. Henry George and Prof. H. W. Hetzel also spoke. Mrs. de Mille dwelt upon the importance of the work of the Henry George School and paid a glowing tribute to the character and work of Oscar Geiger.

ON Sept. 10 death claimed the beloved wife of E. B. Gaston, editor of the *Fairhope Courier*. Mrs. Gaston was born in 1862. She was

married to Mr. Gaston in 1887. Their five children are married and are all residents of Fairhope. The Gastons have many friends and we are sure that the sympathy aroused by their bereavement will be nation-wide.

IN our review of Harry Weinberger's "Liberty of the Press" in our September-October issue we omitted to mention the name of the publisher. It is the Oriole Press, Berkeley Heights, N. J.

COMMENTING on the offer of a brokerage firm in New York offering money at two per cent a year. H. C. Maguire of this city comments as follows: "There is no money question. You can get money for almost nothing if you offer safety for the principal. What we need is opportunity to produce."

MR. CHAS. G. MERRELL, of Cincinnati, writes: "I started to read the September-October number of LAND AND FREEDOM last evening and I congratulate you on the excellent editorial features." Mr. Merrell has written an admirable letter to Roger Babson who comments in a friendly way on Henry George and his teachings.

WE deeply regret to chronicle the death of Francis W. Maguire, of Pittsburgh, devoted veteran of the movement and popularly known in that city as dispenser of Single Tax literature over a number of years. Two months ago his health began to fail. He went to a hospital and all hope for his recovery was abandoned. He was devoted to Mayor McNair and there was an affectionate relation between the two. He was 83 years old and his death was due to the infirmities of age. Mr. Maguire lived with a niece, Ella Anderson, who was at his bedside when the end came. He had given nearly fifty years of his life to service for the cause and his one great joy was in promoting the movement which to him was the greatest on earth.

REV. MERVYN J. STEWART, of Bishop's Stortford, England, writes: "We are in all the world deeply indebted to you for your gallant persistence with LAND AND FREEDOM. The cost of absurd elections might be far better given to you for paper and ink." Which, of course, is a matter of opinion.

HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM in a recent article on the efforts of the National Real Estate Boards to secure the adoption in every State of constitutional limitations on real estate taxes, comments as follows: "Unless the reduction is made on that part of real estate which human labor has created or may create in the future, the chief beneficiaries of such limitation would obviously be not tenants or prospective home-owners but landowners and real estate speculators."

THE Auckland, New Zealand, *Star* says in an editorial on Sir George Cowd's: "Sir George was a practical idealist in a truly Christian spirit, and the influence of such a man operates long after he is no more."

VIRGIL D. ALLEN, of Cleveland, O., and a group surrounding him have started to organize the Single Taxers of that State into a statewide organization to be known as the Economic League of Ohio. W. C. Lincoln of Cleveland is president and the goal set is 10,000 members in five years.

AMONG pamphlets received are "The Fable of the Loaded Dice," published by H. A. Jackson, of Los Angeles and presumably written by him; "Our Golden Calf," by S. S. Taber, of San Diego, Calif.; "Eulogy-Stoughton Cooley," by his daughter, Norma Cooley, and "The Associated Forums" which is at once a prospectus and account of the great work of Dr. Roman in California.

from our old friend Julian P. Hickok of Philadelphia and its title is "The Nature of Land Explained."

E. C. RIEGEL of 521 Fifth Avenue, New York City, whose "Roosevelt Revalued," was noticed in our September-October number has supplemented this searching pamphlet with three others, "Are You Better Off," "Franklinstein," and "Brain Trusters." The set may be secured for forty cents or ten cents each, and are worth anybody's four dimes.

MAYOR MCNAIR, of Pittsburgh, Pa., has secured two signal triumphs. One was before the Rotary Club of Washington, Pa. A letter from the secretary William H. Dancher says: "I have heard many favorable comments from those who heard you yesterday." Another was a meeting in Pittsburgh at which opposing candidates spoke. The meeting was quite informal. The Republican candidate for Attorney-General prefaced his speech with the statement that it was "the most remarkable political gathering ever held in America." The Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* in an editorial entitled "The Mayor's Meeting," said: "The Mayor's refusal to treat city jobs as so much patronage to be handed out at the demand of ward leaders seemed to have won for him the very real loyalty of those in the hall."

The Roman Forum is a beautifully printed large eight-page paper. The number for October is before us. It contains a vastly interesting account of the trip to Geneva made by Dr. Frederick W. Roman. Dr. Roman surveys the world almost literally "from China to Peru," in an interesting recital of events occurring and to come, the latter based of course on the observation of trends visible to this keen-minded thinker. Dr. Roman's address is 214 Loma Drive, Los Angeles, Calif., and our readers should send one dollar for a year's subscription to this important publication, which is *sui generis*.

WALDO J. WERNICKE, of Los Angeles, informs us of the death of Archie V. Hahn of that city. Mr. Hahn was a veteran Single Taxer and long a subscriber to this paper. Mr. Hahn was born near Shelbyville, Ind., in 1862. He was a member of the California Commonwealth Land Party. Mr. Wernicke pays an eloquent tribute to his departed friend, and quotes the following lines the origin of which he does not give and which are unknown to us:

"Never the spirit was born, the spirit shall cease to be never,
Never was time it was not, end and beginning are dreams,
Birthless and deathless and changeless, remaineth the spirit,
forever,
Death hath not touched it at all, dead though the house of it seems."

WALTER FAIRCHILD, Secretary of the Association for Scientific Taxation, in a letter to the Suffolk County Board of Supervisors makes the following suggestions:

"In other words, we recommend that the county grant use and occupation of lots with assured tenure for a period, say, of ninety-nine years, on a basis of payment equivalent to the ground rent of the lot. The rate normally would be five per cent of the capital value of the lot. A lot appraised at \$100 would pay annually to the county \$5.00. The purchaser would not be required to put up any capital but would be entitled to tenure so long as the annual rate was paid. The rate would be determined each year by the official assessment or appraisal by the county of the lot.

This payment of an annual rate based on full value should be in lieu of all other real estate taxes. This would encourage the building of homes in Suffolk County. It would also eliminate the speculation in vacant lots, a racket which has done much to injure Suffolk County.

The increase in land value resulting from county improvements would by this plan accrue to the county and would not be sacrificed to the exploitation of vacant land speculators."

The Harvard Hillside, of Harvard, Mass., in its issue of Oct. 27 publishes Mr. Fiske Warren's address on the Enclaves delivered at the Henry George Congress.

An admirable letter appears in the *New York Times* of recent date

PROF. HARRY GUNNISON BROWN in a recent debate with Missouri's Socialist candidate for governor, declared: "If a worker denies himself in order to save \$300 and turns it over to productive capital which supports others and produces more capital, he is entitled to just as much for his saving as for his labor." He explained that the income from land rent which is the result of the growth of the community should be taken by the community. "To give a man wealth," said Prof. Brown, "because he happens to own a strategically located piece of land is as absurd as allowing some one a profit on the air we breathe."

WE are reminded that Howell Clopton Harris, of Cordele, Ga., has not relaxed in his activities, by the receipt of an excellent four-page leaflet entitled "The Social Democracy."

In the *Hartford Courant* of Hartford, Conn., for Oct. 18, Joseph R. Carroll takes a column to analyze the thirty-hour week proposal and incidentally present our argument as the only real remedy.

WE are indebted to H. T. Hodgkiss, of Melbourne, Australia, for a number of copies of his leaflet, "How to Secure a Just Distribution of Wealth."

CHAS. G. MERRELL, of Cincinnati in a recent letter to Roger Babson wrote:

"I have come of late to feel that political parties have become a fetish rather than a means expressing various opinions. If we are to have a genuine Democratic government in the future, there must be a new alignment of party. Above all there must be on the part of the people as a whole a greater loyalty to the country rather than to political parties; in other words political parties should be the means by which people can express their opinions rather than the god before which they bow in blind obedience."

ON June 14 of this year the Argentine Single Tax League completed the twentieth year of its existence.

An advance copy of a publication from the Chemical Foundation, *The Farm Chemurgie* by Dr. William J. Hale, contains the following on page 88:

"In a sense the State and Federal Governments, in their greed to tax all tangible property to the utmost, are doing not otherwise than attacking the goose that lays the golden eggs. Microscopic life within the soil is made to suffer by neglect; microscopic life above the soil is given carte blanche to destroy all that man produces! Our sordid officialdom should certainly tax air, water and sunlight, then their folly would be consummated. No longer does normal man question the utter stupidity that characterizes our would-be leaders; no longer does he doubt the bitter gloom and despair that is likely to overtake us if we do not purge our ways."

In *The New Philosophy*, a small magazine published at Bryn Athyn, Pa., the editor, Rev. Alfred Acton, writes a review of Prof. Harry Gunnison Brown's "Economic Basis of Tax Reform" and says:

"In this work, Prof. Brown expounds his subject in the light of the Single Tax doctrine. In effect it may be called a new statement of that doctrine with especial application to the problems of today. The author's thoughts are set forth in clear language and with convincing illustrations. No better work could be recommended for one who would understand the principles first set forth by Henry George a half century ago."

A MATHEU ALONSO, of Salamanca, Spain, whose brief visit recently to our shores is pleasantly remembered, writes us with his customary fine cordiality: "My visit will probably be very fruitful. I am trying to found a Henry George School here like that of the late Oscar Geiger. The director will be our president Mr. Argente. This will be the first daughter of yours. I hope that some time we will meet again but meanwhile keep this souvenir of your new friend and fellow, A. Matheu Alonso."

THE late R. R. Bowker, editor for many years of the *Publishers' Weekly*, was long a friend of this paper and a contributor to its up-keep. He was known as a convinced Georgist. The editors of the *Publishers' Weekly* are planning to issue a bibliography of his various writings which he contributed so largely to newspapers and periodicals.

MAYOR McNAIR's appointment of a Catholic priest to serve on the Municipal Board of Assessors of Pittsburgh caused a dispute as to the propriety of a priest serving in such capacity. Mayor McNair solved the question by taking a trip to Rome and getting the Holy Father's decision on the point at issue. The Pope informed him that it was not against the canon law for a priest to accept a municipal post so long as the position does not require the handling of public moneys. So Father Cox, who is well thought of in Pittsburgh, was straightway appointed. Mayor McNair has a way with him and knows how to dramatize a political situation as well as how to close the mouths of his critics. This settles a question which may come up before other municipalities.

HENRY PRIESMEYER, of St. Louis, writes: "I always find enjoyment when reading your Comment and Reflection and find much of it which appeals to me as fitting to send to someone who I believe might be interested in having the chance to read them. I was pleased to read what you set forth on page 133 of your September-October number on Who is the Employer? and What is a Fair Day's Pay for a Living Wage? which are so clearly defined and explained by you and which I consider very timely."

THE Henry George League of New Jersey will hold a dinner on Thursday, Dec. 6, at which dinner Dr. John Dewey will be guest speaker.

EUGENE W. WAY, of Seattle, Wash., writes: "LAND AND FREEDOM is doing a wonderful work. While everything in it, from cover to cover, is excellent Comment and Reflection is a gold mine of fact, logic and hard common sense."

CHARLES G. MERRELL, of Cincinnati, in a letter to the *Cincinnati Post* commending an editorial in that paper says: "We should leave our tax machinery as flexible as possible so that we can meet emergencies that confront us without being bound hand and foot by constitutional amendments that have no place in the constitution."

THE late Francis W. Maguire, of Pittsburgh, Pa., was a pensioner of the firm of Sprague Warner & Company, for whom he worked for a number of years. They say of him: "His record of twenty-eight years of loyal service was free from blot. He was scrupulously honest and unfailingly industrious."

It is with sorrow that we record the death of Baron Henri Lambert at the home of his son Valentine in Brussels, Belgium, aged 71 years. He was the author of "Tax Economica" and other works showing the dangers involved in international commercial barriers and the advantages that all nations might enjoy under commercial liberty. In May, 1914, he addressed in Basle, Switzerland, an informal and unofficial gathering of sundry members of the German Reichstag and the French Chamber of Deputies who had journeyed there to discuss ways and means to avert the impasse into which the nations were drifting. "It is trade restriction which is shutting all countries from their place in the sun," he told them. "Cobden has told us that free trade is the best peacemaker. I make bold to assert that free trade is the only peacemaker." Though of the Belgian nobility M. Lambert disdained to use his title of Baron, preferring that of Engineer and Fabricant (manufacturer). His visit to this office many years ago is pleasantly remembered.

WE are indebted to Mrs. Mary Fels and Mrs. Laura Lubin for

for a copy of "The Fascist Era, Year 12," which is a resume of the history of fascism in Italy for the twelve years of its existence.

IN the Schenectady, (N.Y.) *Gazette*, our old friend William W. Munro has a good letter referring to political and economic trends. He concludes: "Sorry, but I do not look for much advancement as a result of the elections." And he was not disappointed!

GORDON ANDERSON standing for Wimeria, Australia, in the Federal elections on an out-and-out free trade and Single Tax platform was defeated, but over 7,800 out of 46,000 responded with their first vote to the new call for social righteousness

WE have received from Spain in pamphlet form an address by Fernando Gil Mariscal, attorney at Madrid, read before the Economic Society of that city on the occasion of his reception as a new member. It is an eloquent and thorough presentation of the philosophy of Henry George and a tribute to the Spanish leaders of the Georgist movement, Julio Senador Gomez, the late Antonio Albendin and particularly Baldomera Argente. Senor Mariscal gave his audience a picture of the dreadful condition of the worker brought about by our land system. Then he proceeded to give a clear exposition of the doctrines of Henry George, quoting freely from his works and showed how the application of these doctrines would permanently solve the labor problem, raise wages and bring peace and prosperity to all. The address makes a fine 40-page pamphlet and is dedicated to all those who sincerely work for social justice. Senor Mariscal, who is the author of a number of works, is to be congratulated for this addition to Single Tax literature.

THE October number of *Le Libre-Exchange*, the monthly bulletin of the French Free Trade League, contains many interesting articles from R. Levraut, Jacques Robin, A. Daude-Bancel and A. Naugaret. This interesting bulletin now in its twenty-fourth year gives in its notes and information a mass of data bearing on current events in the world of international trade, with many an object lesson demonstrating the stupidity of tariffs.

WE have received the October number of *La Reforma Social*, monthly organ of the Spanish Georgist League of Madrid, whose director, Baldemero Argente, is well known to our readers. Besides editorials and articles by Senor Argente, Rafael Orchoa, and Emilio Lemos Ortega, this excellent publication gives the news of the movement from all parts of the world. To look at these twenty-four pages of Henry George teachings so forcefully presented one cannot but feel that the Georgist movement in Spain is on the way to great achievement.

THE *Tribuna Georgista* of Buenos Aires, makes this comment:

"The land of the Argentine, without including improvements by labor and capital, is over thirty thousand million pesos. The rent, at six per cent, would be 1,800 million pesos. The government of the nation, provinces and municipalities of the whole country do not collect and expend more than 1,500 millions of pesos annually. It is thus demonstrated that, under applied Georgism, all government expenditure could be financed and yet leave an annual remainder of 300 million pesos."

ON Oct. 14 memorial services were held for our late friend Mark J. Dintenfass at the Ferncliff Mausoleum, Charles H. Ingersoll and others spoke. We have received a beautifully printed programme of the memorial exercises, with the following from our friend's last testament. This confession of faith is very beautifully expressed: I wish that no one put on the habiliments of mourning for me. While I love flowers as I do all the beauties which come from nature, I desire that no flowers or set pieces be present at my bier.

My religion is the golden rule: "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." I believe in God (Spirit all pervading).

I reject the dogmas and implications of organized religion, for they omit, in my opinion, the principle and fundamental truth—the word of God.

For the Lord saith: "The earth is mine and the fullness thereof, and should not be sold forever." Although men traffic in God's earth, and one creature of the earth exacts tribute from another for the permission of living on the earth, organized religion remains silent.

Therefore, I ask my beloved wife, Esther Dintenfass, to omit clergy-men officiating and eulogizing. Should my dear wife desire otherwise it shall be as she desires.

STATEMENT of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of March 3, 1933, of LAND AND FREEDOM, published bi-monthly at New York, N. Y., for October, 1934.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Joseph Dana Miller, who, having been duly sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of LAND AND FREEDOM and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in Section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor and managing editor and business managers are:

Publisher: Single Tax Publishing Co., Inc., 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

Editor: Joseph Dana Miller, 150 Nassau St., New York City.

Managing Editor: Joseph Dana Miller, 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

Business Manager: Joseph Dana Miller, 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

2. That the owners are: Single Tax Publishing Co., Inc., Herman G. Loew, Pres., George R. Macey, Sec., 150 Nassau Street, New York City. None but Joseph Dana Miller own one per cent. or more of stock.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stocks, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER,

EDITOR.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of September, 1934.
[Seal] MICHAEL WEINER, Notary Public.

Bronx County.