

# National Convention of the Single Tax Party

THE Convention of the Single Tax Party was called to order by Chairman Macauley on Saturday morning at 9.50. He explained the purpose of our coming to Chicago and said: "Certain forward-looking groups have gathered in the city at this time, and we have an invitation to be present as delegates to the Committee of 48. None of the existing parties have the courage to grapple with the problems that confront the people. Both parties have shown their incapacity to meet them. This gives us an added responsibility.

"The Conference of the Committee of 48 will meet to discuss the advisability of creating a new party. There is already a party which has an adequate remedy for the conditions under which we labor, a party organized five years ago, and having organizations in a number of States. That party is the Single Tax Party. As for me I refuse to accept any other party. As far as this Convention is concerned I want to be known as a 'bitter ender.' There shall be, so far as I am concerned, no compromise. We have started out with the idea of a Single Tax platform and nothing else, and I am for that policy to the end of the chapter. We are for the Single Tax. That is all the platform we have and that is all we need, for that is enough to solve all the problems that must be solved."

It was now moved by Mr. Dix, of Pennsylvania, that we proceed to the appointment of Committees on Credentials, Rules and Resolutions. This motion was carried. Chairman Macauley announced the committees as follows:

NEW YORK: Frank Chodorov, on Resolutions; George Lloyd, on Rules; Morris Van Veen, on Credentials.  
 PENNSYLVANIA: R. C. Macauley, on Resolutions; Harry Hetzel, on Rules; John W. Dix, on Credentials.  
 NEW JERSEY: W. J. Wallace, on Resolutions; Alfred Bourgeois, on Rules; Herman G. Loew, on Credentials.  
 MASSACHUSETTS: M. C. O'Neill, on Resolutions.  
 OHIO: R. C. Barnum, on Resolutions; W. D. Metcalf, on Rules; George Edwards, on Credentials.  
 INDIANA: J. M. Zion, on Resolutions.  
 MISSOURI: W. J. Flacy, on Credentials; J. W. Steele, on Resolutions.  
 WISCONSIN: M. B. Pinkerton, on Resolutions.  
 NEBRASKA: James L. Wick, on Resolutions.  
 IOWA: R. N. Douglass, on Resolutions.  
 MINNESOTA: R. H. Kells, on Resolutions.  
 MICHIGAN: J. H. Hensen, on Resolutions.  
 MONTANA: Geo. T. Watts, on Resolutions.  
 OKLAHOMA: J. A. Hamm, on Resolutions.

On motion of James H. Dix, of Pennsylvania, it was moved that the State committees of each State furnish a list of delegates from their States before leaving the room.

On motion of John W. Dix it was decided that a steering committee of five be appointed to carry out the wishes of the Convention in the Conference of the Committee of 48.

It was also decided that a committee of five be appointed

to visit the Labor Party for the purpose of presenting our proposition. The following named were appointed:

Messrs. Dolan, of Ohio; Geiger and Lloyd, of New York; Robinson, of Pennsylvania; and O'Neill, of Massachusetts.

The steering committee of the Single Tax Party for the Committee of 48 were appointed as follows: Messrs. Dix and Robinson, of Pennsylvania; Bourgeois, of New Jersey; Lloyd, of New York; and Edwards, of Ohio.

Meeting adjourned till 7 o'clock, p.m.

In the evening the Convention reassembled. The following named were announced as added to the Committees:

ILLINOIS: Patrick Kelleher, on Resolutions; A. S. Rosing, on Credentials.

NORTH DAKOTA: R. B. Blakemore, on Resolutions.

MICHIGAN: A. B. Graham, on Resolutions; Ray Robson, on Credentials; G. D. Paul, on Rules.

LOUISIANA: R. S. McMahon, on Resolutions.

TENNESSEE: Walter B. Lowenstein, on Resolutions.

CALIFORNIA: C. R. Colburn, on Resolutions.

CONNECTICUT: John Cairns, on Resolutions.

The Resolution Committee, it was announced, would meet Sunday at 10 o'clock.

The Chairman now addressed the Convention regarding the Conference of the Committee of 48. He said, referring to the eloquent speech of Mr. McCurdy, that in spite of his graphic picture of the evils portrayed, in spite of the fact that they had seemed on the very eve of getting together on our principles, no sooner had the spell of his oratory faded away than it began to be whispered that no actual way out had been indicated. The Committee of 48 were worried at the publicity given to the Single Tax Party.

"The government ownership plank does not satisfy the Socialists in the Committee of 48. The Single Tax plank does not satisfy the Single Taxers. By actual count there are 170 delegates to the Conference of the Forty-Eighters who are Single Taxers. There is no single issue that any other respectably sized group are in favor of. There is an opportunity for us to put the Single Tax over.

"There is but one thing that we as a Single Tax Party with a one plank platform have before us, which is to insist upon the collection of the rent of land in lieu of all taxation. There is nobody in the Convention of the Forty-Eighters who know what they want save our group, the members of the Single Tax Party."

Mr. Robinson, of Pennsylvania, announced the names of those who had been elected as members of the Platform Committee of the Forty-Eighters from the Single Tax Party, and said: "I believe that it may be possible to get into that platform a declaration that will mean something for the salvation of the world. This little group will tell the Platform Committee the message embodied in the work of our sainted leader, Henry George." Mr. Robinson closed with a burst of eloquence that stirred the

members of the Convention. He asked the spiritual help of those left in the Convention as he proceeded to the Morrison Hotel where the 48 Convention was in session. "The gospel shall be told without compromise or deviation. It is our fight and our children's fight. Mark you, it is not mere votes that we are after. We are going to make it a test hereafter for every believer in the Single Tax that he shall not vote against it on election day. We shall put this inquiry to every Single Taxer on that day, What is your best thought? And the answer will be that, like the believer in the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, or the Socialist Party, he will vote for what he wants. By some method of indirection it has been argued for many years past that we were to get what we wanted by voting for something we did not want."

A recess of ten minutes was declared to allow the Committee on Resolutions to get together, and the Convention now proceeded to the work of permanent organization. Mr. James H. Dix was elected permanent chairman.

Mr. Joseph Dana Miller was nominated for permanent Secretary, but withdrew. Mr. Riley, of New York, was nominated, but also withdrew. Mr. Wick, of Nebraska, was nominated, and on motion of Mr. Wallace, of New Jersey, was elected by acclamation.

Mr. William Dunkley, of Birmingham, England, now addressed the Convention on the movement in England, and on motion of Mr. O'Neill, of Massachusetts, a vote of thanks was given to the speaker.

Mr. Miller, of New York, proposed that we send a greeting to the loyal Single Taxers of Great Britain who had so long upheld the banner, and this motion was unanimously approved.

The Convention now adjourned till 3 o'clock Sunday.

#### SUNDAY SESSION, JULY 11

The delegates re-convened at 4.50, Chairman Dix presiding. The report of the Committee on Rules, read by Mr. Hetzel, of Pennsylvania, was adopted as read on motion of Mr. Warren, of Michigan. Mrs. John Dix was elected Vice-Chairman. Mr. Miller, of New York, was nominated but withdrew in favor of Mrs. Dix.

A telegram of greeting and congratulations to the Convention was read from E. J. Foord, of Wilmington, North Carolina.

Mr. Henry Hardinge, of Chicago, one of the old guard Single Taxers addressed the Convention, and told some interesting facts concerning land speculation in Chicago. He said: "If the Single Tax Party men do nothing more, the influence they have already been able to exert on the Committee of 48 has been well worth while. We must attack this question fundamentally if we are to make any progress.

"We carry our institutions in our heads. The only way to improve the character of our institutions is to improve the quality of our heads. And then we will have a different set of men in Congress, and a different set of men in our city councils. In that measure we will get the kind of

institutions we deserve, and only in that measure. Henry George in a speech delivered in this city many years ago said that men lived before there were cities, before there were means of transportation, and when their feet were the only means of locomotion—before there were any of the things that invention and material progress have brought to us. But, he added, there never was a time when men lived without land.

"Henry George was the first man in history to put economics on a sound basis, and to state the real remedy for our ills. To that we must come if our civilization is to be saved."

A letter was read from Mr. Chadwick, of the California Single Tax League. On motion of Mr. Chodorov, the Secretary was authorized to write the Secretary of the Single Tax League, of California, felicitating them on the progress they had made and urging that on the conclusion of the campaign the Single Taxers of California get together on the lines proposed by Luke North.

Mr. Cairns, of Connecticut, reported for the Committee on Resolutions, and Mr. O'Neill, of Massachusetts, Chairman of the Platform Committee, read the platform submitted, which after a few amendments, chiefly concerned with the phraseology, was adopted as presented.

Three members of the Convention were selected to represent the party before the Platform Committee of the Forty-Eighters, as follows: Messrs. Barnum, Bourgeois and Macauley.

Mr. Dolan, of Ohio, reported his reception by the Labor Convention where he had had no opportunity to be heard. The report was accepted and the Committee urged to continue its work.

It was decided on motion of Mr. Bourgeois that the Convention designate the eloquent member from Massachusetts, Mr. M. C. O'Neill, as the official speaker before the whole Convention of the Forty-Eighters.

On motion Mr. Hardinge, of Illinois, was seated as delegate.

Session adjourned to meet Monday evening.

#### MONDAY EVENING, JULY 12

At this session, Chairman Dix presiding, Mr. Macauley introduced an old time Single Taxer, Mr. Williams, of Iowa, member of the Executive Committee of Forty-Eight, and Mr. Wallace read the report of the Resolution Committee.

The debate on the Resolutions was interesting and was participated in by practically every member of the Convention. At this session, Mr. Connors, of Illinois, was seated as a delegate.

Chairman Dix announced that ten men of our stripe had been appointed on the Platform Committee of the Forty-Eighters, and on the sub committee of which Messrs. Loew, of New Jersey, Robinson, of Pennsylvania, and Lowenstein, of Tennessee, were members. The Chairman told of the prospects for the morrow of getting into the Committee of 48 platform a plank that would be satisfactory to us.

Mr. Willeges, of Sioux City, Iowa, addressed the Convention briefly.

TUESDAY, JULY 13TH

Mr. Foote, of Ohio, Single Tax Party candidate for Governor in that State, told the Convention how he became a Single Taxer.

It was decided by reason of the number of women delegates in the Convention that a woman member should be appointed to all committees.

Without any hope now that anything could be accomplished at the Labor Party Convention, it was decided on motion of Mr. Wallace, of New Jersey, that all Single Tax Party members now on the floor of that Convention be asked to return at once. A committee was appointed to carry out the effect of this motion.

Mr. Wick, of Nebraska, now moved that we proceed with the nomination of our presidential ticket. Mr. James W. Dix, of Pennsylvania, placed Mr. Macauley, of Pennsylvania, in nomination, and this nomination was seconded by Mr. Strong, of Ohio.

Mr. Shoup nominated Henry Ford, and this nomination was seconded by Mr. Barnum, of Ohio. Chairman Dix ruled that Mr. Ford was not a member of the Single Tax Party, whereupon Mr. Shoup nominated Mr. Charles H. Ingersoll, which nomination was seconded.

Mr. Macauley was nominated and on motion the nomination was made unanimous.

Mrs. Elizabeth Towne, of Holyoke, Mass., was nominated for Vice-President by Mrs. John Dix, and Miss Amy Mali Hicks, of New York was nominated by Mr. Leary, of Illinois. Mr. Wallace nominated Mr. Barnum, of Ohio, and this nomination was seconded by Mr. Foote, of Ohio. Mr. Barnum was nominated and on motion this nomination was also made unanimous.

A rising vote of thanks was now given to Mr. Robinson, for his services during the Convention; to Oscar Geiger, for his able presentation of the Single Tax before the 48 Convention; and to Mr. Reis, for his efficient work as Publicity Director.

It was decided that a committee be posted at the entrance of Carmen's Hall to head off any of our delegates who, uninformed of the action taken by the Single Tax Party Convention, might still be in the neighborhood of the Labor Party Convention.

The following amounts were pledged to the campaign fund: \$1,000 from E. Yancey Cohen; \$1,000 from R. C. Barnum; \$300 from R. C. Macauley; \$100 from George Lloyd; \$100. from Morris Van Veen; \$100. from Oscar Geiger. Other amounts pledged by the delegates brought the total up to quite a tidy sum for beginning the fight that is in front of us.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 14TH

Mr. Chodorov spoke on the ballot laws of the various States. He explained that in some States it is ridiculously

easy to get on the ballot while in others it is very difficult owing to the large sums of money required. The advertising value of getting on the ballot has often been stated. It is beyond estimation. He had no doubt that the Uneeda Biscuit Company would pay a million dollars to get on the ballot in New York, or even in Oklahoma.

A discussion now occurred on a slogan for the party. This matter was left to the Executive Committee. Mr. Dunkley suggested "Land and Liberty."

This last day of the Convention was devoted to matters not yet disposed of which needed to be done in order to clear up to the public the position occupied by the party, in order that no cause for misunderstanding might remain. The sense of this was embodied in a set of resolutions drawn by Mr. Reis, of Pennsylvania. This resolution was referred to a committee that they might redraft it more to the satisfaction of some of the members, and a committee consisting of Mr. Geiger, of New York, Mr. Macauley, of Pennsylvania, Mr. Miller, of New York, Mr. Barnum, of Ohio, and Mrs. John Dix, of Pennsylvania, was appointed by the chair. Mr. Reis and Miss McCaughtry were added to this committee, and after a short recess reported the resolutions but slightly altered from their original wording. These resolutions, stating our reasons for refusing to join the so-called Third Party, appear elsewhere in this issue.

A pleasing incident of the day was the leave-taking of our visitor from Birmingham, Mr. Dunkley, who had attended nearly every session of the Convention and had taken a lively interest in the proceedings. He had generously donated \$20. to the Party, and had paid the expense of photographing the Convention, promising to forward such photographs to every one present.

As he bade good-bye to the many friends he had made in the Convention he suggested the singing of a song, and the Land Song was rendered by all those present, our visitor joining in with great fervor. He and his son departed amid the expressions of well-wishes and hearty farewells from the Convention.

Oscar Geiger explained the purposes of the Single Tax Publishing Company.

The following letter from Mrs. Anna George DeMille, daughter of our sainted leader, Henry George, was read by Mr. Miller:

"It is a great regret to us that no one is to go to the National Convention of the Single Tax Party to represent the Single Taxers of California. It is our loss, but you of the Single Tax Party will know that distance matters little after all, and that we are all speeding to the same goal.

"We, in California, have our fight well focussed. It will be the hardest fight the Single Taxers have had to make in this State, for special privilege is thoroughly aroused and cognizant of our power.

"We are with you in spirit, and do you—all of you—give us the help and courage you can in the battle we are facing.

"All good wishes to you, and your fellow-workers in the cause."

Mr. McKnight read a poem of his own composition and Mr. Hansen recited some verses he had written.

Mr. Barnum expressed his confident belief that we would have the full Single Tax in twenty years.

Mr. Steele, of Missouri, said that "no matter what divides men, despite differences of religious faiths and variations of opinion regarding other matters, this faith of ours is the great truth that brings men together. We have just witnessed the touching farewells to our visitor from Birmingham. No more splendid manifestation of brotherhood has it ever been my fortune to witness." Mr. Steele closed with a fine eulogy of "Progress and Poverty."

Mr. Cairns, of Connecticut, expressed the opinion that we were moving to the time when our cause was to take on a national significance. He pleaded for a new attitude toward our opponents, an attitude of human sympathy.

Mr. Reilly, of New York, the youthful and efficient secretary of the New York Party, also spoke, and Mr. Flacy, of Missouri, said that other movements had for their purpose the doing of something for the people who took part in them. Our movement is unique in that it seeks to do something for the other fellow. Mr. Watts, of Montana, who had worked in a quiet, business-like and efficient way for the success of the Convention, said that we could go from Chicago with a feeling of deep satisfaction at the good accomplished.

Mr. Lowenstein, of Tennessee, read a letter from John B. McGauran, of Denver, explaining his regret at not being able to attend the Convention. He spoke of Judge Maguire so recently departed, and said that the latter's homely illustration known as "seeing the cat" would be used for many years by those making Single Tax arguments. Mr. Lowenstein said that our eyes were so sharp now that we could even see the kitten.

Votes of thanks were given to the Chairman and Vice-Chairman. Mr. Wick, of Nebraska, the Secretary of the Convention, said he had got more out of the movement during the last few days than he had ever expected to get. He expressed his thanks to the Convention for the enjoyment he had derived from meeting so many congenial spirits.

A few remarks from Mr. Macauley closed the Convention. "As I stand here I picture the beginnings of this great movement, and I am full of thoughts that I find too deep for speech." He spoke of the day five years ago when a half dozen men gathered in a little restaurant in Philadelphia to talk over the means by which this question of ours could be placed before the voter. "Today, five years later, we are here represented by 21 States and with a great victory to our credit. If there has been anything accomplished for the Single Tax in these five years it has been due to the earnest and courageous men in Philadelphia, and later to a group in New York, who determined that the Single Tax should be presented in a clear cut and definite issue to the voter. I do not know how I can say anything more to you save to urge you forward in this great work, and in the next eight years we can carry the nation for the Single Tax."

Thus ended this historic, epoch-making Convention. Our work was done. It was with a feeling of deep satisfaction that we saw its close. We had witnessed the destruction of the most elaborate machinery for a third party ever built in this country. For want of a definite, cohesive principle, it had been demolished from within, falling like a house of cards. The Single Tax Party remained unshaken, increasing its adherents from those victims of the upheaval of the Committee of 48 and adding 14 States to the 7 already organized to bring this question to the voters of the country.

Literally, miles of advertising for the Single Tax had appeared in the newspapers of every city, town and hamlet in the nation.

Above all, our attitude had been vindicated. We had won the respect of our opponents. We were victors in one of the great political and moral crises of the country.

To the men and women of the Convention, no Single Taxer, whatever his preferences or previous habits of thought, will grudge his tribute of respect for a great work magnificently and unselfishly achieved.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

## Single Tax Party Platform Adopted at Chicago

**WE**, the Single Tax Party, in National Convention assembled, recognizing that the earth was created for all the people for all time, and that all have an equal and inalienable right to live on it and to produce from it the things that they require for their welfare and happiness;

Recognizing that all wealth, whatever its form, is produced only by labor applied to land, or to the products of land, and that the denial of the equal access to land is a denial of the right to produce and thus a denial of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, as proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence;

Recognizing further that, under our tax laws and our system of land tenure, a small number of the people own most of the land of our country, and exact tribute in the form of ground rent from all the rest of the people in exchange for the mere permission to work and to produce, thus not only reaping where they have not sown, but also holding idle the greater part of the earth's surface, and restricting the amount of wealth we otherwise easily could and would produce;

Recognizing further that the value of the land, as expressed in its ground rentals or in its capitalized selling price, is a community value created by the presence of the people and therefore belongs to the people and not to the individual;

**We therefore DEMAND that the full rental value of the land be collected by the government instead of all taxes, and that all buildings, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes, and every product of labor be entirely exempt from taxation.**