

July—August, 1938

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

“Let George Do It”

A Slogan In A Memorable Campaign

Joseph Hiram Newman

Problems of Political Economy

Henry J. Foley

Report of the Schalkenbach Foundation

Antoinette Wambough

The California Campaign

Hon. Jackson H. Ralston

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LAND AND FREEDOM

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

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

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

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

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

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

Please Make Subscriptions and Checks Payable to LAND AND FREEDOM

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

VOL. XXXVIII

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Comment and Reflection

THERE is one thing that is likely to puzzle the average observer. He must have noticed that when the face of Roosevelt is shown on the screen there is little or no applause. He knows at the same time that if the election were held tomorrow Mr. Roosevelt would repeat his victory of 1936. Why the lack of enthusiasm manifested for him in previous years.

NO one has pointed out the reason. As a matter of fact, Roosevelt is no longer popular in the degree he once was. The glamour of his personality has faded. It is true that most of those who voted for him would vote for him again. They are having things given to them, either in the shape of work or relief. They regard these as no longer favors from the administration; they now look upon them as their right.

THUS the masses are hastening to the condition when the administration and the President are matters of indifference to them. The Messianic conception is no longer with them; it is a matter of course now. To be handed down what they need through taxation and the creation of public debts has come to be regarded as institutional and is no longer personal. No thanks are due to the President who is doing what every other president will have to do as long as God indulges humanity and allows us the luxury of visitations called depressions or panics, for that is the way his creatures punish themselves. There being more people in the world than the world can supply with food and sustenance, we must camp on our neighbor's doorstep and demand that he share with us his surplusage. Such is apparently the popular diagnosis and solution.

ROOSEVELT has taught them that fallacy and the people have greedily swallowed it. There is no gratitude in their hearts for him, for it is all part of the *status quo*, a system divinely ordained as a matter of necessity. And thus it is explained why silence falls on cinema and screen when his face is shown instead of the applause that once rent the roof. The slave concept is accepted and we are indebted not to him but to all men who must now contribute to our upkeep in accordance with their ability to pay." Roosevelt has told them so.

IN a recent "fireside chat" Roosevelt has laid special stress on this ability to pay theory of taxation. Some of those closest to him have intimated that there is plenty of money lying around—plenty of money yet to be taken. Of course there is, there is a lot of wealth yet to be absorbed. But why are we afraid of Browder and the Communists? Their programme is comparatively mild when set side by side with the menacing whispers that there is plenty of money to be had and that taxes should be levied in accordance with "ability to pay." We doubt if Mr. Browder would recommend anything quite so drastic.

THIS is the popular concept that is being hastened along, growing ever more and more threatening. Sales taxes, occupancy taxes, taxes of all sorts, all levied in accordance with "ability to pay." Government, which is for the protection of property, not yet knowing what is public and what is private property, shouting aloud that everybody should pay what he is able to pay, which incidentally leaves no room for any true concept of property. This is the theory of property held by the Turpins and the Dillingers of all ages. It is now industriously taught by those highest in authority. It is seeping down to the masses. We have need to fear the communists in power, not the handful of half-baked theorists who wear the party label.

WHAT will happen to the gentleman in the White House, or his successor of the same mind when the "money" gives out? The masses will not regard the head of the government with indifference. They will turn against him with a hatred hard to conceive. They will then hold him directly responsible and will not even do him the justice to accord him a measure of sincerity. For the society he envisages cannot stand. It must fall of its own weight.

THE Bible has somewhere bewailed the fate of a people without a vision. We hear much of national ideals but little attempt is made to accurately define them. In many countries where religion is a philosophy rather than a mere ritual, as in India, it acts as a national *motif* and influences national character. Despite its limitations, it is useful in preventing a descent to complete national degeneration. In so far as it has upheld

the morale of a people it has served a real purpose. In India this beneficent influence has been partly counteracted by the spiritual limitations of both Buddhism and Brahminism and the dead pessimism of the concepts.

IT may mean little to the average man to say that a real philosophy of life has yet to be born. This philosophy will concern itself, not alone with individual conduct and morals, but with social conduct and morals. The word "vision," as used in the Bible, connotes a philosophy that is far more inclusive than what we comprehend in the ordinary religious tenets. A real vision would reveal the essential character of natural law and the necessity of conforming our institutions to its requirements. And this will be clear to those who have caught a glimpse of the Georgeist philosophy. No wonder in view of this vision that he has set before us that we grow impatient with those who would reduce this philosophy to purely fiscal terms. It cannot be done and should not be attempted.

WHAT is the teaching embodied in this philosophy? How explain the frustrated ideals that bestrew the modern world? The War to End War, the League of Nations, the Russian Experiment, the Land Fight of Lloyd George, and the lesser dreams that have come to naught—even the mistaken policies of the New Deal and its early disastrous ending? It is clear that something has been left out, something forgotten. That something is Freedom. In all the futile planning, this experimentation with political forms, these makeshifts which promise so much, there is no hope.

THE hope is in Freedom—economic freedom, the destruction of those barriers which fence men out from the natural resources of the earth, which seek to penalize human effort, which erect barriers between nations, which punish production with fines we call taxes, which teach the false doctrine to which we have referred, that the well-to-do owe anything to the less fortunate and should be mulcted in accordance with their "ability to pay."

THERE is nothing in the world worth while but freedom. This is the solution of all questions, the settlement of all difficulties. It is the only truth the natural law recognizes. It is indeed the law of God. All perplexities vanish before it—all the mists are cleared away. Such progress as we have attained, political, social, cultural, are its offspring. Its children are the children of light, its fruit are the fruits of plenty. No matter with what persuasiveness, nor with what sonorous utterances, the contrary may be uttered, the law of Free-

dom will not be denied. It is proof even against the dulcet tones of those temporarily elevated as straws misfits to positions of power.

"Let George Do It"

A SLOGAN IN A NOTABLE CAMPAIGN

OF TENTIMES little things occur which will recall big moments in history. It may be a casual conversation or an inconspicuous news item; and the depth to which it will delve into our memories depends on the extent to which we may have participated in their occurrence. There can be but very little doubt among Georgeists that the election of Henry George, Jr., to membership in the United States House of Representatives (the 62 Congress) was a memorable moment in the history of the Single Tax movement.

In the *New York Sun* of April 27, 1938, nearly ten columns were devoted in the news of the proceedings of a session of the New York State Constitutional Convention assembled at the State Capitol in Albany to write the State Constitution. Squeezed in, most inconspicuously, near the very end, was the following:

"William S. Bennet, Republican of New York, would exempt intangible personal property from taxation."

This was the news-reporter's way of saying in a few words that Mr. Bennet had offered and was therefore sponsoring an amendment to the Constitution to that effect, which for Mr. Bennet is quite laudable and in fact should be applauded, though very softly perhaps, by Single Taxers. It is impossible to conceive of a Georgeist who would not work for the adoption of such an amendment. An ever increasing number of people who have in recent years become tax-conscious would equally subscribe to its approval. It would not require a preponderance of evidence to prove that of all the silly, unjust, unscientific, impractical and uncollectable forms of taxation now cluttering up our statutes, the intangible personal property tax could easily win a first prize. Therefore, it is quite reasonable to hope for the adoption of this amendment.

Now, why the pianissimo applause of Single Taxers? It is curious how vigorously our opponents, especially the paid ones, will oppose most any forward step, whether it be ballot reform, tax reform, or any other reform, it happens to have our sponsorship or even our tacit approval. To them just one simple point stands out—"Single Taxers are behind it—it is another of their entangling wedges." Yet another reason for the soft applause. If Mr. Bennet knew how acceptable his proposal is to Single Taxers, he might not be "so happy about the whole thing"; for it is a belated admission of conversion. Mr. Bennet's amendment cannot fail to remind the old time

of Mr. George's election, twenty-eight years ago. It was none other than this selfsame Mr. Bennet who lost his seat in the Congress to "our own Harry" as he was affectionately called by his family and intimate friends.

The high-lights of that campaign should interest those who, by reason of their tender age, were not privileged to participate in such an outstanding accomplishment. Truly, an event in history.

The present method of nomination by direct primary (so-called) was not then in vogue. Nominees were designated by the District and County leaders of political parties. It was, therefore, obligatory to approach these leaders to advance the qualifications and prospects of election in behalf of Henry George, Jr. Without intending to minimize the credit due to those who were instrumental in obtaining the nomination, it is only fair to say that it was not difficult to obtain. The district, in which the candidate was a bonafide resident, was regarded as 'safely and hopelessly Republican.' To elect a Democratic candidate there meant the over-turn of a normal 3,500 Republican party majority.

In 1910, the year of the Campaign, the 17th New York Congressional district was located in Manhattan Borough and extended roughly on the west side from 125th Street to the north tip of the Island. The district embraced the West Harlem, Washington Heights and Dyckman sections of the city. The conglomerate population included middle-class and poor. Race, creed and color were amply represented. At that time, it was the largest Congressional district in the city for area and population. There were 56,513 votes cast by the two major parties alone, an electorate equivalent to that of many good sized cities; roughly, 200,000 inhabitants.

The committee was duly organized with the usual quota of officers. Headquarters were selected, and six weeks before election the campaign got under way with full team ahead. Someone had to be in constant attendance at the lone desk in the Headquarters to answer the telephone, greet visitors, and act as general buffer when required; to coordinate dates and places for meetings and designate the requisite number of speakers. For this job the narrator was selected. It will have to be noted right here that henceforth only a very few names will be mentioned and those only for human interest in the narration; and for the further reason that it would be necessary to include the entire roster of active Single Taxers, in and about the City of New York and distant places.

Perhaps the first important (?) telephone message was from the Secretary of the Speakers' Bureau of the County Committee. The latter portion of this high-sounding name was the official cognomen for Tammany Hall. The message was to inquire how many speakers the Bureau should designate to the services of the Congressman-to-be, to which the answer was, "we will let you know." Our Campaign Committee actually func-

tioned daily—either in the downtown offices of one of the Committee men, or at uptown Headquarters, and often at both places. These meetings were conscientiously attended, and all matters were discussed in detail; among other things, the Speakers' Bureau question came up. The mere mention of it signalized the customary vituperation of Tammany's arch foes. Naturally, we could have no possible need for the usual variety of "spell-binders" and "wind-jammers" who could in no wise be depended on to intelligently discourse on taxation and the tariff. Furthermore, the kind of speakers they would assign were campaign-fund participants at the rate of \$5.00 per night. This would have been out of the question since there was no such provision in our budget. Besides, it proved most unnecessary to employ that caliber of speaker, for without the slightest exaggeration, we were blessed with a veritable plethora of Single Taxers who came to Headquarters every evening, anxious to accept any assignment. Practically all of our speakers, after the conclusion of the evening "cart-tail" meetings would return to Headquarters to report the reception accorded them, and also the nature of questions asked by the proverbial hecklers. As is well known to us all, Single Taxers in general welcome questions while speaking, not only because they know the answers, but appreciate the tremendous assistance they prove to be in enabling them to go on and on and on, to the point of almost loss of voice.

The mention of "cart-tail" meetings, in such general use at that time, may require some explanation. Horse-drawn open-bodied trucks, during the afternoon, were driven through the streets of the district with appropriate banners and legends extolling the merits of the candidate, with cow-bells hung between the racks of the truck to attract attention. After school hours boys would ride on the trucks and with tin pans and most any other available hardware accessories add to the din of the cow-bells. At nightfall these trucks would be assigned to prominent street intersections to serve as platforms for our orators.

Speaking of appropriate banners brings to mind one that was used. It read: "Bennet Can't Reduce the High Cost of Living; Let George Do It." The last portion of the sentence at that time had the commonly accepted meaning of passing a responsibility or duty to another. To add to their interest, these banners were frequently changed with other trite and succinct legends.

Then one day a suggestion came forward to challenge Mr. Bennet to a debate on the "High Cost of Living and the Tariff." The Committee forthwith forwarded a written challenge, the debate to take place not later than a given date, agreeable to both sides. We had every confidence in Mr. George's ability to masterfully debate the question; nonetheless we were somewhat apprehensive. Mr. Bennet was an orator, impressive in personality and stature and it was difficult to foretell the sort

of impression Mr. George's style of speaking would make on a political audience against Mr. Bennet's adroit use of words.

Every day for two weeks Mr. Bennet's headquarters were contacted by telephone for an answer to the challenge, but he never seemed to be available and no one could say where he might be located. Day by day we became more convinced that Mr. Bennet was stalling and perhaps equally apprehensive, but for wholly different reasons. Mr. George's strength was in his inherited and generally respected knowledge of the subject. This seemed quite enough to make Mr. Bennet justifiably nervous to meet him in debate. So, we concluded, he was evading us. This brought forth new banners for our roving trucks: "Has Anybody Here Seen Bennet—Why Doesn't He Debate with George?" which will be recognized as paraphrasing the then popular song, "Has Anybody Here Seen Kelly, Kelly With the Green Necktie?" Even this did not bring Mr. Bennet out of hiding long enough to get his answer, but it did produce the Hon. Alexander Brough, then State Senator, and later a City Magistrate, who, in the capacity of Mr. Bennet's Campaign Manager, called on the telephone to say the reason they would not accept the challenge was because his side would not have a fair chance, since we would fill the hall with Tammany hoodlums and howl his side down. On our end of the phone this produced a smile and a prompt rejoinder; first it should not have taken all this time to conjure up such a poor excuse; second, we would be pleased to authorize him to print and distribute all admission tickets and by all means to fill the hall with only Republicans, since it was Republicans we were interested in converting—the others would vote for our candidate in any event. The only answer to this which Mr. Brough could think up was, "Well, anyway, we haven't got the money to pay our share of the cost." All this was strenuously employed by our "cart-tail" orators and audiences readily appreciated why the banners almost screeched out "Has Anybody Here Seen Bennet?" and it received an unprecedented amount of newspaper publicity for a mere local campaign. It was all quite novel, if not smart, coming as it did from amateurs, to compel the old line of practical politicians of both parties to "sit up and take notice." The debate did not take place. Mr. Bennet did not meet Mr. George.

The trucks kept making their daily rounds of the district, and one morning Mrs. Henry George, Jr., telephoned the Headquarters to say how pleased she was, but to warn us that Harry did not like the banners, but to pay no attention to his objections. Soon after this message the Candidate literally burst in through the door of Headquarters to first seek out the author of the signs, and then to demand their removal on the ground that they were "most undignified." Mrs. George's warning was heeded, and of course the Candidate's objections were wholly disregarded.

There were many other things to crop up during the course of the Campaign to make the Candidate difficult to manage. One such outstanding example was his inability to appear at all the indoor meetings for which he was scheduled to make a fifteen minute address. Taking traveling time from place to place into account, it was not unreasonable to expect him to make five or six such appearances nightly. But when the boys who accompanied him would report that only two or three were covered, it was necessary to learn the reason. It appeared that Mr. George would enter the hall to find one of the proverbial "spell-binders" holding forth and he would not budge from the rear until the speaker concluded. The Candidate did not appreciate the fact that the speaker was merely holding the audience for the arrival of candidates and other notables. His innate courtesy and supreme modesty did not permit him to interrupt the speaker on the platform. And wearing his customary black broad-brimmed slouch hat, he was not readily recognized by those in charge of the meeting. It did not take long to cure this situation. Others were assigned to accompany the Candidate to meetings, with definite instructions that upon entering the hall one of them was to gently but forcibly, if necessary, to remove that broad-brimmed hat, while another was to cup his hands and shout: "Three cheers for Henry George!" While the cheering was going on Mr. George was actually pushed forward to the platform and at once was introduced to the presiding officer. When the Candidate reached the street to proceed to the next meeting, he said, "Have you no regard for my feelings?" He was advised that under such circumstances candidates have no feelings. (To prove the extent of Mr. George's modesty, one need only to evaluate his consistent refusal to drop the appendix to his name. He insisted that he was never to be confused with his father.) The following day he requested that others be assigned as escorts in the place of those who were so discourteous the night before. It was indeed sorry that he ever mentioned it, because the substitutes were even more vociferous.

One day a very dignified, stately appearing colored gentleman entered the Headquarters to enquire how the Campaign was progressing. He said he was a great admirer of the Candidate's father, and would consider it a privilege to make a money contribution to the Campaign. He made out a check for a liberal amount, and on reading the signature we recognized him to be the Internal Revenue Collector in one of the New York districts. It betrays no confidence to mention that he was Charles W. Anderson, a highly intellectual gentleman, a Tuskegee graduate, who received his first appointment to office from President Theodore Roosevelt in 1905, and continued in office with only minor interruptions until the advent of the present Roosevelt. Mr. Anderson was a Republican, but he claimed to be a firm believer in Free Trade and ascribed his conversion to the influence

Protection or Free Trade?" by Henry George. Although there was no law then to compel the publication of contributors to campaign funds, Mr. Anderson was told that because of his political affiliation his liberality and support would be treated in confidence. This, he said, could be quite unnecessary. Mr. Anderson was a resident of the district and at several important meetings held in colored sections, he made platform appearances, for he was well and favorably known to his people. There can be no doubt that his influence materially benefited the Candidate. At one of these meetings, Mr. Swan of Chicago, a thorough Single Taxer and able orator, affectionately referred to as the "Black Swan," came to New York especially to address a Saturday-night-before-election Rally in the colored section, at which both Mr. Swan and Mr. Anderson were enthusiastically received.

Another dignitary called at the Headquarters one afternoon, and without much ado said: "I suppose you could use some money in the Campaign Fund." He was advised that it would be most acceptable and was sorely needed. He was at once accorded the use of the lone desk and made out a check for a substantial amount. This man was Francis Lynde Stetson, a member of the famous law firm of Shearman and Sterling, of which Thomas G. Shearman was the head. Mr. Stetson at one time was a law partner of Grover Cleveland. Mr. Shearman was the author of "Natural Taxation," and while regarded as a Single Taxer of the "Limited" variety by orthodox adherents, he was nevertheless a man of forceful and outstanding ability and highly respected. Mr. Stetson later in the Campaign called at the office of Mr. Frederic Cyrus Leubuscher, Treasurer of the Campaign Committee, and very graciously added to his previous contribution.

About two weeks before election day, a voice on the telephone announced that he was "Mr. Halpern, secretary to Commissioner Murphy," none other than Charles J. Murphy, officially titled the Chairman of the New York County Committee of the Democratic Party, but known as the Leader of Tammany Hall. The voice continued: "The Commissioner would like to see your Treasurer at the Hall sometime soon, at his convenience." Mr. Murphy, many years before had been Commissioner of the Dock Department, and as with a Judge, once a Commissioner, always a Commissioner.

That afternoon, at a meeting of our Committee, the possible portent of the message was discussed. We were amateurs in practical organization politics, although several of us had gained some experience in campaigning for the Mayoralty election of the year before which culminated in the election of Justice William J. Gaynor. It is doubtful if the Judge was ever known to be a Single Taxer, though it is safe to assert that the theory had his cordial approval. There were more than a few Single Taxers whose counsel and advice he held in the highest

regard and whose friendship he esteemed. (Calvin Tompkins was his Dock Commissioner. John J. Murphy who was slated to be a Deputy, was astonished when the Mayor swore him in as his Commissioner of the Tenement House Department. Lawson Purdy was his President of the Tax Board; and there were others.) That Mayoralty Campaign gave us a wealth of experience in most everything except "inside" organization politics.

However,—the Treasurer said, "I don't care what he wants, I'll go see him tomorrow morning." One objector declared, "It would never do for you to be seen going into or out of Tammany Hall." Finally the suggestion was advanced that perhaps it would be better if some one other than the Treasurer make the call, someone who would not possess authority to make any commitments or even have official knowledge of our financial condition. So the narrator was delegated to call on Leader Murphy. About mid-morning of the next day he boldly entered the "Hall," then on 14th Street, in the historic old building. Many thoughts and emotions were straining the nerves of one soon to be in "his august presence." Suddenly, there stood the "Boss" promptly recognized from the press cartoons of the day. The tension was unexpectedly relieved by a cordial: "How do you do, how is Richard?" Of all things for this man to ask! It displayed an astounding fund of detailed information. Richard, the younger brother of Mr. George, was quite ill, and thereby was prevented from continuing his participation in the Campaign. Dick had made a number of splendid speeches in several of the Party clubhouses. His oratory was so direct from the heart, and delivered so convincingly, that he was soon in great demand; although he insisted that his only claim to fame, if any, would have to come via the spatula. Before the reference to Dick could be answered, Mr. Murphy continued, "I hope Mr. George doesn't take his brother's illness too hard to interfere in the great campaign he's making up there." By this time fully restored composure elicited the reply: "Well, Commissioner, they are very fond of each other." Mr. Murphy then went on to say that the excellent reports from his Captains showed promising indications of success. "But, Commissioner, do you realize what a tremendous over-turn of votes will be required?" To this he replied, "Don't worry about that; it can be done with the job you are doing. But, what I want to know is, why haven't you asked for some of our speakers to be assigned?" For a moment it seemed that this question was the reason for the meeting. Mr. Murphy was informed that we really had more speakers each and every night than it was possible for us to assign; that they came from all parts of the city, from Westchester, New Jersey and Connecticut; that their whole-hearted labor was one of love for the Candidate and the Cause, and entirely at their own expense. To which he replied, "That's the most remarkable thing I've ever heard," and, "Keep up the good work."

This narration must not be construed to hold any brief for "Boss" Murphy. Yet here is a man, whose early endeavors consisted of navigating a team of horses before a street car; then came a bartending period, to be succeeded by the ownership of a "gin-mill" in the "Gas House District." Numerous instances could be cited wherein the saloon has served as the ladder to fame and power in the "Hall," as witness, Tom Foley and "Big Tim" Sullivan, with not especially savory reputations. Their probable nefarious backgrounds are not their only qualifications for undisputed organization rule. They were not nearly as "hard-boiled" as the cartoonists would have us believe. Convincingly illustrative of this statement is a recital of the real reason for the requested meeting.

Mr. Murphy said that it was customary for all candidates for office, either directly or through their campaign committees, to make the "usual" contribution to the County Committee to defray the expenses of printing, addressing, and mailing of literature. Today, especially in the large cities, to receive in the mail around election time, more than three or four such communications is perhaps extraordinary; but back in 1910, letter boxes were cluttered up for weeks before election with sample ballots, map diagrams of the districts, photo-prints of the candidates with short biographical sketches, etc., etc. It was natural enough to inquire how much money that "usual" contribution would entail. When Mr. Murphy said: "\$10 per election district," his listener was about ready to collapse, but in some manner, probably buoyed by the apparent friendliness of the entire conversation thus far, managed to exclaim: "Commissioner, that means \$1,700. You know we have 170 election districts in the 17th Congressional District," and hurriedly added: "Why, we haven't anything like that in our treasury and not one chance in a million to raise it." After all, no serious consequences could result from such a defense, coming as it did from one without authority, but who could at any moment resort to the requirement of reporting to the Committee. Yet, what gave the defense its greatest strength was the fact that it was absolutely true. The reasonableness or unreasonableness of the assessment was not considered. The one controlling thought was the large amount involved. Upon later reflection, the requested sum could not be construed as exorbitant; there were an average 350 voters in each election district to whom a prodigious amount of literature was distributed. The Assembly and Aldermanic Candidates covering the same districts were similarly assessed. Perhaps impressed, Mr. Murphy said: "I want to help you all I can but I can't afford to be criticized too much by the boys down here, . . . I would like to see your Committee give something toward this expense, even if it's only \$1.00 a district," and, "Do the best you can." Then to indicate that the interview was at an end, said: "I wish you success and give my best wishes to Mr. George for Richard's speedy recovery." The narrator thanked

him and was escorted to the door with a final: "Come any time."

Dwelling to further extent on the "Boss of Tammany" is apt to be interpreted as extolling virtues where none can hardly exist. It will, however, be remiss if no mention is made of the fact that there can be no doubt that Mr. Murphy was justly proud of the success of the battle and thoroughly pleased in having sanctioned the selection of Mr. George for Congress, as a man utterly different in type, caliber, and character, from that customarily sponsored by his organization. This will be conclusively shown by the action he took when an abortive attempt was made to interfere with the re-nomination of Mr. George for his second term.

Though it had been a strenuous campaign, not one felt really over-worked when Election Day, November 1910, finally came around. To the contrary, more work was turned out that day than on any other; the entire Congressional District never saw nor had so many watchers to look after the interests of one candidate; not one election district, and there were 170 of them, was without a "George Watcher." When that day's work was done the Headquarters resembled a Single Tax Convention as one by one they streamed in with the district tallies which were being cumulatively tabulated. In addition to these faithful workers' reports, we had arranged for a special wire service.

Result: Henry George, Jr., 28,306; Wm. S. Bennett, 26,010. Mr. George's majority, 2,296.

The majority may not appear impressive, but it represented a tremendous reversal of voters in an exceptionally large district, heretofore acknowledged as "safely Republican."

Mr. George took his seat in the House of Representatives, nominally as a Democratic member of the 62nd Congress.

Quoting from the "Single Tax Year Book" (1911) Joseph Dana Miller, its editor, states: "His work in Congress included a notable address on the Single Tax and a report on Taxation in the District of Columbia, which attracted much attention."

His distinguished service on all the Committees of the House to which he was appointed was of such a conscientious nature as to be held in highest esteem by his associates.

In the meantime the district was reapportioned, with some justification, perhaps, because of its overly large population, and since the House was controlled for the first time in years by the Democratic party, it proceeded with a "gerry-mandering" programme to suit their desires. They cut up the 17th Congressional District to accommodate an added Representative, and arranged it so that at least the southerly portion would henceforth be considered safely Democratic, where a nomination would be tantamount to an election. Mr. George remained a resident of the southerly portion, and while not necessarily

quired for his eligibility for re-nomination from the new 1st District, it nevertheless was a factor of considerable weight. In the management of organization politics, claims for political preferment of resident members of the Party must be recognized or met with valid objections; it forms the strong and conversely the weak links in party control; it makes and breaks District Leaders.

A great and sudden desire manifested itself in the breast of one Percival E. Nagle to a coveted seat of respectability in the House of Representatives. Mr. Nagle was then a powerful individual in the Harlem section, not only through a menacing physique, and the employment of strong-arm tactics, but with his official designation as "Executive Member" (otherwise known as "District Leader"), did not expect to encounter any obstacles in his demand for the Congressional nomination for himself. Mr. Nagle felt he was entitled to the nomination simply because he wanted it, irrespective of personal disqualification. He knew full well that the "gerry-mandered" district would not require any campaigning; that personal public appearances and speeches would be unnecessary, except to the dives and hangouts of his cohorts, where, along with himself, they were regular habits. There, his speech could be confined to promises of illicit protection, the principal words in his limited vocabulary. Such a speech was actually delivered by him in the presence of Mr. George, very, very much to the Candidate's consternation.

Much to his astonishment and eventual effacement, his demands were rejected by the "Boss" on substantial grounds. First, Mr. George was entitled to renomination for the remarkable feat of placing the district in the Democratic column, and was a resident of the district. Secondly, Mr. Nagle occupying a seat in the House of Representatives would put even Mr. Murphy to shame. In consequence of this eminently fair decision, Henry George, Jr., was re-nominated for his second term in Congress.

Despite the assurances for re-election it was nevertheless decreed by the management, that so long as the excellent opportunity for Single Tax propaganda existed, full advantage should be taken to spread the gospel. In both Campaigns, the "Democratic Party Handbook" was totally disregarded by our speakers. These Handbooks are intended to supply the party-hack variety of pell-binders with points and arguments to convert voters. They also contain sample speeches, which, in many instances, are memorized. It is, therefore, quite apparent that interruptions by hecklers seriously disarrange the thoughts of the "five-dollar-per-night-speaker." Invariably, by rule of thumb, the unison call of "Put him out" either quiets the heckler or results in his ejection.

Without exception, all of our speakers depended entirely upon their knowledge, gained from their only text-books, "Progress and Poverty" and "Protection or Free Trade?" Their coaching on what to talk about was wholly confined

to the stereotyped instructions, "Go out and give them straight Single Tax and the Tariff." And they did.

The results of the second campaign was as follows: Henry George, Jr., 13,189. Martin Ansorge, 5,265.

And for the second time they "Let George Do It."
(July 27, 1938)

JOS. HIRAM NEWMAN.

School Issues Report for First Half of Year

THE following figures tell the story of the growth of the School work. In an educational endeavor of this kind it is impossible to record its real value and import in statistics. No one recognizes more than do the instructors and class secretaries—who, after all, constitute the School—that the number of enrollments is an inadequate measure of the spread of the knowledge of fundamental economics. Somehow the truth has a way of circulating its way by the word-of-mouth method, and there is no known measure of this radiation. Nevertheless, it needs the constant stimulant of more classes, and the surer direction of thorough education.

The following figures are not complete, for the Extension Department reports that it has not received the records from eleven classes conducted this Spring in Cleveland, Ohio; four in Newark, N. J.; three in Cincinnati, Ohio, one in Omaha, Nebraska, and one in New Castle, Penn. The reports from these twenty classes should materially increase the totals.

Correspondence Course: Jan. 1 to June 30, 1938, 2,055. Total enrollments: 4,535. New York City Classes: Jan. 1 to June 30, 1938, 1,861. Total enrollments, 6,450. Number of Spring Classes, 32.

Extension Department: Jan. 1 to June 30, 1938, 2,862. Total enrollments, 10,080. Number of Spring Classes, 92. Grand total: Total Spring enrollments, 6,678. Total School enrollments, 21,065. Total number graduates, 8,835.

COME with me," said Richard Cobden, as John Bright turned heart-stricken from a new-made grave. "There are in England women and children dying with hunger—with hunger made by the laws. Come with me, and we will not rest until we repeal those laws."

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?

NOW, moreover, on the principle which you declare that "to the state the interests of all are equal, whether high or low," will you justify state aid to one man to buy a bit of land without also insisting on state aid to another man to buy a donkey, to another to buy a shop, to another to buy the tools and materials of a trade—state aid in short to everybody who may be able to make good use of it or thinks that he could?

THE CONDITION OF LABOR, BY HENRY GEORGE.

Robert Schalkenbach

Foundation Report

IN answer to letters addressed to friends in foreign lands, a variety of information and pleasant renewal of friendly contacts have resulted.

A letter from Mr. Lawrence McKibbin of Johannesburg, South Africa, leads the list for its unusual human interest story:

"It may interest you to know that it was a little advertisement by your Foundation that led me to Henry George.

I had been seeking, having lived in Philadelphia for a few years, and then in California. In Oakland I came across your advertisement, where or just what it was, I do not now recall. I wrote to you people, and by return post received some leaflets. That was the end of 1931 or early January, 1932. I was too short of money to get a book at that time, but went to a second-hand store in Oakland and there for 50 cents got a second-hand copy of 'Progress and Poverty,' which had on the fly-leaf the inscription, 1880. It must have been one of the first editions, and all quotations were in microscopic print.

I read or rather devoured that book, and left it with my father when I returned to South Africa at the end of 1932. But in London, on my way back to this country, I got copies of George's works from the United Committee.

Here in South Africa we are making a great effort to carry the light to our people. Conditions here are terrible. Today's newspapers report that 70 per cent of the children sent to school clinics are found not to be ill but merely to be suffering from starvation due to poverty. The condition of the people is fast growing worse, alarming to the authorities and to all thinking people. And of course it is all essentially due to land monopoly. And all other sorts of monopoly are the order of the day, with regulation and restriction for every conceivable thing. And the fortunes made by vested interests out of this iniquity are held up as indicative of South Africa's unique position among the nations as a 'prospering country.' Prosperous, with people dying from starvation.

We have been working hard, though, and are making progress. We have formed a Farmers' and Workers' Party, with rent for revenue, and abolition of all taxation, as the fundamental principle. And we entered a candidate (Advocate F. A. W. Lucas, K.C., our Chairman) for the recent General Elections. . . . We lost, but an enormous amount of good seed was sown. We have a little paper called 'The Free People,' which is also published in Afrikaans (the dialect of Dutch spoken by the Boers), and as there is virtually no economic literature in that language, we are making headway.

Of course, lack of funds is a terrific handicap, otherwise we should translate as much as is feasible of George's works into Afrikaans, as well as write pamphlets and flood the countryside. An unusually fertile field certainly lies to hand here, especially as the Boer population is fast being driven 'off the land,' into city slums by the increasing pressure of rural landlordism. No difficulty is experienced in driving home the basic fundamentals of George's teachings to these people. Out chief difficulty is the means of carrying the message.

In connection with this I should greatly appreciate information regarding some simple and cheap but useful printing outfit that would be suitable for preparing pamphlets. To make ourselves more secure and thus able to take turns in boldly carrying the word where it needs to be carried and also to give us the necessary freedom to do so, a little handful of us, my own personal friends who have taken the H. G. S. S. course, have decided to form a cooperative league. We intend to form a settlement where we can maintain ourselves, and the fundamental rule is that the land shall never become private property, but that rent shall be paid for it. We should therefore, be very grateful for the fullest information. The 'Henry George Enclaves' as their experience might be most valuable."

Any readers of LAND AND FREEDOM who have practical information about printing presses might get in touch directly with Mr. McKibbin. We have answered him attending to his various requests for books, pamphlets and other information, and feel happy that once more time has proven that the advertising methods of the Foundation are truly responsible for the introduction of tremendously worth-while men and women to the cause of economic justice, as made clear by Henry George.

From Toowong, Queensland, Australia, another correspondent tells us:

"Before I go further I wish to say that I fully realize the good that your Foundation is doing and wish it progress and prosperity, and lots of fruit growing from the seeds of equity it is its object to sow.

The members of the Queensland League are few and scattered far and wide. This league, of which I have the honor to be secretary, is a small one, and if I were asked for a statement of our first necessity, I should say a young energetic secretary, well-taught, with organizing abilities who could go out and get on a stump and hold a crowd and sell literature.

The Queensland laws have taken considerable steps in our direction, due mainly to the impression left by Henry George himself, when he was here, and the further labors of men like Mr. Winstalney and Mr. Hardacre. No one in Greater Brisbane pays any rates if he owns no land. I will send you a leaflet which will show you that so much advance has been made by using George's principles. The effect would be much greater if Australia had not greatly nullified it by wickedly high protection."

We receive first-hand news of the Labor movement in Wellington, New Zealand, as follows:

"As you no doubt know, New Zealand has a 'Labor' government. Really an ardent Socialist type, support tariff protection, and of course a party maintaining stony silence on the land question. After almost ten years of office, very little by way of fundamental reform has been accomplished, despite an overwhelming majority in parliament. Of course, the party contains plenty of 'money cranks' who have succeeded in the government taking over the Reserve Bank for the purpose of controlling currency and credit. Other than indulging in a reform of inflation, the 'taking over' might be likened to a mountain that brought forth the mouse. The land and tariff question still remains the fundamental issue, and

economic conditions here are of course similar to the conditions in all countries where like laws operate.

Although I was born in New Zealand, I am firstly a citizen of the world, and it is very pleasing to have news from New York. My last visit there was in 1926, and I am hoping to pass that way again in a year or two on my way to England. In this event I trust it will be possible to make contact with your Foundation and exchange in person a friendly talk."

Ten copies of the Chinese version of "Progress and Poverty" were sent to Prof. T. L. Yuan, Director of the Engineering Reference Library, Hongkong, China, in answer to his direct request for material for his Chinese students. Information was given about the establishment of classes, and a large packet of free pamphlet material was sent over for each student.

Mrs. John Paul of London, says, in a personal letter to the undersigned:

"In Europe we have no statesman equal to your Mr. Cordell Hull for ability and high principle. His appeals on the radio for the same moral standard between nations as between individuals must have a good effect. The newspapers here that I see treat all his statements with great respect."

A very interesting experiment in advertising has been conducted in cooperation with *The Financial World*, one of the leading business magazines of the country. We arranged for a series of reviews of Henry George's books, in conjunction with an occasional advertisement. The first book to be reviewed, "The Science of Political Economy," brought forward a number of requests for the book from unusually alert, enterprising business men, several of whom later enrolled in the Henry George School correspondence course.

The second book to be reviewed was "Progress and Poverty," and during the late summer reviews of "Social Problems" and "Protection or Free Trade?" will follow.

The Financial World Book Department is also sponsoring the books and will advertise them.

Small advertisements, of the type that attracted our South African friend, were run in *The Nation* during the month of June, with the result that numerous inquiries for books and information were received. Each contact is a potential opportunity to make a Henry George follower. One important result was the attraction of a prominent Chicago educational publisher who, having ordered our booklist and free pamphlets, decided to order three of our books. He received them, and wrote as follows:

"The three Henry George books reached me and I took them home last night—and hot as it was, it was 3 a. m. this morning before I laid 'Progress and Poverty' aside."

This man has continued to render us an important service by placing a special list at our disposal, for the purpose of obtaining still more new readers for "Progress and Poverty" and the other Henry George books.

To those Single Taxers who will attend the coming

Conference in Toronto, we would commend an examination of the book display there to be shown. In cooperation with the Foundation, Mr. Owens of the Single Tax Association of Toronto, is arranging the most complete book display ever planned for Conference uses, and it is our hope that all who can will patronize the book tables. They will see many new titles, new editions, new pamphlets and new ideas for the presentation of Henry George books.

Through the enterprise of Mr. Nathan Hillman in Hartford, there will be a display in the main window of the Hartford Library next September of Henry George books. The Foundation is arranging with Mr. Benjamin Burger for the loan of some of his rare first editions and other Henry George memorabilia, and following the Hartford showing, there will be a showing in New York.

Seven thousand letters were sent June 14, with a free copy of the new pamphlet, "The Study of Political Economy," "Thy Kingdom Come," or Dr. McGlynn's Statement to Mgr. Satolli—according to the type of person addressed—and our new book catalog accompanied the mailing. The letter appealed for activity during the summer months in distributing pamphlets and books. Three thousand pamphlets have been called off the shelves and placed in the hands of those who want them for "ammunition," and 740 books have been distributed during June and July.

ANTOINETTE K. WAMBOUGH, Secretary.

How the Pilgrims Found Employment

WHEN the Mayflower arrived in America did the Pilgrims run around hunting for a boss? No. They found jobs for themselves with a few simple tools on the free land which the Lord their God provided for that purpose. There is plenty of land left, and the millions of unemployed could do the same today were it not for the fact that land speculators have already beat them to it.—"HORATIO."

THE rental value of land is the result of desirable location, and is produced by the activities of society as a whole. This value grows as population and its activities increase. This natural law of rent gives the community the right to use all of this value which it creates. Thus, no tax of any kind would be necessary.

HENRY GEORGE.

THUS it is, that to make either the abolition of protection or any other reform beneficial to the working-class we must abolish the inequality of legal rights to land, and restore to all their natural and equal rights in the common heritage.—PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?

Organization for Action to Feature Toronto Convention

PLANS are now complete for the Thirteenth Annual Henry George Congress to be held in Toronto, September 7, 8 and 9, and the officers of the Single Tax Association of Canada are working actively in cooperation with the officers and directors of the Henry George Foundation and the Tax Relief Association to the end that the first Henry George Congress held on Canadian soil may be one of the best conventions yet held.

Organization for action will be one of the principal themes under discussion at this year's gathering, with special emphasis on the recommendation that Single Taxers concentrate their efforts on a particular state for intensive campaign. The newly organized Tax Relief Association, with A. Laurence Smith of Detroit, as President and Colonel Victor A. Rule as Executive Secretary, has arranged to meet in joint session for its first official gathering with the Henry George Foundation. The programme on Wednesday, September 7, will be largely devoted to business and discussions of the Tax Relief Association, while Thursday and Friday, September 8 and 9, will be devoted to the Henry George Congress proper.

The convention will be opened by J. H. L. Patterson, President of the Single Tax Association of Canada, followed by an address of welcome by the Mayor of Toronto. Among the more prominent speakers who will address the convention are: Hon. A.W. Roebuck, K.C., former Attorney General of Ontario; Hon. Peter Witt of Cleveland; Harold S. Buttenheim, Editor of *The American City*, of New York; Mrs. Anna George deMille, New York; Frank Chodorov, Executive Director, and John Lawrence Monroe, Field Secretary of the Henry George School of Social Science; Charles H. Ingersoll, President, Manhattan Single Tax Club; Hon. R. J. Deachman, Member of Parliament, of Ottawa, Canada; Col. Victor A. Rule, Chicago; Clayton J. Ewing, Chicago, and Carl D. Smith, Pittsburgh, Vice-Presidents of the Henry George Foundation; David Gibson, Cleveland newspaper publisher; Mrs. Antoinette Wambaugh, Executive Secretary of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation; and Congressman Charles R. Eckert of Beaver, Pa.

Herbert T. Owens is Secretary of the Toronto Convention Committee, which is perfecting plans for the entertainment of American and Canadian delegates, and Alan C. Thompson is Treasurer of the Canadian association. Hon. George E. Evans of Pittsburgh will, as President of the Henry George Foundation, direct the business session of the Henry George Congress, assisted by Executive Secretary Percy R. Williams.

The Canadian National Exhibition, known as the World's Largest National Exposition, celebrates this year its

diamond jubilee, and will be open during the sessions of the Henry George Congress. Its beautifully landscaped grounds are a veritable parkland, 350 acres in extent with a waterfront of one and one-half miles. Among its many stately permanent buildings is the world's largest exhibition building, including under one roof an area of 24½ acres. The exhibition represents an investment in land and buildings of 21 million dollars, and the exhibits are international in character.

The congress sessions will be held in the Royal York Hotel, which, with its 1,200 rooms, is the largest hotel in the British Empire. Located in the heart of downtown Toronto, it commands a magnificent view of Lake Ontario and the waterfront. All meeting and dining rooms are air-conditioned. Special convention rates have been arranged from \$3.00 per day up. A number of Single Taxers are planning their vacation this year so as to include the early part of September and permit them to participate in the Toronto convention, and for the first time the Dominion of Canada will be very largely represented in the attendance, and a considerable part of the programme will be devoted to reports from active workers in various sections of Canada and to addresses by prominent Canadian officials and Single Tax leaders.

The following is the final draft of the joint convention programme:

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

TORONTO, CANADA

SEPTEMBER 7, 8 AND 9, 1938

WEDNESDAY

MORNING SESSION

9:00 Registration.

Chairman: J. H. L. Patterson, President, Single Tax Association of Canada.

10:00 Address of Welcome: Representative of City.

Reply: Hon. George E. Evans, President, Henry George Foundation of America.

A. Laurence Smith, President, Tax Relief Association, I Appointment of Convention Committees.

Know One Another: Conducted by Lt. Col. Victor A. Rule, Chicago, Ill.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Tax Relief Association Programme.

Chairman: A. Laurence Smith, President.

2:00 Why Have a National Programme?—Gilbert M. Tuel, Albany, N. Y.

Discussion.

Is the Time Ripe for Action?—A. Laurence Smith, Detroit, Mich. Discussion.

Working Together for Success—Anna George deMille, New York.

EVENING SESSION

8:00 Theme: The Unshackling of Business.

Chairman: John Anderson, Montreal, late Vice-President, Standard Brands, Ltd.

Address: Why Single Tax should appeal to business—Chas. H. Ingersoll, President, Manhattan Single Tax Club. (30 min.)
 Address: R. J. Deachman, M.P. for North Huron, Ontario. (30 min.)
 Discussion.

THURSDAY

MORNING SESSION

0:00 Chairman: J. H. L. Patterson, President, Single Tax Association of Canada.
 Address: A World Survey—Miss Margaret E. Bateman, Montreal. (30 min.)
 Address: Why Handicap Housing by Unwise Taxation?—Harold S. Buttenheim, Editor, *The American City*. (30 min.)
 Discussion.

2:30 Luncheon Session.
 Luncheon for Trustees and Advisory Commission of the Henry George Foundation of America.
 Luncheon for Canadian delegates.

AFTERNOON SESSION

2:00 Chairman: Mrs. Anna George deMille, President, Henry George School of Social Science.
 Address: Purpose and Method of the Henry George School of Social Science—Frank Chodorov, Director. (30 min.)
 Address: Progress of Extensions—John Lawrence Monroe, Field Director. (30 min.)
 Canadian Extensions: Earnest J. Farmer, Vice-President, Single Tax Association of Canada. (30 min.)
 Report of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation: Mrs. Antoinette Wambough, Executive Secretary. (30 min.)
 Discussion.

EVENING SESSION

Theme: The Simplification of Government Through the Single Tax.
 8:00 Chairman: W. C. Good, President, Co-operative Union of Canada.
 Address: The Canadian Taxation Situation—A. C. Campbell, Ottawa, Ont. (30 min.)
 Address: A. Laurence Smith.
 Discussion.

FRIDAY

MORNING SESSION

10:00 Chairman: Clayton J. Ewing, Vice-President, Henry George Foundation.
 Report of Committee on National Organization: A. Laurence Smith, Detroit, Mich.
 Discussion.
 Address: The Value of Political Contacts, Dr. Mark Millikin, Hamilton, Ohio. (30 min.)
 Report of Resolutions Committee.
 Discussion.

AFTERNOON SESSION

2:00 Theme: How to Interest Business Men in the Georgeist Solution.
 Chairman: Alan C. Thompson, Toronto.
 Speakers: David Gibson, Cleveland, Ohio. (30 min.)
 Carl D. Smith, Pittsburgh, Pa., Vice-President, Henry George Foundation. (30 min.)
 Discussion.

EVENING SESSION

7:00 Banquet.
 Chairman: J. H. L. Patterson, President, Single Tax Association of Canada.
 Address: Hon. Peter Witt, Cleveland, Ohio. (30 min.)
 Music.
 Address: Orderly Progress, Hon. A. W. Roebuck, K.C., member for Bellwoods in the Ontario Legislature; former Attorney General for Ontario and member of Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario. (30 min.)

SATURDAY AFTERNOON

2:00 Tour as guests of the City of Toronto.
 REGISTRATION \$2.00 BANQUET \$2.50

The California Campaign

THE fight in California is on again. The several county clerks have so far filed with the Secretary of State their certificates showing that 185,867 out of the necessary 186,378 of registered voters had petitioned for the submission of our amendment. In addition there are on the way to the Secretary's office certificates from three more clerks which will carry the number from 1,500 to 2,000 over the required number.

This result has been obtained after a most vicious and unprincipled campaign to prevent the submission. Circulators have been interfered with, bribed, cajoled and threatened with loss of occupation and even personal violence. Suits have been filed in court. The radio and the newspapers have been utilized to the fullest to dissuade persons from signing. Wherever in many places circulators have visited, their footsteps have been followed and people who had signed solicited to withdraw their signatures under all kinds of misrepresentations. In doing all this it can be estimated conservatively that not less than \$50,000 has been spent.

Of course this has delayed us, and even the weather had an important adverse effect. Also it has cost us additional money and much anxiety. Nevertheless my impression is that the net result will not be unfavorable to us, and this conduct will react to our benefit. Counting upon success in the attempt to keep the measure off the ballot, the adverse campaign has been slowed up so that everything to be done must be compressed within about three months and a half.

The raising of money and the conduct of the campaign on the part of the other side seems to be centered in the Chambers of Commerce, whose strings are pulled by the Real Estate Boards. An important aid to the opposition is the Parent-Teachers organization which has fallen into the hands of a reactionary group, using it under the pretense that our measure will cripple the schools. Of course it does nothing of the kind, transferring the load of what we call taxation from the shoulders of the im-

poverished mass to the holders of idle and valuable land.

From time to time we are favored with a glimpse behind the scenes furnished by the opposition. For instance, I have just received copy of a letter sent out generally in Monterey County, in which after saying that the Single Tax Repeal—Single Tax proposal—must be defeated, the writers aver that it would eat up the entire income derived from land. They add: "Make no mistake, with the sales tax repeal included as a part of the measure, we are in for a battle. . . . Newspapers, radio and other means of publicity must be used to reach the voters. The effort calls for money." The suggestion is made that the contribution should be between \$50 and \$100.

There can be little doubt that at least a half-million will be raised to defeat the measure. Against this we have to present a barren treasury. Our money was exhausted in the effort to get the matter before the people for voting. It must be the duty and pleasure of others to help from now on. We may say that our part has cost us many thousands of dollars, and we must limit our sacrifices although not our work.

If this were a matter of matching dollars our position would be indeed hopeless. However, as one who is not a friend, the State Senator from Santa Rosa, remarked in a recent newspaper article, the contest is not "one-sided." He was evidently doubtful of the result.

In connection with the money question it is interesting to note that the statement is constantly being made at Rotary, Kiwanis and other meetings by the opposition that we are backed by the mythical millions of the Fels Fund. Inasmuch as this fund, in fact, never had an existence and the only excuse for such a statement perished with the passing away of Mr. Fels twenty-four years ago, the allegation is distressingly inaccurate.

Almost exactly seven years ago in a long article in LAND AND FREEDOM, I pointed out that the states most open for reform in taxation were first, Michigan and Massachusetts and then California. This article met with no response, of which I am aware, from Michigan, and a negative one from the few Massachusetts men who gave it any attention. Some time later the institution of the sales tax in California seemed to suggest to us that now was the time for California to step to the fore and we assumed a tremendous burden. Our present outlook is that the State where our doctrines first received widest recognition will be the first, with your assistance, to show real results. Will we have this assistance or will you

"Politely turn aside

When your faith is crucified?"

as Frank Stephens long ago put the question, and if you do "Can you call it your millennium when it comes?"

LATER

Have just received word that Fresno County reports

1,613 good names. This puts us on the ballot with 1,100 names above and around 1,000 more to come.

Please make a suitable correction in the letter sent yesterday or use this as an addendum.

This, save for the possibility of court interference, ends a six and more months' phase of the struggle and is a great relief.

Palo Alto, Calif.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

National Conference of the Federated Chapters of the Henry George Fellowship

NEW YORK CITY, JULY 3 AND 4, 1938

THE conference made up of delegates from twelve cities and meeting to coordinate the work of all the chapters to provide a clearing house of ideas, was opened by President Nathan Hillman, Hartford, Conn., with a brief commentary on its aims and purposes. Mrs. Ann George deMille greeted the delegates with her customary inspirational words of hope and encouragement, and delegates were welcomed in behalf of the New York Chapter as host by Mr. Morris Forkosch, president of the chapter.

Mr. Hillman's report of his activities as president during the year was especially gratifying, showing the growth of the Fellowship from no formal organization to twelve chapters in ten states.

Class organization with special emphasis on advertising and financing classes was discussed by Mr. William Newcomb of Rochester, N. Y., whose article, "Showmanship in Education," appeared in LAND AND FREEDOM. Contributions to this subject were made also by Mr. Mark Leonardi of Boston, Mass.; Mr. Samuel Levine of Chicago, Ill., and Mr. Morris Forkosch of New York City. It is interesting to note also, that every delegate present offered suggestions, showing the intense interest of all chapters. It was brought out that the opening of classes may be advertised through the use of posters and pamphlets displayed in public places, but many equally valuable suggestions were offered.

Articles in newspapers and periodicals, with letters to the editors accompanied if possible by photographs of teachers, and preceded by personal contacts with the editors to facilitate publication, are of inestimable value. Radio broadcasts, plays, and discussions are excellent means. Triple postcards are especially useful in many cases. Commencement dinners for graduates were recommended. The importance of keeping graduates interested and employed, not only as teachers but also in various capacities was stressed, and ideas for teas, luncheons and social functions were offered. Graduates may participate in local groups for the purpose of presenting the Henry George Philosophy, and distribute pamphlets, prepar-

letters, radio scripts, address cards, make posters, and serve the local chapter in many ways.

A special School fund, separate from the regular Fellowship fund, and made up of contributions of members and friends should be created for financing classes, and it has been found that a direct appeal to graduates at commencement dinners, as well as social evenings and lectures with paid admissions are very helpful.

Mr. John Lawrence Monroe, Field Director, sent greetings and offers of assistance in organizing classes to the conference. Miss McCarthy, Secretary of the New York School, acted as his emissary.

Although reports of delegates showed a fine spirit of cooperation between School and Fellowship, a controversy arose showing the spirit to be lacking in New York City, a condition deplored by all delegates, who instructed that a committee for conciliation be appointed later to mediate between the New York School and the New York Fellowship.

Mr. Hillman stated very emphatically that the greatest need at present is for education, urging more classes, and proposing a quota based on one class for every 25,000 of population for each chapter.

The use of charts, samples of which were exhibited, teaching of the Margin of Cultivation and the Law of Rent, using the questionnaire sent with lesson sheets to insure participation of students in the first classes and to stimulate interest, giving examinations to check on work of teachers and pupils involving no grades or publicity and taken only if the pupil so desires, and having Henry George School after the name of at least one member in each chapter in the telephone directory as a means of contact for members from other cities, were all presented as suggestions to the delegates for improving the School and course.

A motion was passed that some indication of proficiency for those passing examinations be added to or incorporated in the usual certificate given for attendance at classes.

The idea of altering, abridging, or supplementing the Teachers Manual for "Progress and Poverty," for the benefit of those students pressed for time or encountering language difficulties, was not approved by the congress. Mr. Hillman stated that education for these groups was at present secondary, our need now is for leaders.

Announcements were made that courses in "Protection or Free Trade?" and the "Science of Political Economy," are being conducted, and it was urged that all chapters which have not already done so organize teacher-training classes. Many suggestions for judging good teachers were offered.

The following delegates responded to a roll call with a summary of the work done by the various groups and chapters which they represented; Miss Jansen, Dayton, Ohio; Mr. Leonardi, Boston, Mass.; Miss Walton, Montreal, Canada; Mr. Newcomb, Rochester, New York; Dr. Bowen, Newark, N. J.; Mr. Snyder, Hudson, N. Y.;

Mr. Bond, Springfield and Greenfield, Mass.; Mr. Carroll, Norfolk, Conn.; Mr. Levin, Chicago, Ill., and Mrs. Chamberlain, Hartford, Conn.

Among the many ideas not already mentioned, the roll call brought out the following:

Inviting students to become members of the Fellowship at the ninth lesson of classes, and appointing secretaries to take all applications for membership, and telling students how classes are made possible.

Studying and showing interest in local affairs, organizing home study and discussion groups, and a strong publicity committee in each chapter.

Conducting social functions, plays and talks being more valuable than those purely social.

Having a radio series, a Fellowship news, distributing announcements of classes outside meetings, and conducting regular commencement dinners for graduates.

Enlistment of W.P.A., Y's, churches, schools, clubs, community centers, etc., and getting access to special lists for enrollments.

Importance of holding regular monthly meetings with regular dues, and economy in having work done.

Presenting Georgeist views to legislative committees.

Do not depend on "Angels" for finances.

After the roll call, the constitution was amended permitting each chapter to determine who is eligible for membership in each local chapter, with the provision that only graduates of the course be counted in determining the number of delegates each chapter is entitled to send to the National Conference.

At the morning session, July 4, a set of resolutions presented by the delegates was read:

1. A resolution that the Congressional Monopoly Committee investigate land monopolies. Approved.

2. A resolution against taxes on labor and industry and for a tax on land values. Approved.

3. A resolution to admit representatives of the New York Fellowship to the last classes of the New York School for the purpose of obtaining members. Unanimously approved.

A committee was appointed to prepare these resolutions for publication. This committee was also empowered to send a telegram to the Constitutional Convention in Albany advocating the Single Tax.

It was voted that a publicity committee be appointed in each chapter. Mr. Hillman repeated the need for more classes, more members, and expanding the school and educational system. Mr. Levin advocated that publicity also be utilized to disperse the philosophy of Henry George beyond the School and the Fellowship.

The New York and Chicago chapters, whose memberships have grown so large that the problem of keeping graduates interested and occupied is arising, have volunteered to experiment, and report the results at the next convention.

After some discussion it was voted that yearly dues

of five dollars be paid by each chapter to the federation.

A very important means of interfellowship communication was passed by the conference. This is the publication of a Fellowship bulletin for local chapters with aids, ideas and suggestions for their benefit, to fill the needs not accomplished by the *Freeman*.

Sample copies of the *Freeman* and LAND AND FREEDOM were distributed to the delegates, and all were urged to subscribe and recommend them to their students and friends.

Some concern was felt over an article in the *New York Times* stating that the Henry George Fellowship would enter politics. This was not authorized by the conference, and Mr. Hillman called attention to the error of statement.

At the final session the resolutions committee presented in better form the resolutions approved earlier by the conference.

Mr. Haxo of New York then explained the Correspondence Course, and each delegate was asked to write friends and relatives urging them to take the course.

Elections were held for the ensuing year. Those elected were: President, Mr. Nathan Hillman, Hartford, Conn.; First Vice-President, Mr. Morris Forkosch, New York City; Second Vice-President, Miss Grace Johnston, Berkeley, Cal; Financial Secretary, Mr. Mark J. Leonardi, Boston, Mass.; Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Sidney S. Siegler, New York City; Treasurer, Mr. Alexander Fox, Chicago, Ill.; Executive Committee, Mr. John Anderson, Montreal, Canada; Mr. John Bond, Springfield, Mass.; Mrs. M. Faust, Waterbury, Conn.; Mr. William Newcomb, Rochester, N. Y.; Miss Mildred Jensen, Dayton, Ohio; Dr. Schneidman, New York City; Mrs. Augusta Byron, Hartford, Conn. Editor of the Fellowship Bulletin, Mr. Morris Forkosch, New York City.

A Committee on Publicity and Charts and a Committee on Conciliation to promote cooperation between the New York School and the New York Fellowship were appointed.

A telegram was received from Mr. John Lawrence Monroe, congratulating the delegates and urging more classes for the fall.

The conference unanimously voted to hold its meeting in New York City again next July 4.

The conference ended with all expressing satisfaction at the work accomplished and with hopeful enthusiasm for the future.—WINFRED D. CHAMBERLAIN.

PRACTICALLY, then, the greatest, the most fundamental of all reforms, the reform which will make all other reforms easier, and without which no other reform will avail, is to be reached by concentrating all taxation into a tax upon the value of land, and making that heavy enough to take as near as may be the whole ground rent for common purposes.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS, BY HENRY GEORGE.

Problems of Political Economy and Scale Models for the Construction of Prosperity*

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WE have completed a study of political economy. We have learned that the law of freedom would solve the problem of maximum production and the problem of scientific distribution, and there is nothing else in political economy.

It is almost incredible that the simple law of liberty would solve all the political economy problems of the world, as incredible as the fact that the law of gravitation and the law of centrifugal force solve all the mysteries of the movements of all the planets in the universe. But the millions of stars have traveled in their orbits for millions of years in obedience to the natural laws, and they will never crash in final chaos unless human laws attempt to improve upon the law of nature and regiment the stars.

The only thing we can do in the way of further study is to watch the working of the law of freedom in the problems which beset the world, and to observe the effects of interference.

What are the problems of political economy?

They are all the situations which have inevitably followed violations of natural law; e.g., over-production, under-consumption, low wages, depression.

Are these problems numerous?

They are so numerous that no book could recite them all. There are new problems in the news of every day.

Why so numerous?

1. Because human laws have been made up largely of interferences.

2. Because every interference requires a myriad of other interferences to remedy the bad effects of the first interference.

3. Because one interference can produce a myriad of problems.

Should a work on political economy treat of all these problems?

It would be a physical impossibility.

Is it necessary to treat of all these problems?

No. It is enough to make a selection of the principal problems, and show how the natural law of liberty would solve them all.

What is an important difference between political economy built on natural law and one built on human law?

*This was written as a supplement to a textbook, "The Science of Political Economy," which was published in *The Gaelic American*, New York City.

The natural law of political economy is one—liberty, and this is simplicity itself. The interferences of human law are legion, and the result is complexity and confusion. No book on this kind of political economy will ever be complete—or comprehensible.

SCALE MODELS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF PROSPERITY

A Quebec Bridge or a Mississippi Flood Control Project or a Boulder Dam may be a dismal failure unless it is first worked out to success on a small model. We have wind tunnels to try out airplane models, and towing tanks for model boats.

The greatest construction job on earth is the building of prosperity, and it has never yet been successful. Dozens of plans have been put into operation on a nation-wide scale, one succeeding another after each crash into depression. If any one of these plans had been tried in a small community it might have been a failure without involving a nation in tragedy.

The writer can not secure even a small community to use as guinea pigs, but he suggests that a small group of imaginary men might be subjected to a plan, and if the obvious results are undesirable the plan should be discarded forever. A plan which should bring disaster to a dozen imaginary men could not possibly bring prosperity to a hundred million real men.

If some of the obvious results are so surprising that they are obviously incredible, the reader may at least extract some amusement by looking for the "catch." Our little community of men may prove as interesting as Gulliver's community of little men.

THEOREM I

PRIVATE CONTROL OF LAND MUST PRODUCE DEPRESSION

We will use for our scale models twelve men and the following chart with twelve plots representing places where the men could make a living.

	Production per man per month.
Gold mine.....	\$3,000
Silver mine.....	2,000
Oil well.....	1,000
Coal mine.....	500
Factory.....	300
Store.....	200
Farm.....	150
Farm.....	125
Farm.....	100
Farm.....	50
Farm.....	25

Men are free to work anywhere, and they go to work at the gold mine and make \$3,000 per month until some

one secures title to the gold mine and the men must work elsewhere. They go to the silver mine and make \$2,000 per month until that also is sold. As each plot passes under private control the men must move, until they reach the plots where they can barely make a living, say \$50 per month.

Meantime, the owners of the plots must have workmen. Men will not take employment at less than they could make for themselves, and employers must pay something over \$50 per month, and the minimum must be enough to keep the workers alive, but there is nothing to force employers to pay more than \$100 per month.

When the men were making \$3,000 per month at the gold mine they bought the most expensive food and clothing, houses and automobiles and luxuries, and business was excellent. When their wages went to \$100 or \$50 per month they could purchase only enough to keep alive, and all kinds of business were suspended or stopped.

This is what is called a depression, and there is no conceivable method of avoiding this condition with private control of land. In the world there are a myriad of complications which we have not covered in our theorem, probably every one of which has been offered as a cause of the depression, until we can not see the forest for the trees. But there is no complication which can be inserted which will prevent depression where men have no place to work.

There is no interference by government which can bring living wages to such men except absolute regimentation, where each man's wages are paid by government regardless of his ability to produce. In other words, the only alternative to starvation is the rationing of labor and wages. This is the extinction of initiative, and reducing mankind to the status of the dairy cow. This is communism, and communism is the only logical answer to private control of land.

THEOREM II

PROSPERITY WOULD BE PERPETUAL WITH LAND MONOPOLY ABOLISHED

We will use for our scale models the same men and the same plots as in the foregoing, but with the land owned by the community, and the rents collected for the community. This is not a proposition borrowed from Utopia. The people are legally the owners of all the lands of the nation under the law of eminent domain. The Constitution of the State of New York reads, Article I, Section 10:

"The people of this state, in their right of sovereignty, are deemed to possess the original and ultimate property in and to all lands within the jurisdiction of the state."

Let us apply this plan to our scale models. Sales of plots are now barred, plots are leased at their annual rental value, and the rents belong to all. Every man has an equal right to work on any plot, including the gold mine.

If the men lease the exclusive right to use a plot they are barring themselves from the right to use it, and allowing themselves to be restricted to less profitable work elsewhere. The lease money is therefore the price of a valuable right surrendered by all, and the money belongs equally to all. It goes into a general fund which must be divided among them on demand, or it could be used for general expenses, rendering taxes unnecessary.

Now suppose that some men have leased all the plots down to the sub-marginal, where the return is \$50 per month. Living expenses for a family are \$150 per month, and it is impossible for a man to support a family by his work, so he does not try. Instead, these men live as landed proprietors, on the heavy rents paid for the lands on which they could have made a fine living.

Of course, this condition is not profitable for the lessees, who must have workmen if they are to pay the rents and make a profit, and they start offering higher and higher wages until men are again induced to work; or else the leases are surrendered, and men must either go to work for themselves at the gold mine for \$3,000 a month or starve. This would hardly be called a depression.

These rents would not have to be actually divided among the men. Men who are equally free to work anywhere could not conceivably be unemployed. But let us imagine the impossible, that some of our men are out of work. These men could be supported out of the rents of the properties, of which they are the legal owners under the law of eminent domain, and they could be supported without the taking of a dollar in taxes from the earnings of the people who are working.

If New York State or any other sovereign state would *actually* own its lands, depression would be a physical impossibility. There is no condition or complication in any country on earth now suffering from depression which could introduce a depression into the problem we have been considering.

The thousands of paupers on "relief" in the State of New York, who are legally the owners of "all the lands in the State of New York," including the sites of the Woolworth Building and the Empire State Building, are an indictment of human intelligence.

THEOREM III

PRIVATE CONTROL OF LAND REDUCES THE EARNINGS OF PEOPLE WHO DO NOT TOUCH LAND

We will use the same scale models as in Theorem I. The gold mine and the silver mine have been purchased, but men are free to work on any of the other plots, and they can work for themselves at the oil fields at \$1,000 per month. This figure sets the standard of wages. We will now introduce a physician and a school teacher.

Both these men had to spend years in expensive and

unpaid study to prepare themselves to serve the public, and no one would expect them to work at the pay of the mine workers, \$1,000 per month, and they would undoubtedly receive a compensation of \$2,000 per month, one as fees, the other as salary.

Our small world continues to progress, and men buy property until no free land is left except the \$50 farm, and wages go to \$50 or \$75, with half the men out of work. The school teacher who should expect a salary of \$2,000 per month while the parents of his pupils are making \$50 or nothing will be a disillusioned man. And the doctor who should expect to accumulate fees of \$2,000 a month from \$50 patients will come to a rude awakening. His fees must be drastically reduced, most of his patients will be served on credit, and a great part of his work will be done in free clinics.

To think that the preacher, the teacher, and the artist have no interest in the land system is to think that the steam-heated apartment has no need of the coal mine or the oil well.

THEOREM IV

MACHINERY CREATES UNEMPLOYMENT WHEN LAND IS MONOPOLIZED

We will use for our scale models twelve men and the three plots diagrammed below. The other plots are available, but we are disregarding them.

Factory plot.....	product, \$300 per man per month
Farm.....	product, 300 per man per month
Farm (sub-marginal).....	product, 50 per man per month

All the plots are privately owned except the \$50 farm. Six of the men are employed at the factory and six at the better farm. Times are good, and wages are \$150 per month. The product of the two enterprises is enough to supply all the men, and as they are getting good wages the entire output is purchased.

Now the factory installs new machinery which allows one man to do the work of the six, and the farm installs a tractor with which one man does all the work. Ten men are discharged and go to work on the poorest farm making \$50 per month.

The factory and the farm produce, as before, enough for twelve men who formerly spent twelve times \$150, \$1,800. There are now two men with combined wages of \$300 and ten men with wages of \$500, a total of \$800 against the previous total of \$1,800. They buy \$800 worth each month, leaving \$1,000 worth to pile up. Of course, the factory and the farm must either close up or work on short time, with more unemployment, less buying, and more over-production.

Where men have no access to land on which they can make a living, they have no other way to live except by holding a job. When these jobs are done away with by

machinery or by anything else, the men have no alternative but to starve, or to make a wretched living on useless land.

THEOREM V

MACHINERY COULD NOT PRODUCE UNEMPLOYMENT WHERE THE LAND BELONGS TO ALL

Our twelve men are working for themselves on the farm and at the factory plot. Now a captain of industry wishes to lease the factory plot, and a gentleman farmer wants to lease the farm.

Before the men will consent to lease these plots they will see that the rental figures are high enough to compensate them for the splendid living they are sacrificing. The leases are made at a satisfactory sum. In the course of time, machinery is installed, and ten men are discharged.

These men will go to work on other plots and make a good living with the aid of the leases they have made; or if they have rented all the desirable plots they will live on the rents alone; or they could live with short hours of work, with ample leisure for study and recreation and self-improvement, but an "unemployed" man would be as impossible as a bonfire at the ocean bottom. The only kind of "unemployment" would be of the kind inflicted upon the Astors now permanently moved to London.

Short hours and good wages will result from machinery when the people really collect the rent of the land. They will never result from strikes nor from legislation so long as men displaced by machinery have no place to go, and hordes of helpless men must compete against starvation for the few jobs left by machinery.

THEOREM VI

"LAND VALUES" ARE THE CAUSE OF LABOR WARS

For simplification, let us take as our scale models only two plots, the gold mine, and the farm producing \$50 per month, and twelve men. The gold mine is private property, the owner leases it to a mine operator, and there is, of course, no legal limit to the rental he charges. The men can make \$50 per month on the farm, but the gold mine operator offers them \$150, and employs six of the twelve.

Our men produce \$3,000 each at the mine, \$18,000 per month. They receive \$900 per month, and the rent has been set at \$15,000 per month, leaving \$2,100 for the employer.

Times are good, every one is working, half the men at good wages. Real estate values are bound to advance, because "real estate values are the index of prosperity," and the rent of the mine property is raised to \$17,000.

Prosperity does not put more gold into the ground nor make corn grow faster, and the only place from which the \$17,000 can come is from the \$18,000 product. This leaves \$1,000, \$900 for wages and \$100 for the operator.

The employer is a conscientious man, hating to cut wages, and perhaps dreading strikes. The men are anxious to participate in the world-wide prosperity, and they are getting restless for a rise in wages. Meantime prosperity marches on, real estate values mount, and the rent is now \$18,000, the entire product.

The operator has saved some money, and he hates to see the end of his business. Perhaps he can hold out by cutting wages and dipping into his reserves, and he announces a cut in wages to \$100 per month. The men can not understand why their wages must be cut in an era of boundless prosperity, they hold meetings to execrate employers who grind the faces of the poor, and they inaugurate a strike. The only hope of the employer is to hire at \$100 the men who are making \$50 on the poorer farm.

Then follows a contest between strikers and strike-breakers which ends with the mine shut down, perhaps destroyed, and strikers and strike-breakers making \$50 per month on the farm, except those out of work and those in the hospitals. The mine property has been deflated, real estate values are down, and a depression is on.

Meantime, the owner of the mine property has accumulated a fortune at the rate of \$18,000 per month, and unemployment to him means only leisure. He knows that the stoppage of his income must be only temporary, that some one must use his mine and pay him tribute, unless men die off and the world comes to an end. He can rest comfortably in Europe, or he may be the public-spirited citizen who gives freely of his time to organize conciliation meetings, urging Christianity and brotherly love upon employer, striker, and strike-breaker, and the constitutional rights of strike-breakers.

We have three factors in our problem:

1. Men who have no place to work for themselves and must work for some one else, at whatever wages are offered.
2. Employers whose profits are limited, out of which they must pay living wages, plus unlimited demands for ever increasing tribute under the name of rents.
3. The land owner, who furnishes no labor, no capital, no management, no cooperation, but who is privileged by law to take 80 or 90 or 100% of the *proceeds*, leaving the employer and employee to battle over the division of the remainder.

No more satisfactory set-up could possibly be provided for the production of labor wars.

"Consequences are un pitying," and the results will not be altered if our twelve men become 130,000,000, and our employer becomes the nation-wide industrial system, and our landowner becomes the national system of private control of land. Neither will it be altered by the fact that the employer is also the landowner. If he is not paying yearly rent he has already paid it in the purchase price of the property, and the rent must be subtracted to pay returns on the investment.

THE COMPLETION OF THE CYCLE AND THE RETURN OF PROSPERITY

The mine is idle, perhaps for years, and can not be rented for \$18,000. The owner at last finds another gold mine operator who will rent it at \$15,000. Men can readily be hired at \$80 per month, and six men are hired. The product is \$18,000 per month, rent is \$15,000, and wages \$480, leaving \$2,520 per month profit.

Business is so good that wages are raised to \$100 and then to \$150, prosperity is coming back, real estate values "appreciate," and the rent of the mine goes up by easy stages to \$18,000, with the same results as before—the mine is idle, the men are out of work, depression is on, and *the cycle is completed*. The mysterious "Cycle of Depression," is nothing but the continuous and accelerating bleeding of industry by "land values" until industry faints from exhaustion, and the grip of land values must be relaxed until industry recovers sufficiently for a new course of bleedings.

THEOREM VII

The Sit-down Strike. Employers who refuse the right remedy for labor troubles are forcing a wrong remedy far more drastic.

The logical ending of a system which bars men from the land and natural resources and renders them helpless in the hands of employers, is the seizure of the plants, the ending of private property, the reign of Communism and the extinction of the captain of industry.

Let us take for our scale model twelve men and a capitalist, and the same farm and factory as in Theorem VI. The land is no longer monopoly-controlled, men are free to work anywhere on equal terms, and they make a good living.

The capitalist decides to start a factory, and he must offer better than a good living to induce men to leave their places on the farm. The enterprise is started, and as the years go by, the capitalist desires to increase his profits by cutting down expenses, and he announces a cut in wages. The men announce an immediate return to self-employment, leaving the factory idle. The capitalist reconsiders his decision, and will be content with present profits. The factory remains running, with peace and prosperity for capitalist and workmen.

Now an outsider enters the picture as a landowner. He has bought up all the land, both farms and factory site. The men can work on the farm only at the wages he offers, and they are very low. A handsome rental is also charged for the factory site, and the capitalist's earnings are cut down.

Once more the men are faced with a wage cut, but now they have no farms on which they can make a living. If they leave their jobs the capitalist, for his own protection, must hire other workers, and he plans to employ strike-breakers, leaving the men high and dry. Faced

with the choice between low wages and idleness, the men decide to sit down at their machines and prevent the entrance of the strike-breakers.

This is the taking of the employer's property, and it is the essence of Communism. The law, which has allowed the private monopolization of all the natural resources, which has taken from the men the right to any place to work for themselves, has left them only the two alternatives of submitting to any terms of employers, or retiring peacefully to idleness and death.

Our small nation of fourteen men have made laws to insure life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The laws have resulted in a condition where twelve men have no way to live except by the seizure of the property of the other two. Perhaps conditions indicate a change in laws.

The Dilemma of the Men. Two legal choices, low wages or no wages at all; and one illegal choice, the seizure of the plant.

The Dilemma of the Employer. He has a choice between submission to the men, and a succession of sit-down strikes and the ultimate extinction of his race.

The Dilemma of the Law. It may choose between submitting to the demands of the men and to the ending of private property, or it may eject men into idleness and helplessness, with its shadow of revolution.

No government has as yet been brave enough to uphold the right of corporations to eject workers from the plant in a sit-down strike. Government has ample laws for such ejection, but it recognizes that it would be too dangerous to carry out the laws.

If human laws did not bar men from the land and natural resources, if men were as free as their employers to use the earth, both the law and the employer would be justified in demanding that men either work for the wages offered or work for themselves elsewhere. There could be no such dilemmas as the foregoing.

There is no final resting place between freedom and slavery. The two will not mix. There is no final resting place between letting men make a living for themselves and the seizure of private property. Human laws may aim at a middle course, but there is no such middle course in nature or in natural laws.

The sit-down strike is the beginning of the end. It is Communism in practice. Where the natural resources of the earth are locked up from the human race, the question before civilization is, "Shall the workers choose helplessness or Communism?"

(To be continued)

THE efficiency of labor always increases with the habitual wages of labor—for high wages mean increased self-respect, intelligence, hope and energy. Man is not a machine, that will do so much and no more; he is not an animal, whose powers may reach thus far and no further. It is mind, not muscle, which is the great agent of production.—PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

THEOREM VIII

DESTRUCTION OF WEALTH CAN NOT BRING PROSPERITY

Jones is a farm worker and Smith a factory worker. Each is making \$2.50 per day, and living expenses are \$5; i.e., a depression is on. The government attributes this to low prices for food and materials caused by over-production, and orders the destruction of half the food and materials, causing a rise of 100 per cent in prices.

The cost of living is now \$10 per day, and wages do go up, perhaps, to \$3, certainly not to \$10, and the men can now purchase one-third of a day's supply, instead of one-half as formerly.

I must apologize to my readers for this chapter. Prosperity means an abundance of food and materials. The proposition that wealth (or prosperity) can be increased by the destruction of wealth is on a par with the proposition that health can be increased by murder. The newspapers carried a story that the mules on the cotton fields balked when they were forced to plow the cotton under. The mule might be a mule, but the philosophy of destruction is too crude for any one but the mule driver's driver.

THEOREM IX

A TARIFF CAN NOT POSSIBLY INCREASE PROSPERITY

Prosperity means that men have an ample supply of food and materials. We will take as our scale models two men, in a place where the land is owned by the community and men are free to work. Jones is raising food and Smith is manufacturing materials. Jones can produce twice as much food as he needs, and Smith twice as much "materials" as he needs. Each man trades half his products with the other, and both men are fully supplied.

If money is used instead of barter, and wages are \$10 per day, each man buys \$5 worth from the other, each is fully supplied, and there is prosperity.

Now let us suppose that soil and conditions in South America are so favorable for food production, or that wages are so low that food can be produced, and sold in the United States for \$2.50 instead of \$5. But the scarcity of raw materials and the lack of machinery make it difficult to produce clothing, and a day's supply of clothing costs \$10.

Food from South America is offered at \$2.50, and Jones can no longer sell food at \$5. Our two American workmen are now producing materials because Jones has gone where he can get the most for his work. Each man produces two day's supply of materials, keeping one for his own use, selling the other in South America for \$5, buys a day's supply of food for \$2.50 and saves \$2.50. Compared with his previous condition of prosperity, he is now enjoying a super-prosperity. The "materials" business in South America is abandoned because the goods can be bought in the United States for \$5 instead of \$10, and they save \$5 on each day's supply.

(To be continued)

Some Thoughts on the "Plan of Action" Now Taking Shape in Michigan

AS indicated in a recent article by Mr. Louis Wallis, a way *must be found* of utilizing and opening up land and natural opportunities to our people (especially the youngsters), along lines of *intelligent and "constructive" taxation* as opposed to the restrictive, deadening and almost suicidal policy of today. If not, some form of Dictatorship and "government tyranny" will ultimately and surely result. "Same causes," as we know, bring "same effects," and as the result of certain wrong economic adjustments, our sins are merely catching up with us, as a certain great American economist foresaw many years ago, when he commented on what would happen as "the pressure increased and the safety valve (emigration) to the New World" no longer would be operative. Gunpowder, as he said, does not explode until confined, and the moral applies to us as well as Europe.

Through the kindness of Mr. A. Laurence Smith, of 2460 East Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan (a well-balanced, cool-headed gentleman with Georgeist ideas and with a successful business experience behind him), the writer received for comment a brief little booklet of "progress" and economics, as issued by one of our great national food manufacturing companies. The work of preparation was done by the J. Walter Thompson Company of New York City,—and using Brooking's Institute data, etc., in their various illustrations. These show simply and dramatically the abhorrent features of various "isms," also the futility of the "Limit Production" idea, the ultimate failure of "Share the Wealth," "Communize," "Go Fascist," etc. Further on in this simple but catchy presentation, the Thompson Company brings out the failure of "Divide all the farms," "Increase Taxes and Spending," etc. Each division has an excellent cut or drawing together with a short story which shows the "will o' the wisp" feature of these ideas, and winds up using Brooking's Institute conclusions indicating clearly that our only hope (while giving the profit system a chance to work), is to "reduce prices" and *get more for the money*—a primary recommendation, as we know, of the Brooking's report, "With lower prices we flow with the tide of competition, not against it."

Illustrations bring out these points most convincingly as they refer to what has been done in such commodities as rayon, electric lamps, gasoline, and of course the automobile under high prices and under low. In conclusion, they bring out that "Business must have profits," and that taxes are now almost confiscatory and are rapidly *destroying incentive*.

And yet, as we study the booklet, we know that while helpful, and performing a patriotic service, it is merely

a "forlorn hope" for the manufacturer to put out such a plea under present circumstances, and with no *strong medicine* as a corrective to bring about the realization of the Brookings' recommendations.

As Dr. Virgil Jordan, head of the National Industrial Conference Board, said, "This is a revolution, and you cannot compromise with a revolution. You can only cooperate with it or be liquidated by it."

Mr. Smith's idea, and that of his national committee, as the writer understands it, is to *go on from this point*, and as one angle of their work have some such concern as the advertising company mentioned, dramatize and show pictorially (for the first time), how taxation of a *non-punitive* and of a *constructive* nature *mostly on the land*, and relieving or exempting business and improvements would work towards *opening up* use of our land and natural resources, *more production*, far better use of our technological and other advances, and the straightening out—(painfully of course to some people) of these economic maladjustments, and thus, if proper support can be secured, start a great movement towards real and lasting prosperity, also the warding off of the results of what now begins to look like an onrushing and most hopeless situation as it concerns our future.

Mr. Smith has the backing of "The Tax Relief Association," a national body which has emerged from the "Action Committee" and deliberations of the Henry George Congress. Let us hope that our great corporations and business leaders, on the other hand, can be brought to the acceptance of true economics and to see that the choice is something paralleling the importance of the Civil War issue we once had in this country. This time, with aid to start with of an easily understood exposition of "what it's all about," a pictorial plan as contained in simple but well prepared booklets, plus newspaper advertising and other modern day publicity matter (including moving picture films), etc., readily understandable to all, thus get the message "over" in the light of recent happenings. We should then all do our part in carrying through to better things without the errors, rancor and futility of the late "Sixties." Such modern day examples as the Spanish situation might well (before it is too late) be examined *realistically* in its relation to land. That need not be injected into the issue, however, except as a warning note to both sides.

The participation of such brilliant writers as Louis Wallis, a copy of whose "Lop-Sided Taxation" article induced these comments, holds promise also for better things, and certainly the whole matter seems to be at a stage where, as *The Financial World* editors indicate, intelligent taxation and action must be given consideration, or else it seems there is little chance to avoid catastrophe and an ultimate embracing of "collectivism" of some kind.

It might be said that Mr. Smith and the Georgeist

National Committee, after considerable study, are planning to concentrate their activities in one state as a starter. Mr. Smith, in a recent letter, uses the homely illustration that a man might take a ton of lead in the form of *bird shot* and go to Africa to shoot elephants, and upon finding an elephant, might shoot the ton of lead into the side of the elephant without causing him to stop eating; but on the contrary, one bullet of the right size and put in the right spot, would kill the elephant dead. Until they get a little further on, no announcement is being made as to the Committee's programme; however, it would seem to be the part of wisdom and self preservation for business men and leaders of industry to study from every angle, and with an open mind, *The Financial World* "Lop-Sided Taxation" article, and along with this the matters here indicated as the next step to a solution of the great problem along individualistic, "American" and common sense lines.—WILLIAM E. CLEMENT, New Orleans, La.

The Dilemma of Communists

THERE is much gnashing of teeth these days among the Marxists. The Trotskyites gnash over the "perfidy of Stalin." The Stalinites gnash over the "betrayers of the revolution," as they confess and are shot.

But the gnashing is most pitiful among the "intellectuals," who, free from emotional bias (except in so far as they adhere to the faith), find in the debacle of the Russian Economic-political experiment a fundamental fault in the heretofore unassailable thought-ritual. The orthodox Marxian state is fallible. That is a bitter pill to swallow. And the gnashing of teeth among these Marxist pundits results from the feverish attempts to rationalize away a previous rationalization which experience has confounded.

It must not be assumed that faith in the Marxian shibboleths has weakened. Before the altars of "class warfare" and the "dictatorship of the proletariat" these fact-befuddled priests still bend a dutiful knee. But they cannot ignore the complete collapse of another Marxian theory—another crumbling of the pillars upon which the beautiful structure of Marxian ideology has rested these long years. The Marxian theory of the state has fallen.

What is this theory? The state is an instrument of class oppression; it will therefore disappear with the disappearance of classes. Quite simple, isn't it? All we have to do is to wipe out class distinctions, and the state which is used by one class, in control of it, to oppress the other class, will vanish into thin air. But, how are we to wipe out these class distinctions? Ah! there's the rub.

The heretofore irrefutably logical formula for abolishing classes was to elevate the oppressed class, who, by virtue of their having been oppressed are endowed with holy

motives and vested with divine intelligence to the position of power. These new rulers, made superior by Marxist ideology and overalls, will then proceed to eradicate from the body politic all vestige of "capitalistic" culture—which means, roughly speaking, the elimination from men's minds of any idea of satisfying their desires with the least effort. Human egoism is not, according to this theory, congenital, but is rather the product of a bad class organization of society. We are "conditioned" by this form of society to want things for ourselves.

Now—continuing the theory—the new rulers will recondition society. This re-conditioning period and process is called revolution. "Social control," consisting of propaganda and bayonets, is the instrument of re-conditioning, and the process must be continued until "all need for force will vanish . . . since people grow accustomed to observing the elemental conditions of social existence without force and without subjection." (The quotation is from Lenin.) With the appearance of the communistic society the state will disappear.

What has gone wrong with this anarchistic Utopia—in Russia? (Of course, there are many who claim that the revolutionary process there is far from complete, that the Stalin purges are a necessary part of it, and that it will take several more generations of slaughter and education before the ideal of no-state through all-state will be achieved. Quite a few, however, have been disturbed by the turn of events, and it is with their mental plight that we are concerned.) The bureaucracy of workers which was supposed to eradicate the cause of bureaucracy—classes—seems to be more firmly entrenched than ever, its power seems to be growing, and its enemy is no longer the arch-demon capitalism but the dissident offshoots of the Marxist ideology from which they, the bureaucrats, stem. Here's a how-de-do! Whoever thought that the establishment of a communist society would have to be built upon the bones of communists? (Again it is necessary to point out that among the blindly orthodox, these bones did not inhabit real communists, but only traitors, spies, fascists, Trotskyites; but among "intellectuals" this rabble-rousing rationalization doesn't go far.)

The Moscow trials reveal the error in the Marxian interpretation of human nature and of the state. The opposition to the bureaucrats in Russia is inconceivable in Marxian theory. "The dictatorship," writes one of the disillusioned, "exists in theory to suppress capitalist foes, not to suppress communists who have other goals and principles than the ruling faction." Thus, the state which was established for the purpose of abolishing the state, and vested with absolute power therefor, finds itself using that power to suppress all shades of thought, even those that are opposed to capitalism. In other words, for any excuse, the all-state that was to become the no-state is digging itself in.

Which is the way of all power. Only a mind befuddled

by Marxist dialect could naively accept the idea that a state invested with unlimited power would destroy itself. Such a thought is contrary to all historic fact, violative of all logical reasoning. And so, Marx's dream of a "free association of workers" that would arise from the "dictatorship of the proletariat" has been wrecked upon the fact that force, coercion, power feed upon more of the same, that freedom is not born from the womb of slavery.

The way to freedom is more freedom. And freedom is essentially individual, not social, in character. It cannot be achieved for society as a whole until it is secured for and assured to the individual units of that society. The political mechanism which we establish for the purpose of enabling us to satisfy our desires with the least effort is merely a "necessary evil," an instrument which must be watched, curbed, restricted to its most elemental function—that of protecting us from one another.

It is not through any political instrument that we can attain freedom. In fact, freedom and state are antitheses; the one belies the other. On what one simple fact does freedom rest? Is it not the ability to earn one's living and to enjoy undisturbed the fruits of one's labor? If so, then the way to freedom is not through any scheme of politics, but through the science of economics. Somewhere in the study of this science will be found the solution of our riddle. And only there. It is because Marxism is essentially a political scheme (its "economics" a manufactured thing to bolster up this scheme) that it has failed to achieve freedom in Russia—its great laboratory.

FRANK CHODOROV.

Impossible

THE New York State Constitutional Convention now in session convened on April 5, 1938. Up to the present very little has been accomplished. The indications are that it will continue until early in September. Under the Law of the State of New York, the proposed new Constitution prepared by the Convention must be submitted to the people, for a popular vote, not less than six weeks before election. Election will be held on November 2.

The best "minds of the state" comprise the delegates to the Convention. Here we have an illustration where the amendments will be considered for over five months and the voters are expected to digest the mass of amendments in six weeks and vote intelligently on them.

Is it possible that this can only happen in a democracy?

HUMAN beings are overworked, are starved, are robbed of all the light and sweetness of life, are condemned to ignorance and brutishness, and to the infection of physical and moral disease; are driven to crime and suicide, not by other individuals, but by iron necessities for which it seems that no one in particular is responsible.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

Promising Everything

THE hearings before the New York State Constitutional Convention indicate clearly that a master politician is impressing his personal views upon the members of the committee on proposed amendments which will advance his political hopes and ambitions.

He is clever, able, and his half-truth statements are making a tremendous effect upon his political opponents, whether they be Democrats, Republicans or Independents.

This political genius is Fiorello H. La Guardia, Mayor of the City of New York. Originally, a Republican, then joined the La Follette party, composed of independent Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists, elected Mayor the first term on a Republican and Fusion ticket and last year on a Coalition ticket, consisting of Republicans, Socialists, Communists, and a newly formed Labor Party. In 1936 he supported President Roosevelt and the Democratic candidate for Governor.

At the present time, he is enrolled as a member of the Labor party and using this new party in the State of New York by forcing Democrats and Republicans in the State Legislature to grant his demands. These two old political parties are also fishing for the labor vote, and, therefore, do not care to antagonize the new party too much.

Several years ago he showed much preference for the principle of the taxation of land values for governmental expense and exempting all improvements from taxation. This, however, is not politically popular.

Today he is the principle advocate of subsidized housing, playing up the needs of the low income groups, by promising them fine dwellings at a price way below the cost of construction and having the difference or subsidies met out of taxes he can impose on those who are fortunate to have a job with a fairly good income. At his urge the last legislature permitted the city to impose an occupancy tax on all businesses.

One of his stock statements why he is for subsidized housing is: "private capital will not build houses to rent at no more than \$5 a month a room, including elevators and all services," and adds, "when the bankers will assist in providing homes at this price, I will withdraw my demand for government housing." He does not, however, tell the same group that it is not done with mirrors nor through miracles, but by granting subsidies which must be raised by taxation. The latest records of subsidized housing in New York indicate that the cost and maintenance of an apartment of four rooms rented to a family for \$24 a month cost the government about \$76 a month.

A family earning \$24 a week can afford to pay \$24 a month. Should the income of the family, however, increase beyond that they would have to give up their apartment, and to get a similar one would cost them \$76.

Under the circumstances, the tenant would be foolish to ask his employer for an increased wage. In this instance, then, the employer is getting the benefit of the subsidy.

There is no doubt that His Honor understands this clearly, but he is not interested in reason or logic, but is desirous of the plaudits of the crowd and their votes. That La Guardia is honest, goes without saying, but he has permitted his political ambitions to run away with any economic views he ever had. Here we have an illustration of a political chameleon, a change of color when desirable. He never permits an opportunity to pass without taking advantage of it. He answers second alarm fires of which he is advised at all times by the chief of the Fire Department. He attends christenings and rushes to the scene of disasters, which will give him a front page story. He is courageous to a degree, fluent in speech, direct and exceedingly humorous. His talks are always telling, but his facts frequently are badly twisted. His audiences, however, appear to like it and some of the conservative papers have taken his statements seriously.

His attacks on the courts when they decide against him outdoes any attacks made by the two Roosevelts. He is strong for the Constitution when it favors his point of view. His definition of a constitutional lawyer, while advocating an amendment to the State Constitution is worth telling. A constitutional lawyer he said, "is one who wears spats, a frock coat, and speaks in a soft voice," and then added, "I can't qualify." His favorites he lauds to the skies, his opponents are viciously attacked. His own commissioners are not permitted to give out any statements in regards to their work. "All statements are issued by the Mayor."

His Honor has the faculty of knowing when and where to attack. When Stalin's plans fail, he begins a fight against the Trotskyite Revolutionists. Hitler always makes a hit with the German Bigots by another onslaught on the Jews. La Guardia also has his pet diversion when some of his plans go wrong. He tells about the rascality of Tammany Hall. This organization at present has as much life in it as a dying cat, but cats are said to have nine lives.

There is much poverty and distress in New York. 180,000 families are now on relief. At the instance of the Mayor, new taxes have been imposed upon people to meet the cost of providing for the poor families, and there is no end in sight.

There were great hopes that when La Guardia was elected Mayor, that he would, at least, point out the causes of poverty and apply the remedy which many throughout the country, believed he knew. Instead, he is cultivating the development and maintenance of poverty stricken group. He can always arouse sympathy for them. We thought we had an idol, now we discover he has feet of clay.—A STROLLING REPORTER.

Death of Herman G. Loew

HERMAN G. LOEW, former president of the Single Tax Publishing Company and long associated with the activities of this organization, died July 16, at the Masonic Home in Utica, N. Y.

Our memory goes back to the Convention of the Committee of 48 in Chicago where Mr. Loew was one of the leaders of the Single Tax group. He was not a great orator, but on that occasion he distinguished himself by a notable speech, and showed the quality of the man.

It is a comfort to relate that he was ill less than two days and suffered no pain. His end was peaceful as befitted his quiet career that nevertheless was characterized by many notable activities. He was eighty-one years old and retained his mental vigor to the last.

On July 4 of this year he accompanied his daughter on a trip to the Adirondacks and seemed in excellent spirits. Mr. Loew was born in New York City, Dec. 23, 1856, and graduated from Columbia Law School in 1887, in which year he was admitted to the bar. He practised law for fifty years in the city of New York.

His Single Tax activities are well known to the older members of the movement. He had lived a long, full rounded life, crowded with useful service. He was beloved by his associates and though inactive of late years was kept in touch with the movement. We heard from him frequently during his stay at the Masonic Home in Utica, from which institution he wrote us many times with information as to likely prospects. Our friend knew his economics, and the supporters of the Henry George philosophy looked to him for safe and sane judgment on matters that frequently came up in the inner circles of the movement. His opinions were always regarded with respect. He hailed the advent of the School with keen appreciation of its value.

A devoted, quiet, forceful personality has passed from the scene. We regret not merely the loss of a friend but a valiant upholder of the great truth that meant so much to him. The world is better that Herman Loew has lived in it.

The burial took place at Lutheran Cemetery, Queens, N. Y., on July 19.

It is the taking by the community for the use of the community, of that value which is the creation of the community. It is the application of the common property to common uses. When all rent is taken by taxation for the needs of the community, then will the equality ordained by nature be attained. No citizen will have an advantage over any other citizen save as is given by his industry, skill and intelligence; and each will obtain what he fairly earns. Then, but not till then, will labor get its full reward and capital its natural return.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

Unmitigated Gall

AS an example of unmitigated gall the claim of the Thomas F. White Co. for damages to their property caused by the condemnation of a plot equal to 1,638 square feet to straighten out the southerly line of Floyd Bennet Field is hard to beat. The Thomas F. White Co. are "realtors" extraordinary. As such they own almost all of Barren Island that has not been acquired by the City of New York for park purposes. They wanted \$132,894 for the 1,638 square feet because they claimed that the taking of this plot deprived them of riparian rights on Jamaica Bay. This small plot cut into the southerly line of the airport on the northern line of Barren Island. Barren Island was once the center of an odorous industry, the rendering of garbage and dead animals, mostly horses, and the changing of these noisome materials into alcohol, glycerine, perfumes, glue, and fertilizers. The factories for these activities were located on the southerly side of the island and here the barges brought the raw materials gathered from the streets of New York and ships took the finished products away. The rest of the island was given over to sand dunes, clumps of willows, and the homes of the workers. There was a school with a house for the teachers since they had to remain there all week. There was also a lone policeman attached to the Canarsie precinct and an artesian well on the school grounds, the only good water to be found on the island. The only means of access was by boat and the only landing places on the south. The riparian rights on the north were confined to mud creeks, useless except when frozen in winter. The nature of the industries, the isolation of the island from the mainland, five miles from Canarsie Landing or from Sheepshead Bay, and the tough character of the inhabitants, since only the roughest and toughest kind of workers could be found willing to work with such materials, made the island valuable only for industrial projects, and those limited because of the nature of the industries already there.

But time moves on. The increasing population of the Rockaways and the one-time cabbage fields of the Dutch farmers on the mainland made itself heard and the nuisance on Barren Island had to go. The city built a causeway to the island, opened a ferry to Rockaway and later a bridge, filled in the marshes, built Floyd Bennet Field, and Barren Island was now tied up with the mainland. Its isolation was over. Soon the factories were abandoned and dismantled, although the dead horse factory continued doing business along side of the ferry for some time, much to the discomfort of motorists waiting in line to cross. No longer were dead horses hauled in barges from Manhattan to the island but the trucks carried them through the streets of the city and down along the causeway for the five miles of its length. Eventually that went and Thomas

F. White Co. had land that had now acquired a value for residential or for park purposes. The building of the causeway, the piping in of Catskill water, the airport, the bridge, all made land on Barren Island worth many times what it was before. The need for riparian rights had gone since it no longer depended upon navigable water to live. And there is still plenty of shore line for a yacht basin should one be deemed necessary. The nearness of Riis's Beach for bathing makes it unnecessary to risk the polluted waters of the bay. So the demand for \$132,894 for damages to the value of the land due to loss of riparian rights is plain unadulterated gall. But here is the joke on us, the people of New York. The experts for the city claimed the value of the plot to be \$3,555. Justice Lockwood gave the claimants \$4,000. The Thomas F. White Co. own 45 acres on Barren Island. They said that this was worth \$996,123 before the city took the small plot. The experts set the previous value at \$208,431 before any improvements were made. Now if this is so the improvements of the causeway and Floyd Bennet Field before the adding of the small plot made the value of the White people's lands more than four times what it was before, an increase of about 450 per cent. Yet they claimed damages equal to half the value of their whole 45 acres originally and they were allowed \$4,000 for 1,638 square feet. Now lots in Flatbush, six miles nearer to the city's center of business, entertainment, and education are assessed at \$1,000 to \$2,000 for a full 20 by 100 feet. It is a joke but a sad one.

The proceedings in which the above award was made are interesting for another little drama that was unfolded. Stick-to-it-iveness, try, try, again, and all the copy-book slogans are illustrated in the case of John H. Ward of New Jersey. This young man wanted to go places, it didn't matter whose backs he used for conveyance. Being a farseeing man he took note of the plans to develop Jamaica Bay back in 1920 or thereabouts and accordingly he managed to get a deed to lands under water, said deed going straight back to a grant of land made by the Canarsie Indians in 1636 to two officers of the Dutch West India Company. Then when the development of the bay was well under way he presented this deed to land supposed to be part of this grant, the Gerritsen and Hudde Grant. The courts declared his deed fictitious and threw out his claim. Then he started in to buy quit-claims to the tune of \$33,000 to 43 parcels of land, all under water until the city improved them. He asked \$5,103,340 for them. With interest this came to well over \$10,000,000. The city experts placed a value of \$941,254 on the 43 parcels. The award of Justice Lockwood is exactly nothing. Why? Because Mr. Ward in his eagerness to cash in on public service had bought what could not be delivered since the sellers never had it to sell. Among those who took money for quit-claims were

the heirs and descendants of old Dutch settlers, among them being the Lott and Elbert families. Justice Lockwood pointed out that these families were familiar with all properties taken by the city and had sold the right to lands ostensibly worth millions for a paltry \$31,000, lands which they had never claimed nor mentioned in any condemnations, partitions, divisions, maps, transfer or inheritance tax proceedings. Furthermore, he pointed out, they always in such proceedings claimed as their lands their farm on the mainland and lands on Barren Island and has paid taxes on these lands alone. He expressed surprise that a family so well-known and so prominent in the professional, business, and civic life of this city for generations, should have stooped to take money from a land speculator seeking to mulct the city in return for a quit-claim to property they never owned.

This pricking of the bubble of family claim to super-respectability is a good thing for democracy since it shows those who are inclined to worship heredity and social standing and therefore lack confidence in the ability of the people to know what is good for the people, that there is nothing after all in ancestor worship. Codfish and cabbage aristocracy are alike in producing descendants willing to satisfy their desires with the least effort. So we find the Lotts and Elberts just as willing to get something for nothing as the lowlived racketeer of labor. But why was the Thomas F. White Co. entitled to anything? Why was any one of the claimants entitled to anything for land under water, or for abandoned farmland, useless for any other purpose until the completion of the great civil undertakings mentioned before? We, the people, are still saps.

SYNDICATED ECONOMICS SEEN THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS

Robert Quillen in a syndicated article in the *Brooklyn Eagle* of Wednesday, August 3, 1938, explains the origin of wages in this way:

"A great many years ago, in a land where slavery was ended or not yet begun, a certain smart man said to his neighbor: 'If you will make two spears for me, I will furnish the material and give you one of the spears.'

And thus he started something that has caused continual controversy from that day until the present, and bids fair to disturb the world for generations to come.

Argument, altruism and force may affect the worker's wage for a while, but in the last accounting it will be determined by *simple economic rules* that nothing can change."

There is but one true statement in this and that is modified by the use of the future tense. The worker's wage *is* determined by simple economic rules that nothing can change, and always has been so determined but since very few know what those simple economic rules are t

worker has very seldom received his wage. Mr. Quillen does not know the law of wages. He does not know the laws of production or he would not begin with one man offering to provide the materials for another to make spears for him, the other's compensation to be one of the spears. We might ask Mr. Quillen how it happened that the man had nothing but labor and skill to offer for the things he wanted, while another man had materials. We can not think of any man except a helpless invalid being without the ability to labor though the ability to labor does not mean the quality of skill as a companion power. Therefore in this example we have two men, one with nothing but labor and skill, and one with labor and also materials to supply. A man is born with the ability to labor, and skill is acquired by practice. What man is born with materials to supply labor? So here is an inequality that did not exist when wages began. Materials could be obtained from but one source of supply, the earth, and by means of labor alone. Even if our early entrepreneur found branches lying before him on the road, or if he lay under a tree and had them fall on him when torn off by the wind, or if they were washed up to his feet by the tide, he would have to depend upon labor to get them into his possession, his labor or that of someone indebted to him. Now how did it happen in those early days that he had the opportunity to obtain materials and the skilled spear maker did not? Perhaps Mr. Quillen might say that the brain power of the spear-maker suffered because his hands had acquired skill and that he did not have foresight to store up a set of materials and the other man, not wasting energy in acquiring manual skill had more for mental development and therefore he saw the possibilities of having a monopoly of skilled labor and materials and acted accordingly. But this is not to be considered for the man skillful at making spears would be skillful in making use of them and since the mental giant would have to depend upon spears made by the skilled artisan he would be at the mercy of said skilled artisan, who would make an inferior spear for him and a good one for himself. Thus no wise guy could set himself up as the purveyor of materials for spears or other necessary utensils or foods, as long as the source of such materials was available to any body.

Mr. Quillen has overlooked the part land plays in the production of wages. Therefore his economics are worthless. He does not know that wages originated when land was free to all, and that wages are the product of a man's labor when rent does not have to be paid and capital is not used. A monopoly of land robs a man of his wages so that he receives less. Social services, both public and private, increase production and this increased production increases rent. Capital increases production and this increases interest. These are the simple economic laws that Mr. Quillen does not know. The greater the proportion of land the less the proportion of wages or of wages and

interest that has to come out of production. Let Mr. Quillen laugh that off. But he is greatly muddled, as in the following:

"Thus every man who works for hire works on commission or shares. He receives a share of what he makes, and the *value of what he makes determines the value of his share.*"

Not so, Mr. Quillen, not so. His share is what is left after the rent and interest have been taken out. But he never gets his share because the resources and opportunities having been monopolized he must needs bid against other men for a chance to work. He sells his labor cheap. He adds value to the materials he works upon, that value minus the rent of the place where he works, that is, the site rent, and minus the interest for the use of the boss's capital invested in buildings, tools, equipment, safety devices, comfort appliances, etc., is his wages, his real economic wages. The difference between his real economic wages and his share as referred to by Mr. Quillen represents the price he and every worker must pay for allowing economic rent to be privately possessed. The man who hires a worker may believe that he is conferring a benefit upon him but as a matter of fact he is indebted to the worker since he owes him for the value the worker adds to his product every minute of the time that worker is employed until he is finally paid off in full. It is foolish to speak of the worker producing \$300 worth of cotton and expecting value to the tune of \$300 because we are overlooking the fact that \$300 worth of cotton is the entire product out of which must come rent, interest, and wages. Yet Mr. Quillen speaks as if labor expects the entire \$300. The seed and tools and conveyances, the gin and press, and the fertilizer and insecticides are capital. The land, not because of its fertility, but chiefly because of its location near centers of social activity and social services produces economic rent which would be missing in the case of a Robinson Crusoe shut off from the rest of mankind. And the labors of the boss in finding a market and arranging for shipment are to be paid in wages. And all of these activities, not the labor of the worker alone, have contributed to the production of cotton to the value of \$300 and these activities must be paid out of the \$300. Naturally the worker can not receive \$300 since he has not produced \$300 of value. The trouble that agitates the world is not that the worker does not get what he does not produce, but that he is compelled to take less than he produces, which means that some one gets something for nothing. Let Mr. Quillen ponder that.

JOHN LUXTON.

WE cannot safely leave politics to politicians, or political economy to college professors. The people themselves must think, because the people alone can act.—SOCIAL PROBLEMS, BY HENRY GEORGE.

Death of Charles Magin

A FREQUENT visitor to this office was Charles Magin of East Orange, N. J., whose death on July 9 is announced. It is difficult to believe that this splendid veteran of the movement had attained the ripe age of 88, for he was mentally alert and physically capable almost to the last. Nothing that served to advance the Single Tax movement was allowed to go unnoted. His was a fine, tolerant spirit, and he had no word of harsh critical dissent for any one sincerely devoted to the cause and preferring to do his own work in his own way.

And he had an enviable record, for fifty years ago he was making stump speeches for the cause and had never ceased to be interested from that time to the present.

Mr. Magin was a Swedenborgian and steeped in the philosophy of that great thinker. Besides, he was a stained-glass window artist and a few of the churches where samples of his work are shown are the Church of the Nativity, Rev. A. Flemming, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Church of the Messiah, Brooklyn, N. Y.; The National Church of the New Jerusalem, Washington, D. C., Transcript window; Christ Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Bethel Presbyterian Church, Rev. MacCaully, East Orange, N. J.; First Presbyterian Church, Newburgh, N. Y.; St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Rev. Edwin P. Wright, East Orange, N. J.; Trinity Congregational Church, East Orange, N. J.; Trinity Episcopal Cathedral, Little Rock, Ark., in memory of Bishop H. N. Pierce; Holy Cross Episcopal Church, New York, N. Y.

Mr. Magin attended the School of Heraldry in London where he learned much of interest concerning antique class. It was his delight to reproduce antique effects in stained glass work.

Funeral services for Mr. Magin were conducted at the Colonial Home in East Orange. His wife and three daughters survive him. The couple were to have celebrated their fifty-ninth wedding anniversary in November.

Miscellany

FROM NOAH WEBSTER, A GREAT AMERICAN

Applying to faction the military maxim of M. Porcius Cato, "Bellum seipsum alit," "war feeds itself," a victorious leader supplies the wants, and secures the attachment of his followers by dividing among them the spoils of the vanquished. Then commences the reign of persecution and revenge. The man who mounts into office on popular confidence, may rise with impunity above the constitution of his country and trample on the rights of the people. Under the specious titles of a *republican*, and the *friend of the people*, he may exercise the despotism of a *Frederic*. Noah Webster, p. 4, of the preface to *Miscellaneous Papers*, 1802.

WHAT DR. DILLARD SAW IN JERUSALEM

One day on a train going from Jerusalem to Joppa I happened to be in a compartment with an American engineer in the employment of the British government. During our conversation he suddenly

asked me if I had known anything about Henry George or his theory. I told him that I had known Mr. George very well. He said that in America he had regarded the George movement very lightly, but that since he had been in Palestine he had come to the conclusion that this theory might be the solution of the trouble between the Jew and the Arabs.

To show how widespread are the problems of the land question in Palestine, my friend on the train informed me that two-thirds of the Province of Galilee is subject to absentee landlordism. It is not easy to compare areas in the old country and the new. The drive from Haifa through Nazareth across Galilee to Tiberias is about 20 miles. The drive from Afton, Va., across Albemarle County through Charlottesville to Keswick is a little farther. Roughly speaking, I think we may say that the size of Galilee is about two-thirds that of an average county in Virginia or Maryland.

J. H. DILLARD, in *Washington Post*.

THE OBSERVANT FRANKLIN

Franklin [Benjamin] also saw, what [Professor] Turner elucidate in a later day, that the American colonies were a "frontier" for Europe; that *the cheap lands overseas maintained the level of laborer's wages in England on a higher plane than in continental Europe*. "The salutary effect," said Franklin, "will be produced even without emigration, and will result from the mere possibility of emigrating. . . . But the rise of wages will not be equally felt by the different nations of Europe. It will be *more or less considerable in proportion to the greater or less facilities for emigration which each affords*." The above was written after the French and Indian War but prior to the Revolution. The venerable philosopher returned to the same subject again and again, significantly in a discussion of who should emigrate to America, which can be dated after the completion of the Articles of Confederation, probably 1783-1785. Europeans need not look to the confederation government to foster manufactures with bounties etc. Nor, in general, can such favors be expected from the separate states. Where tried, the results have usually been disappointing: "labor being generally too dear there, and hands difficult to be kept together, everyone desiring to be a master, and the *cheapness of land* inclining many to *leave trades for agriculture*." In the same article Franklin stated: "Insomuch that the propriety of an hundred acres of fertile soil full of wood may be obtained near the frontiers in many places for eight to ten guineas, hearty young laboring men, who understand the husbandry of corn and cattle, which is nearly the same in that country as in Europe, may easily establish themselves there. A little money saved of the good wages they receive there while they work for others, enables them to buy the land and begin their plantation, in which they are assisted by the good will of the neighbors, and some credit. Multitudes of poor people from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany have by this means in a few years become wealthy farmers who, in their own countries, where *all the lands are fully occupied and the wages of labor low, could never have emerged from the poor condition wherein they were born*." "Was there a Safety Valve for Labor?" by Joseph Schafer in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3, December, 1937, pp. 299-300.

Proposed Constitutional Amendments

INTRODUCED by Mr. Dyett—read twice and ordered to be printed, and when printed to be committed to the Committee on State Finances and Revenues, Except Taxation, Expenditure and Restrictions on the Powers of the Legislature in Respect Thereto and to Public Indebtedness.

The Delegates of the People of the State of New York,

Convention assembled, do propose as follows:

Section 1. Section twelve of article one of the constitution is hereby amended to read as follows:

Section 12. All lands within this state are declared to be allodial, so that, subject only to the liability to escheat, the entire and absolute property is vested in the owners, according to the nature of their respective estates, *but the value of land exclusive of improvements thereon is declared to be a public asset. It shall be the duty of assessing officers to determine the full value of land as though wholly unimproved and free from any tax. The legislature shall pass such laws so far as possible shall recover the full annual value of the land for the use of the state and its subdivisions.*

EXPLANATION—Matter in *italics* is new.

The Outing at Mahwah River

THE Annual Conference of the Graded Tax Committee was held on June 25 at Fairchild's Landing of the Mahwah River Yacht Club, Suffern, N. Y.

Mr. Walter Fairchild, Chairman, opened the meeting by calling for reports on the two proposals of the Graded Tax Committee presented at the Constitutional Convention now in session at Albany. The first proposal was embodied in a Constitutional Amendment introduced by Mr. Thos. B. Dyatt of Harlem. It permits counties and cities to tax increases in land values in excess of the present 2 per cent limitation. The second proposal, introduced by Wm. S. Bennett of New York City, permits lower rates on improvement values than on land values. Both proposals have been referred to the Committee on Taxation. Mr. Fairchild has addressed this Committee whose chairman is Mr. Martin Saxe.

Then followed speeches by Mr. J. Charles Lane, secretary of the Tax Department in New York City. He outlined two graded tax bills to be introduced in the New York City council by Mr. Charles Bellous of Queens. The first bill requires the council to fix two tax rates instead of one rate as at present, viz., to fix one rate on land values and on one improvement values. The second bill provides that beginning with the second half of the year 1939, the council shall fix these rates so that nine-tenths of the tax raised shall be on land values and one-tenth from improvement values.

Mr. Wm. Exton spoke of the necessity of a positive constructive attitude to obtain legislation. Mr. Lancaster Green spoke about the wide influence of the Henry George School and Mr. Z. K. Green of Middletown, N. Y., reported the introduction of a graded tax by the Middletown Council. Mr. Harry Weinberger made a short address appropriate to the occasion.

Detailed information covering the work of the Graded Tax Committee may be obtained by writing the committee (stamp enclosed), Park Place, Room 205, New York City. It should be noted that the committee has gotten out a stamp to affix to envelopes and correspondence. The stamp is marked "Untax the building, Tax the site," and may be obtained in lots at \$1.00 per hundred.

Previous to the meeting, refreshments were served on a small island near Great Falls, on the western part of the club grounds.

BOOK REVIEWS

A PROFESSOR'S BALDERDASH

BY ADAM SAVAGE

(A booklet of 40 pages)

This is a criticism of the "Folklore of Capitalism," by Professor Thurman W. Arnold, who has recently accepted a position in the Attorney General's office in Washington.

The critic states at the outset that he has taken the trouble to

review the book because it is an outstanding example of looseness of thought, and that as Professor Arnold has not spared those he criticizes, he has "not the slightest compunction in dealing with him and his book as he has dealt with others."

He then proceeds to deal with both. It is the prettiest piece of dealing that we have ever come across. As a dam Savage he is severe yet kind, fierce yet tolerant, bold yet modest and economically sure of his ground in every word and sentence. The criticism teems with delightful humor throughout, yet replete with seriousness and a wealth of historical reference and sound economics.

Adam Savage must be a very retiring character as he has presented us with one of the finest pamphlets ever written by any Single Taxer, and yet there is nothing to indicate where it may be purchased or the price or even the name of the printer.

We hope this review may be noted by Adam Savage and that, for the good of the cause he will let us know where we may obtain additional copies. Also, if our readers are interested, let us hear from them, because this gem should have wide distribution. Incidentally our best informed Single Taxers will learn much by reading.—C. H. K.

Correspondence

SCHOOL GRADUATION DINNER

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

A young convert to the philosophy of Henry George has expressed to me his disappointment with some of the speeches delivered at the graduation dinner of the HGSSS on June 13. He had taken a party of his friends to the dinner, promising them an oratorical treat, which fell short of his expectations. His disappointment may be creditable to some degree as indicating an ambition for improvement, but I think it is unjustified.

I have a lively memory of dinners of long ago, when we used to ransack the country for the best oratorical talent to voice our sentiments. We took our friends to these dinners in the hope that eloquent speakers like Henry George, Father McGlynn, Frank Stephens, Charles Frederick Adams, H. V. Hetzel and many others, would either convert them or at least inspire them to study our philosophy. These dinners doubtless had a very real value. We thoroughly enjoyed them, and at their conclusion we went home in a fine state of exaltation that sometimes lasted for several days. In results, however, they fell far short of our high hopes.

We also went into politics. We sought to take the kingdom of heaven by storm. In this, too, we were disappointed. The Nazarene had said nineteen centuries ago that the kingdom of heaven is not to be taken by storm, and we found that He was right.

Personally, I was delighted with the dinner of the New York School, and with the speeches that followed, as I was with the dinner of the Newark School held the preceding evening, where Frederick Leubuscher, Mrs. Anna George deMille, George Rusby, some half a dozen students and I were the speakers. Certainly the speeches of some of the students who have just finished the first course in our economic philosophy lack the grace and polish of the best after-dinner speakers. There were no flights of oratory, and no attempts thereat, but they were better music to my old ears than any of our old-time speakers can now furnish, and the youthful and enthusiastic faces of the new generation of Georgeists are good for the eyes of those who but a few years ago were wont to gather in small groups—elderly people with silvering hair who bemoaned the apparent fact that Henry George was being forgotten by a crazy world.

What a change has come since Robert Schalkenbach set up his Foundation for the republication of Henry George's books, long out of print, without which Oscar Geiger probably could not have started his School of Social Science, having no text-books! And as I look into these young and eager faces I realize that, even though they cannot yet speak with the eloquence of a George or a McGlynn, wisdom is not going to die with us—that a new force, one that we oldsters have lost to a large degree, has come into the movement

and that the work will be carried on to ultimate success after we are gone.

These young souls who have "seen the cat," that picture of a possible civilization that is hidden under the hideous overlay of disorder and conflict with which our "safe and sane" leaders have concealed it, have absorbed a philosophy that will be of inexpressible comfort and consolation in the stormy years that lie ahead, for they have learned, beyond any possibility of doubt, that there *is* a way by which the nations may escape from the horrid entanglement of economic lies in which they have enmeshed themselves, and establish a civilization that will not be a mockery of the word. They have learned what we graybeards learned long ago,—that it is not human nature, human cussedness, not even human selfishness, that has placed the world in its present miserable situation, but merely human ignorance, which can be remedied by the right kind of education.

"Education," forsooth. Get out the dictionary and look up the word "educē," from which the word "education" is derived, and learn that it is not a filling up of youthful minds with so-called knowledge as we fill a jug with water, but a bringing out and developing of mental capacities, of the cultivating the power to think straight and truly on matters that come before us. It is the developing of the understanding, the cultivation of wisdom.

At the funeral of Henry George more than forty years ago the late Willis Abbott, who I believe was a Harvard man, gave me forceful instruction in what "mis-education" has done and is doing to the world. I had said to him, mournfully:

"What a pity it is that Henry George did not have a college or university education, so that the scholastic economist might hold his philosophy in higher respect and esteem!"

Mr. Abbott looked at me, pityingly, and then ejaculated with a heat that was unusual for him:

"For God's sake, never say it. If Henry George had ever gone through a university, all that marvellous philosophy would have been educated out of him!"

Yes, these efforts of our economic amateurs to tell us what they have learned in our School of Social Science are sweet music to me and inspire me with a desire to sing, "Tell me the old, old, story." They will soon acquire the poise of old campaigners and the power to think on their feet, and will cultivate more successfully the soil which we oldsters have been preparing for cultivation. As I listened to them I thought of that line beginning, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic": "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord."

So let not our new recruits be discouraged if their first efforts to express the truth that is destined to make men free are not faultless. "Practice makes perfect," and practice they must have. The ability to speak well in public, it seems to me, depends chiefly on the ability to think on one's feet to which I have just alluded. It is an ability in which I, to my grief, am sadly lacking.

Clifton, N. J.

STEPHEN BELL.

THE INTEREST QUESTION

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

There are some people who think it is a waste of time to discuss what is to happen to interest incomes under the Henry George policy. One of your correspondents regards the discussion between L. D. Beckwith and Allan C. Thompson as a matter that need concern these two, only. Nothing, I think, could be farther from the truth. Henry George and those who have followed him have not been content to merely point to the remedy for our economic ills, but have been at pains to show the various effects that would follow the adoption of his plan. Why then should we not be at equal pains to show what would be the effect on investments? Supposing that the earnings of the people increased to such an extent that everyone became a capitalist, with ample funds to supply his needs; supposing that businesses, large and small, would be capitalized by those employed within them; and that in consequence there would be little or no demand for "loans," and that interest rates would go to zero, would

it not be well for us to enlighten the people accordingly? There are large numbers who claim that our policy "does not go far enough." They assert that, while we would effectively deal with landowner we would leave untouched other parasites, e.g., the drawers of interest and they ask, "Why not socialize everything and cut out all parasitism?" These people are electors and we must get their votes before we can hope to bring in our policy. I, for one, believe that so long as we preach (with Beckwith) that, under free conditions, wages will double or treble, and that "interest and wages rise together," so long will we fail to put our plan over. I contend, therefore, that it is of the utmost importance that we make up our minds on this point and the only way we can arrive at a decision is by free and open discussion. If we decide that interest (under free conditions) will be eliminated, and can prove this, the objection that we "do not go far enough" will be completely answered.

112 Yorkshire House, Auckland, New Zealand. C. H. NIGHTINGALE.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

IN a letter to the Schalkenbach Foundation secretary, J. Rupe Mason gives the following interesting summary of the situation in California:

"Between now and November 8 there is certain to be fought one of the most spirited campaigns anywhere, and every Single Taxer of the world over ought to get in it.

Already the California Irrigation, Drainage, Reclamation and other similar districts borrow money for improvements, which is repaid from assessments on taxes on the land. Neither buildings nor improvements of any kind are taxed for any purpose by these districts. They include the land that is producing about 80 per cent in value of the agricultural crops grown in California, which state leads the nation in value of crops now grown. But speculators have learned from dear experience that they simply cannot afford to hold land idle in these districts; that they must improve or sell to someone that will. And that is enough to sour them on Single Tax or any thing like it. Judge Ralston's amendment will be as viciously fought and lied about as though it came direct from Moscow, and enemies will spare no expense nor effort to overwhelm the voters. Experienced speakers are going to be muchly needed and any friends of Henry George who can afford to do so should plan to come here, take their coats and lend a hand, as they feel qualified and able. It is an opportunity that may not come again, during our lifetime, and with reasonable help, I honestly feel we have a better than even chance to win. California people are so bitterly against sales taxes which this would abolish that they would prefer most any other kind of tax."

It is a painful duty to chronicle the deaths of a number of active Single Taxers. Among them is Lincoln Crowell of Sandwich, Mass., who was killed by a train. Details are lacking. He was long a friend and correspondent of LAND AND FREEDOM. Thomas Forster, a Georgianist for more than half a century, died at his farm in the Frazer River Valley, B. C., in his eighty-first year. He was elected three times to the legislature of British Columbia, and was speaker of the House from 1898 to 1900. Another to pass away is C. E. Cartwright, also of British Columbia. William F. Baxter of Omaha, has died. He was a merchant of that city and a friend of LAND AND FREEDOM for many years. He was an earnest advocate of the Henry George School and made liberal contributions to the local classes as well as to the main headquarters. His death will be sorely felt. In addition to this list of those who have passed on we should mention William Munro of Schenectady, N. Y. This news is conveyed by card from the Post Office of that city. We have received no other confirmation. Mr. Munro was the author and publisher of a number of pamphlets dealing with taxation from the Georgian standpoint and was lately engaged on a revision of one of these booklets.

HENRY WARE ALLEN writes suggesting that a volume should

issued comprising the editorials that have appeared in LAND AND FREEDOM during the years of its existence.

B. CHARNEY, majority leader of the New York City Council, in a recent address said that Jacob A. Riis wrote in his book, "How the Other Half Lives," that there were one million persons living in old law tenements and now there are two million living under the same conditions."

LABOR, Land and Property in Fascist Italy, by Carl T. Schmidt, recently issued, tells us that one half of one per cent of the population own between forty and fifty per cent of the land, and that the concentration of land owning is as great and probably greater than before the march on Rome.

IN an interview with Herbert Hoover, by Will Irwin, in a recent issue of *Liberty*, "What America Must Do Next," Mr. Hoover quotes David Star Jordan, that wisdom consists not so much in knowing what to do in the long run, but what to do next. Sounds good, but if one does not know what to do in the long run, he will not know what to do next. This is obvious to one who thinks. When the goal is set—and the goal must be set if we are going somewhere—the next thing to do will be that much clearer. We know the road if we know the goal and the next thing to do is to take the steps that lead to it. It strikes us that anything else is a rather cheap philosophy that is likely to lead us into trouble.

Progress of Melbourne, reprints in a recent issue, "What LAND AND FREEDOM Stands For," which appears in every issue of this magazine. *Progress* heads its reprint, "United We Stand," pointing out that our publications "stand four square for the same principles."

"HORATIO" writes us from Houston, Texas, of a petition circulated in England from Manchester, against tariff and trade restrictions which have increased the cost of living. The petition was started by a Manchester housewife.

FRANK GARRISON, grandson of the Great Liberator, writes us: "Let me congratulate you on the high standard you have maintained through the years of the depression. The time will doubtless come when the ideas enshrined in the writings of Henry George will be recognized as the means of correcting the injustices that we are witnessing, and the literature of the subject will have an important influence on the minds of those engaged in the work of reconstruction."

DR. CHAS. J. LAVERY of Aberdeen, South Dakota, has addressed a forceful letter to the President in which he says: "The tax that dips deepest into the pockets of the poor is the tax on railroad and other transportation facilities."

WE are pleased to announce the marriage of Edith Salkey and John J. Munson. Miss Salkey was former secretary of the Henry George School and is known to many of the graduates. Mr. Munson was a student of the School and an officer of the Henry George Fellowship. Their home will be at 42 Tudor Lane, Scarsdale, N. Y. Their large circle of friends will unite in wishing them a long and happy life.

S. V. LARKIN of Australia, writes: "I greatly appreciate LAND AND FREEDOM which is always eagerly awaited. Comment and Reflection is a feature which is invariably a delight and a fine introduction to the excellent articles which follow."

OUR old friend Fred Skirrow of Keighley, England, writes: "Your journal is always interesting to me, and I wish you all the support to which you are entitled."

O. E. TOEFFERT of Cincinnati, writes in high praise of Louis Wallis' "Burning Question." He says: "I very much enjoy his writings. 'God and the Social Process' was a revelation."

RIDGWAY, Wisconsin, is a village of 500 people who, we are informed, pay no taxes, all revenues being derived from corporation taxes and taxes on automobiles and beverages. Stupid newspapers have broadcast this news under the heading: A taxpayer's paradise. It is really a landlord's paradise.

WE have received announcement of the foundation of a Henry George University at Washington. The organizing committee consists of Dr. Frederick W. Roman, president, and other members of the committee are Walter I. Swanton, Hugh Reid, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Phillips and Henry W. Olney. A conference will be called soon to consider plans for advancing the enterprise. The Committee may be addressed at P. O. Box 1318, Washington, D. C.

A LITTLE booklet of fourteen pages and cover is "Landlordism," by James O. Thompson, president of the Electric Manufacturing Corporation of San Francisco. (No price given.) It is a forcible presentation of our principles and leaves nothing to be desired. Wherever men and women can be induced to read and reflect upon it, it will do good.

THE National Prosperity Committee of Chicago passed the following resolutions:

Whereas Mr. Charles H. Hartman departed this life and entered into the life triumphant on May 18; and

Whereas, we have known Mr. Hartman for many years as a loyal, faithful, persistent and efficient worker in the Cause of Social Justice, sometimes called the Single Tax Movement; and

Whereas, Mr. Hartman unselfishly gave his time, money, and energy to the advancement of this Cause which is the very essence of true religion and human brotherhood; and

Whereas he was a loyal member of our organization and a true friend and brother.

Therefore, be it resolved, that we express our deep sorrow at this loss which we have sustained in his passing; and

Further be it resolved, that our Charter be draped in mourning, and that we call attention to the faithfulness of his example in the hope that others may be inspired to carry on in the same determined and brave manner.

Be it further resolved that a copy of these Resolutions be spread on the minutes of our Organization; that a copy be sent to his sister, Miss Anna D. Hartman, and that a copy be sent to LAND AND FREEDOM.

Unanimously adopted at regular meeting on May 27, 1938, at Chicago.

THOMAS RHODUS, Chairman of Board,
C. J. EWING, President,
GEO. M. STRACHAN, Vice-President,
MAY LENGE EWING, Secretary.

NEW YORK—On June 14 at 2 P. M. Miss McCarthy, Secretary of the School, had to refuse all further requests for reservations for seats at the graduation dinner, held that evening at the Rogers Smith Restaurant. The capacity of the dining room had been taxed to the limit by reservations received up to that time. Further applicants were requested to have dinner at near-by restaurants and invited to attend the exercises later.

Three hundred and sixty-two sat down to dinner at 7 P. M. About one hundred more came to hear the speeches which started one hour later. The disappointment of last minute applicants resulted in some feelings being ruffled—a good omen for future attendance.

Sidney Manster, of the faculty, presided. The following recent students, some of the Teachers Training Class, opened the proceedings: Peter Murphy, Dr. Howard Brown, Harry Smith, Lyons T. Carr, Dennis Gribetz, Margery Warriner, Joseph V. LaMantia.

THE FREEMAN.