

January—February, 1938

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

Henry George the Economist

Address of Prof. Broadus Mitchell at Princeton

Causerie

Thomas N. Ashton

A Glance at Aldous Huxley

Frank W. Garrison

Editorials: Comment and Reflection; Henry Clay, an Advocate
of Protection and Low Wages; What Is Monopoly;
The Golden Age of Economic Thought

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LAND AND FREEDOM

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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Comment and Reflection

IT is comparatively easy to draw a picture of what appears to be on its face the ebb-tide of a civilization. What goes to embellish life is founded on the well-being of the people. Poverty is the foe of all social advance, of spiritual and intellectual as well as material progress. Its benumbing influence extends not only to the lower intellectual strata but reaches up and strikes at every manifestation of genius, at every attempt to enshrine beauty in literature and the arts.

AT first the influence is not recognized. We are so much the slaves of conventional thinking that the last thing to be perceived is a decline in our own artistic and spiritual life. Presumably because we are a part of it we cannot look either in or out, so it comes upon us and passes at least to most persons all unnoticed.

SUPPOSE we take account of the signs of decline which are most obvious and will be most readily admitted. Let us start with literature. We have many clever books, clever but little more, the sensations of a few months. Not a single work of genius among the lot, none that can compare with Dickens, Scott, Thackeray, Eliot, or Reade. Poetry, some of it clever, too, but not a single poet deserving to be compared with the masters. Markham writes no more, Edna St. Vincent Millay, not so good as she was, the current magazine verse almost incomprehensible.

ART almost dead save for the outrages committed by pen and brush that make one shriek. Music bidding farewell to its last great conductor, Toscanini, to whom his country fed castor oil on his refusal to take part in a cheap patriotic production that degraded his art. Self-banished from Italy he might say in behalf of his fellows, "We who are about to die salute you." This despite Mussolini's belated apology for his over-zealous local Fascist official.

IT will be generally agreed, we think, that there has been a marked decline in journalism. It is difficult to feature William R. Hearst as a successor to Dana, Greeley, Watterson, *et al.* And in the field of statesmanship Carter Glass and Cordell Hull stand almost alone. Do we not

recall the time when the old parties could summon outstanding leaders, Democrats like Grover Cleveland and Carlisle, Republicans like Senator Hoar and Congressman Reed, with all their limitations, and many others who might be named. Here the decline is most obvious and will be most readily admitted.

IT may seem like over-simplification to say that this decline springs from poverty. Yet general poverty in material goods inevitably determines the kind of poverty that manifests itself in mediocrity in literature and the arts. There is no escape from it.

WHAT is the hope, if any? We think it resides in the enquiring nature of the young now gradually awakening. We think the system is cracking under their criticism and questioning. The success of the Henry George School is partly due to this new spirit. Ours is a tremendous responsibility. If it be not too late the forces working for the destruction of civilization may be arrested and overcome. We are living in great times. No such opportunity has ever confronted mankind, no such hope has ever blazoned the sky with rainbow promise. The alternative is a future where darkness reigns, and beauty and art and culture decline.

IN the philosophy of freedom is the germ of a new renaissance. Perhaps it is not too late to sound the tocsin call to the struggle that must be waged for liberty. Not merely is it material poverty that must be abolished but that intellectual and spiritual poverty so plainly obvious in every social group, from the lowest to the highest. It is no mere pessimism that impels us to this picture of modern society. Not to recognize it is to walk blindfold in a world where tragic things are happening and where no great voice is raised to call us back to reasonableness. The skies are very dark. All that has been promised by prophets and seers seems to have come to naught. And to it all political economy as it is taught, religion as it is preached, statesmanship as practised, seem to have no answer.

BUT there is hope, and that is in the questioning spirit of the young, as we have said. This questioning

may increase in volume and intensity. If this is to be the system is doomed. Ten thousand graduates of the Henry George School do not seem very formidable in a nation of one hundred and thirty million. But ten thousand who think straight and who are animated by spiritual conviction are to be reckoned with. And as the years go this group will be multiplied many fold. Then something will happen.

Henry Clay an Advocate of Protection and Low Wages

HENRY CLAY was the Father of the American Protective Tariff. At least he is called so, though there seems some doubt about the paternity. The honor, such as it is, should perhaps go to Henry C. Carey, who expressed a wish that the ocean might be a sea of fire, in which case there would be nothing imported and a perfectly "favorable balance of trade" be forever assured!

But it will be news to most persons that Clay advocated a protective tariff as a device for lowering wages rather than increasing them. He saw that the higher wages prevailing in America were due to the public domain which provided an outlet for labor. He believed that a high tariff would encourage the coming of lower wage laborers for our manufacturers. This school of protection to which he belonged advocated a high tariff to encourage immigration of low paid labor to build up our infant manufacturing. Congressman William D. Kelley, known in the House as "Pig Iron Kelley," said in March, 1872. "Yes men are on the free list. They cost us not even freight. . . . We promote free trade in men and it is the only free trade I am prepared to promote."

From 1810 to 1850 Clay was the protection leader. During this period England was a protection country. Pauperism was wide-spread in Great Britain. Clay argued that if protection made paupers, which he seemed to think it did, it made at the same time enough wealthy men to support them. In the light of what so many people believe, this almost incredible teaching of the Father of American Protection will come as a shock. But it was in March, 1824, that Clay said (and if this meets the eye of any protectionist he is asked to reflect upon it:)

"As to the poor rates, the theme of so much reproach without England and so much regret within it among her speculative writers, the system was a strong proof no less of her unbounded wealth than of her pauperism. What other nation can dispense, in the form of requested charity, the enormous sum, I believe, of ten or twelve millions sterling. The number of British paupers was the result of pressing the principle of population to its utmost limits, by her protecting policy, in the creation of wealth, and in placing the rest of the world under tribute to her industry. Doubtless the condition of England would be

better without paupers (*sic*) if in other respects it remained the same. But in her actual circumstances, the poor system has the salutary effect of an equalizing corrective of the tendency to the concentration of riches, produced by the genius of her political institutions, and by her prohibitory system."

That protection can increase wages is, of course, the shallowest kind of deception. And it is well for a moment to go back to a time when the protectionist school made no such defense of the system but frankly based it upon the need of cheaper labor for our nascent industries.

What are Monopolies?

WHAT are monopolies? According to the sloppy economists who represent current thinking they are Big Business, Corporations, Chain and Department Stores, and Combinations of Capital.

None of these things are monopolies save as they share in natural resources or participate in the receipt of economic rent, or are endowed with special privileges by government.

The only really effective monopoly is the ownership of the earth.

The largely ineffective monopolies are protected industries because, subject to the inroads of competition and at the mercy of other and stronger monopolies, chief among which is the monopoly of the earth, the source of their products.

Railroads are monopolies in so far as they control the rights of way, the ownership of land in strips rather than plots. The United States Steel Company is only a monopoly in so far as it controls the sources of supply. There can be no monopoly in cars, rails or equipment. You cannot monopolize the products of labor.

Capital in a free economy is in a state of flux. So is Labor. They move to the highest bidder. They will flow into channels which offer the greater percentage above the normal return. Edward Atkinson long ago calculated that the difference of one-tenth of one per cent a yard in the cost of manufacture would determine what country would hold the cotton goods trade of the world.

So powerful is competition that it frequently overleaps the barriers created against it and sweeps on its way in the destruction of combinations, as occurred some years ago in the defeat of the attempt to corner cotton.

There is one point to be kept always in mind. That is that there is no real monopoly apart from the monopoly of the earth, or monopoly conferred by government, let us say in the form of patents. Monopolies do not spring spontaneously in the natural operation of industry. They are not inherent in the nature of industry. *But competition is.*

Combinations are something else. These are often mistaken for monopolies by loose thinkers. Despite the size of combinations they are forever at the mercy of

competition. Here is where business acumen has its office and derives the maximum of return with the minimum of risk. Its income is conditioned by the care with which it meets competition (viz., production, efficiency, capital turnover, etc.). But if the competition that assails it is free and it has no guaranty from government furnishing it protection it is no monopoly. Government and not nature creates monopolies.

What briefly is monopoly? Any human production activity from the functioning of which competition is excluded. It can only be excluded by government. Voluntary combination cannot exclude it. A land title is a monopoly. But it exists because government creates it. Its convenience in assuring undisturbed possession has helped to perpetuate it. Its monopoly privilege is the private collection of ground rent, the annual value of its advantages. This rent is determined, speaking generally, by population and its activities, and the public services supplied it, these being included in the activities of the population.

Monopolies then are not what the government at Washington thinks them to be. They are *not* Big Businesses, Chain or Department Stores, Corporations or Combinations of Capital.

There is now some idle talk of licencing business. The law of competition has already licenced them. Free that law, put competition to work without interruption or restriction and there will be no monopolies. To license businesses is to create more monopolies.

The Golden Age of Economic Thought

THERE is no period in history in which there were so great a number of men gifted with real vision as in the time of France immediately preceding the Revolution.

These were the Physiocrats of whom Dr. Francois Quesnay was the titular head and the philosophers who shared their liberal views, but did not subscribe wholly to their economic opinions. Nearly all were believers in natural rights and all were free traders. Dr. Quesnay who was eminent in medicine founded his system on natural laws, but in his contention, shared by his disciples, that agriculture and mining were the sole means of increasing the wealth of a nation he narrowed his concept to a point which prevented its acceptance as a programme of general application.

But he laid stress as did the others upon individualism and freedom. Industry and commerce must be unshackled, and they taught that what served the true interests of the individual served alike the interests of society. As Henry George later expressed it in homely phrase, "Man-kind is all hooked and buttoned together." Turgot, who for twenty months filled the post of Finance Minister, and who himself was a physiocrat though standing aloof

from them on account of what he regarded as their sectarianism, had written, "It has been too constantly the practice of governments to sacrifice the happiness of individuals to the alleged rights of society. It is forgotten that society is made up of individuals."

It is interesting, too, to note that Turgot united the economic law with the moral law.

It was Gournay who held that competition was the most effective spur to production, and it was he who invented the phrase, "*laissez faire, laissez passer*." It was Gournay who most vigorously opposed the regulation of the prices of commodities by government.

Quesnay, as leader of the Physiocrats, was regarded with something little short of veneration by his followers. It was Turgot, who by reason of his brief occupancy of the post of Finance Minister, accorded the economists official recognition of their principles.

Turgot's abolition of trade guilds and trade monopolies was the crowning act of his official career. It is doubtful if anything quite so important has been accomplished by any Finance Minister in so short a time. The nobility and the beneficiaries of privilege combined against him and forced him out of office. In this way they were aided by the designing Marie Antoinette and her influence with the weak-minded Louis. But Turgot's fame is secure and if he failed he is only one more of those who have struggled unavailingly against inequality and privilege.

In Turgot was united a wide knowledge and proficiency with a seer-like vision of a redeemed society. He is more like Henry George than any man we know in history.

On one of the earliest papers by Turgot that have come down to us is a treatise on money, and of this his friend, Du Pont de Nemours, said: "If forty years later the majority of the citizens composing the Constitutional Assembly had possessed as much knowledge as Turgot, France might have been saved the Assignats." And he might have added the Revolution as well.

A word regarding Du Pont de Nemours.* He was the equal of his associates in mental power and like them in breath of vision, and it was he that gave the name *Physiocratie* (the natural order) to the philosophy of this forward looking group with which he was affiliated. He had met Turgot at the home of Quesnay and this acquaintance ripened into a fast friendship which lasted till the death of the Finance Minister in 1781. It was Du Pont who drew up an address to the people of France on Taxation in which he argued that taxation must be direct and levied only on visible objects.

The authorities neglected to mark the spot where

* This Du Pont is the honored ancestor of the Du Pont family in America. Nor has the family tradition been forgotten. There has not been a time in the history of the Henry George movement in this country when some member of the Du Pont family was not affiliated with the movement in some way.

Turgot lies buried in Bons, Normandy. But that is of little consequence. His name remains as one of those who glorified the annals of France at a time when the future of the country trembled in the balance.

It is known that in the few last days of his incumbency as Finance Minister he was engaged in working out a system of land taxation. Whether he would have found a solution, or come approximately near it, and whether his plan would have prevented the Revolution and thus perhaps the destinies of the world, who shall say? Certainly, if he had the real solution, no danger would have deterred him. And his disciples, equal to him in courage, would have raised the standard of a world rescued from chaos.

But it was not to be. The machinations of a shallow, intriguing queen and the vacillation of a weak king completed his downfall and Necker stepped into his place. Necker was an advocate of internal tariffs, belonging to the school of Colbert. Turgot had written what to this day is regarded as a forcible presentation for universal free trade. Of this treatise Voltaire said: "I have read Turgot's masterpiece. It seemed to me that I beheld a new heaven and a new earth."

Turgot sought a solution of all economic problems in the natural laws and this was his attitude of mind when scarcely twenty. This was a philosophy unknown to Necker, who, on his advent to power, introduced measures prohibiting the harvesting of grain with a scythe. Other Rooseveltian devices were adopted, such as providing that the size of handkerchiefs should be reduced.

We should not leave one individual of the Physiocratic group unnamed. That is Condorcet, perhaps the most many-sided of these libertarians. Condorcet stood like the others for free trade and the natural rights of man. He believed, like Henry George did, that mankind was inherently good. He was opposed to capital punishment for private crimes, advocated woman suffrage and proportional representation. He believed in a unicameral legislature. None of the Physiocrats, not even Quesnay or Du Pont, had a more complete vision of what a redeemed society might attain. Condorcet is a man mark of in a time when the spirit of freedom was articulate, and when it commanded more influential names than at any time in history.

When Turgot was forced out of office and Necker took his place the stage was set for the Revolution. So passed this brief period in which, like expiring candles, these great souls flashed their message on a decadent nation. Condorcet perished through exposure and Turgot lies in an unmarked grave. In this way France paid her debt to these great souls. In the day of smaller men that were to succeed them these pathfinders on the road to liberty were forgotten. Yet they could have saved France from the ruin that overtook her. Can their teachings yet save America?

Causerie

BY THOMAS N. ASHTON

CALIPER CAPERS

HOW to Caliper Human Skulls in Eight Hundred Easy Lessons" will be the title of a treatise to which Single Taxers—in desperation—may be driven to study as a last resort to find prominent citizens capable of learning how to untax Labor and its products and how to tax publicly-created site-values.

There's something in this skull business—figuratively if not literally.

As we gazed upon a choice collection of some seventy-five grinning dead-heads, row on row—each of which once housed the rugged honesty and tax-free notions of an American Indian—we wondered if the ghoulish grins were prompted by the Redman's mirth over our asinine "civil government" whereby we tax ourselves into pauperism whilst wealth and natural resources clutter the face of the Earth. We wondered if these skulls' silent snickers were the unexpressed surprise at how much the Redman had done, with so little, as against how little we have done with so much. We wondered if these suppressed guffaws reflected a particular humor over an especial tax object. That is, does our income-tax blank produce a louder laugh among our spiritual observers than does our tax on "profits and losses"? Or, indirectly speaking, does our tax on babies' bottles produce more hilarity than does our tax on brewery booze?

If we but knew what these Indians are laffin' at, it might help us solve our tax muddle.

We have been unable to prove that a few Indians monopolized idle land later to lease it for tepee sites at fancy ground-rents payable in wampum or what-not. There is no record that Indian ground-rents, if any, were boosted every time a papoose was born and every time a bold, bronzed and burly buck bagged a bear or snared a snipe.

The professor of anthropology fondled a shiny skull as he pensively poked calipers along, across and about its peripheral points. The earlier Indians were not long-headed, dimensionally speaking, as compared with our Boston tea-tax forebears. Nor were our forefathers as long-headed as we of today, sez the anthropologist.

"Americans are definitely growing longer and leaner. Their heads are tending in the same way as their bodies, to be longer and not so broad."

In other words, the Indians were more broad-minded than we—a fact which needs no proof other than shown in our narrow-minded views on taxation. The Indians had totem poles but no poll taxes; we have poll taxes but no totem poles.

Whilst we have been conjecturing, ever since we read "Progress and Poverty," how long this body politic can survive under our tax torture, the anthropologist dis-

agrees with the medico upon "the chance of survival of the species." The doctor of diet sez that it's all a matter of proteins, carbohydrates, fats, et cetera; on the other hand the professor of apes, men and morons opines that it's a matter of length of noodle and of limb and of cavities in teeth. Being rather stubborn, we fail to understand how one can develop unto either a long or short homo sapien if one has no job and wages wherewith to buy unbalanced foods, and thus incur cavities in bicuspid and other masticatory members.

"Unless science can discover ways to prevent the degeneration of man's teeth," warned the prof. as he poked a finger into the vacant seat of a missing Indian-tooth, "human evolution will lead downward to extinction."

Seventy-five skulls, row on row, grinned in rapprochement—perhaps reading our stubborn thoughts on Single Tax.

Medicine, sociology and paternalism have so nursed humanity "that the individual can maintain life with a minimum of physical effort and with little or no exercise of intelligence," complained the professor as he calipered a couple of jaw-bones. We tried to hide our thoughts from 75 bleached bone-heads, row on row, as we envisioned slum-dwellers now toiling long hours for short wages and unbalanced diets, but the Redmen's crania enigmatically leered in disconcerting unanimity.

Man has been a human being for 24,000,000 years, continued the prof., as he twirled a polished pate in his hands. We nervously consulted our time-piece as we wondered if it would require as many years to get our foolish tax methods out of the body politic.

"I have spent 10 cheerless years in studying the relation of physique to intelligence in the inmates of American prisons and insane asylums," dispassionately announced the anthropologist as he poked a sympathetic finger beneath a sagging jaw-bone which once set in grim determination against the white man's "acquisition" of tribal lands. We wondered, as we turned our back upon 75 frontals (row on row), how many more years would elapse before the prof. could complete his survey 'midst legislative auditoria.

The prof. pursued his nonchalant observations to the anticipated pessimistic finality. He assured us that his ten years' mass of numb-skull evidence indicates that inferior biological status is inextricably associated with diminished intelligence, and that the combination of the two is mainly responsible for economic inadequacy and antisocial conduct.

As we hurried down the street, out of sight of 75 ghoulish grins, we pondered o'er the propriety of buying a pair of calipers before we approached another fellowman upon the proposal to untax Labor, Capital and the fruits thereof—and to tax site-values only—before ground-rent racketeers and site-value speculators wreck the nation. The caliper caper rather strikes our fancy, but we shall need a fraternal

aide to hold our next victim preliminary to deciding whether to expound Single Tax. The decision will depend upon the skull measurements.

ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION

Scarcely a day dawns without bringing to us another bit of evidence that startling, scientific, yet simple, discoveries are opening a way for a wider understanding of Single Tax by civilized peoples. It gives us pause to comprehend that our greatest obstacle in the establishment of a sane Single Tax lies in the more extensive education, in the more intensive instruction, in the more complete culture of civilized nations. It is obvious that if we did not have our present-day educationalism we would not have our present-day multiple-tax problems, industrial bankruptcy, commercial chaos, public enemies, vultureous rackets, nor moronic politicians holding public office.

Whilst an enumeration of our undesirable conditions presents a formidable array of evidence contrary to the commonly-accepted significance of the word "civilized," a reasonable degree of inquiry reveals that practically all of our short-comings, vices and what-nots, are results arising from a dishonest, legalized, tax system.

Civilization's true worth well might be symbolized by the Japanese Yew tree (*Taxus*).

Civilization's professional educators of economics long have taught us to chant "Tax us. You and you and you" (City, State and Nation), and *how* they comply!

If it were possible to control the thoughts of these economists, soon might civilization reach a plane of universal peace and plenty in accordance with the worthy significance of its name. The wish which fathered this thought now appears not unlikely of fulfilment in the near future. The anticipation quickens our pulse as we are enlightened in regard to the latest gadget now sizzling on the scientific skillet.

Meet the electroencephalograph.

This modest little mechanism records the wave-like impulses electrically emitted from the brain of civilized man, no matter whether he be a Single Taxer or a Double Taxer. When engaged in scientific experimentation, the subject lies on a couch no matter how much he lies on his income tax return. Electrodes then are glued to his shaven pate and the scientist "tunes in" to the patient's wave-length which at once is amplified several thousand times and transcribed onto a piece of ticker tape where the "wave" appears as "a series of jagged lines."

One should not be alarmed upon seeing these jagged lines—they are entirely symbolic of our zig-zag thoughts on maintaining our multiple-tax system.

There are about 10 wave-cycles recorded per second, but this is not to be mistaken as fast thinking by the man who lies on his income tax return. "An external stimu-

lus may affect the brain impulses," sez the scientist, "for when a sudden light is flashed in the subject's face the record may be blotted out for an instant."

This phenomenon explains why, when a Single Taxer throws sudden light upon the tax mess, the Double Taxer's mind seemingly cannot function. All is blank—like an unused income tax form—until pride and prejudice prevail upon the Double Taxer to "save face" and to defend the old customs.

Whether the subject "is actually asleep or thinking makes no difference," sez the medulla oblongata mechanic, "his brain is working nevertheless."

As we look backward upon Time's triumphant array of triple taxes, we can well understand that some people's brains function equally well during dozing or debating hours. Early in our law-school days this impression indelibly was left upon our mind as we listened to the prof's profound clarification of judicial justification of the Constitution's conflicting clauses relating to taxation and the public taking of private property for public use without just compensation—taxation which visits a light tax upon land values, a heavy tax upon buildings, a tax upon the raw materials, a tax upon the finished product, an income tax upon the employee, an income tax upon the employer, a corporate tax upon the plant, a machinery tax upon the automatic operations, a tax upon the mortgages on plant and products, a tax upon the stocks and bonds issued for the industry, a tax upon the jobber, a tax upon the wholesaler, and a tax upon the retailer of the product which forms the thread of this theme.

It is clear that minds which reason in that fashion—minds which later insist upon being elected to Congress for the remainder of Life's specious span—are of equal worth to bankrupt commerce, whether snoring or speaking.

With the tolerance and conservatism of the scientist, the electroencephalographologist excuses the subject's emittances by opining that the jagged lines "are not thought waves." Into this charitable category belongs much of that which now passes for thought among the Double Taxers who defend the orthodox tax system.

"Psychologists do not understand at present the exact relation between electrical changes and thought," acknowledges a leader of this learned group. The revealed quandary furnishes us, however, with another solution as to the cause of stock arguments peddled out by proponents of multiple taxation. We have never ceased to wonder why, after they once have heard Single Tax explained, why they persist in defending thrice-triple taxation. Now we know the answer—their utterings are not thoughts, they are simply electrical changes in brain waves, most of which are short-circuited.

Once the "brain wave recorder" is perfected, our scientists will be well on the way to an easy method for imparting thoughts to the subject simply by throwing the electrode machine into reverse. When that day dawns it will be no great task to back up with a load of Single

Tax and dump it into the subject's brain which, equipped with a "wave trap," will find its orthodox, multiple-tax, obsession deleted from all future emittances.

Then our troubles will be over.

THE RETIREMENT ACT

In keeping with our national lawmakers' purpose to retire marginal lands, we are preparing a much more comprehensive scheme, of similar mentality, for submission to our political leaders.

Marginal land, as you know without gratuitous enlightenment from us, constitutes a substantial proportion of the actual and potential agricultural area in this Land of The Free. More than 100,000,000 acres, or nearly one-fifth of the tenantable acreage of the Home of The Brave—of which you need no reminder—positively is inferior farm land.

Now, don't start asking us *why* these farmers hopped 'way out onto the fringe of fraternity, in the first place, when plenty of fertile lands stood idle at the cities' back doors. You know, as well as any one, that these nearby-acres were too high in price as a result of *private capitalization of public improvements*. And do not ask us *why* the government fails to collect this unearned increment and thus eliminate marginal makeshifts—that comes under Single Tax and *our* subject has to do with "retiring" things.

You are well aware, of course, of the delinquent-tax sales of land on one-fourth of the area in 17 counties in Wisconsin, and you are keenly cognizant about the same conditions in Minnesota where 36 per cent of "all land outside of towns and villages is tax-delinquent," and that 20,000,000 acres in three states are in this sad status—so we wont go into that.

After a score of decades—after much persuasion, largesse and paternal philanthropy—our national government has succeeded in divesting itself of all "free land" to hopeful toilers who could not afford to buy tracts nearer to consumer markets. By constant attention to nurturing a multiple tax system upon Labor our government now has succeeded in bankrupting the consumers' buying ability and—*ipso facto*—in rendering marginal lands "obviously of no taxable value." Successfully having thrown monkey-wrench taxes into the machinery of Industry, our statesmen now wonder why the wheels of Commerce cannot go 'round. They cannot understand why cruel Fate brings back millions of tax-delinquent acres to the public junk-yard.

The Empire State generously picks \$19,000,000 out of taxpayers' pockets to buy marginal lands for reforestation. Pennsylvania, Vermont, West Virginia and Kentucky likewise climb onto the "retiring" band-wagon which seeks to hurry Nature in the process of reforestation.

It is one phase of simplicity to "retire" the far reach-

of the worn out fringe, but to "retire" the taxed-out farmers from taxed-out margins is a more difficult problem. In the Lake states 106 farm-family incomes averaged only \$559 per year, and in all areas in New York State the same class averaged only \$350 per annum.

Sensitive statesmen now begin to suspect that such economic conditions break down community morale, lessen school support, defeat community projects and kill the purchasing power of farm families. It is a flattering commentary upon politicians' perceptive powers when they discover, after a century of national governmental intimacies, that the farm-family's total annual wage of \$559—to say naught of the \$350 wage in N'York—somehow affects the purchasing power of the man with the hoe and of the woman with the churn. In no time at all these lynx-eyed leaders will be keenly kenning that rain is wet.

The "retiring" nature of these serious-minded Nature-improvers restrains them to timidly suggesting that "Farm income in these (marginal) land areas has become an economic problem." This very conservative opinion, even so, removes all notions that the subject is within the categories of either grand opera, astrology or beano. The germ has been isolated and it is now definitely suspected that perhaps the problem is one of economics—hence the necessity to begin "retiring" everything connected with taxed-out agriculture. (We say "hence" in event that *you* find a connection—we couldn't.)

Something's gotta be done, especially when 400 Wisconsin farms out of 2500 are abandoned in one year—with a high record of 66 out of 97 being forsaken in one Wisconsin county.

Becoming all het up over the situation—and desiring to help our statesmen to "retire" things—we are perfecting a plan to retire every form of industry which fails to yield "a living wage" in accord with the bureaucratic budgeteers' finesse in finitely fixing the relative ratios of 2 carfares, 1 lunch, 1 clean towel, 1 bottle of pills, 1 walk in the park, etc., etc., per man per day. We aim to "retire" every last soul and thing which fails to enjoy the minimum guaranteed under our budget hours and regimented motions for eating, sleeping, working and playing at the inexpensive game of hop-scotch.

We are determined to take the Bible literally and be our brother's keeper with full authority and complete control.

SINS AND TAXES

"Wash My Sins Away" sang the old village choir back in the days when we were young, naive and unsophisticated. Lustily we joined in the orthodox hymn under the inspired leadership of patriarchal Republican protectionists. Nevertheless, we held mental reservations as we offered up to heaven our impassioned plea for a spiritual bath. In particular, we reserved to our-

self the right to impose protective retaliations upon certain individual contemporaries who were prone to squawk when we won their marbles.

Protectionism ran rampant in our youthful idealism. With all due respect for the Divine Creator to whom we offered regimented supplication at scheduled intervals, our elders felt constrained to insure domestic tranquility by writing a tariff which permitted the washing away of taxes at an extra profit to certain manufacturers. Content to practise our youthful protectionism in our own way, in our childish civil warfare, we accepted without question or understanding the protectionism precepts of our fathers in all matters of home, village, State and nation, and it was not until these latter days, after we had read "Progress and Poverty," that we began to wonder if dear old Dad really knew, himself, what were the fruits of Republican protectionism which he so earnestly instilled in our young minds. In those days we salved our immature conscience with the sanctimonious thought that, at the next prayer meeting, any and all errors in our political and pugilistic programmes would be taken care of in our periodic choral petition to "Wash My Sins Away."

It was not until these latter years, when Single Tax gave us a new slant upon the orthodoxy of our youthful principles, that we began to peek behind the scenery of protectionism. Somehow, orthodox oratory began to lose its persuasive powers—it seemed to grow more and more less pleasantly platitudinous—the articulations seemed fraught less and less with axiomatic aphorisms—the grand total seemed to become a summation of senseless sophistries. Our youthful years' supplications for the washing away of our sins now brought to us the sudden dawn of a new conception of what our sins really included—a new understanding that the very protectionism, which had been our heritage, had, in itself, been the very instrument for a multitude of sins which we never had asked to have washed away.

We began to wonder just how efficacious had been our prayerful petitions for these spiritual ablutions. Keenly apprehensive we turned to the historic analysis of the politico-economic precepts of protectionism—precepts professorily propounded by a master-mind of cultured protectionism—by one who knows the exact delicacy and finesse which should be exercised in levelling the gun of protective-tariff at the victim's head, and which should be exercised in pulling the trigger if crude and disastrous results are to be avoided.

As our nosey perigrinations into protectionism began to bear fruit we were markedly impressed by the historic information that taxes easily were washed away, literally and figuratively, even if our sins were not.

It appears that the tariff Act of 1867 provided that clothing wool, if washed before reaching our customs house, should pay double duty—if scoured, treble duty. Similarly combing wool and carpet wool were taxed treble

duty if scoured. But no provision whatever was made as to combing and carpet wools if *washed*; they were admitted at the same rate of duty whether washed or unwashed. This amounted to a lowering of the duty on carpet wools.

Before washing, carpet wools weighing one and one-half pounds would be charged with a duty of twenty cents. The same wool when washed would weigh only one pound and would pay a duty of only thirteen cents. The result was that carpet wool was advantageously imported in a washed condition, and the duty was in effect appreciably below the rate on unwashed wool. Yet the compensative duty on carpet wool was arranged as in the case of clothing wool—at the full compensatory duty on unwashed wool. Thus the Republican-protectionism manufacturers, and their diffident Democratic contemporary carpet manufacturers, received the full compensating rate on their product, though they did not pay the intended duty on their imported wools.

"It is a well-known fact," says the historian, "that this anomaly in the Act of 1867 was due chiefly to a prominent manufacturer of New England, whose business, as a consequence, was made exceedingly profitable during the years immediately succeeding the passage of the Act."

In the "profitable years" which marked our childhood dear old Dad and our sweetly-tempered, toiling mother could not afford even one carpet on any of the three-room floors which comprised our factory-town tenement. Dad was busily engaged, outside of factory hours, energetically advocating his mill-master's protectionism among the weavers in Ward Nine. Mother was busily engaged, from dawn 'til dark, tending looms which wove cotton cloth which the family purse ill could afford to buy.

In the twilight we absorbed the endless harangue on protectionism, and, betimes—whilst the carpet manufacturers dropped a small part of their extra profits into the collection box—we lustily joined the choral-seeking to "Wash My Sins Away," uninformed that the protective tariff had washed away the carpet maker's tax on wool though paying to him a "compensatory" duty in full.

"Children of dust, astray among the suns,
Children of the earth, adrift upon the night.
Who have shaken the pageant of old gods and thrones,
And know them crushed and dead and lost to sight?"

BUT it seems to us the vice of socialism in all its degrees is its want of radicalism, of going to the root. It takes its theories from those who have sought to justify the impoverishment of the masses, and its advocates generally teach the preposterous and degrading doctrine that slavery was the first condition of labor.

THE CONDITION OF LABOR, BY HENRY GEORGE.

Henry George The Economist

Remarks of Broadus Mitchell, Associate Professor of Political Economy, Johns Hopkins University, at a Memorial Meeting in Honor of Henry George, held at Princeton University, October 31, 1937.

This memorial meeting is one incident in the growing recognition of the permanent place of Henry George in the economic thought of this country and the world. Henry George always wanted, with a solicitude which did us too much honor, to be accepted in academic circles. But most of our universities and colleges did not give him while he lived or for years afterwards, even a fair hearing. It was as though we believed that our disapproval, due to befuddlement and fear, could really hamper the progress of a great idea. It is now our part, in repair of our self-respect, to learn of his life and opinions, and to try to impress them upon those who look to us for guidance.

Henry George was America's foremost contribution to economic insight. The next claimant after him, for very different reasons, would perhaps be Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton in most ways was a man of special circumstances. His thought sprang from a particular situation, and his proposals in turn changed this situation. This is not a detraction from the boldness of his conceptions, nor from the quality of his mental and moral capacities. It is simply a fact that it was Hamilton's business to take a confusion and make of it a country.

Henry George's analysis, and the applications which he drew from it, were as nearly as possible universal. They were more universal, in space and time, than the teachings of Adam Smith, and maybe more so than those of Karl Marx. This much said, I do not need to go further in mere praise of Henry George.

I would like, in this place, to do what I can to repel a persistent and pernicious statement that is made about him. It is not so much a criticism of George as it is an attempt to put him out of serious notice. It is a familiar device of the shallow, the timid, and the designing. It belongs to a great disreputable company of efforts to undermine a powerful influence. I refer to the allegation that Henry George was a brilliant crank. This charge met his first writings, followed him through life, and has sought to attach itself to his followers.

If we leave aside the less worthy aspects of this comment, it amounts to the belief that he was a poor mental workman, that with him infatuation took the place of inquiry, that ardor stood in the stead of assiduity. It is said that in presenting a panacea he *must* be wrong. A panacea, it is declared, however justified by certain social phenomena, implies a neglect of other and probably contradictory areas of economic achievement and conduct. In short, George's generalization glitters, but is not gold.

Now his analysis may, in fact, fall short. That would not be remarkable, but with it I am not concerned at the moment. I want to make the point that George

did not content himself with a quick glance at the causes of social misery, arrive at a sudden explanation, and devote his life to shouting instead of searching. He was, on the contrary, a conscientious and well-equipped student. He read widely, he traveled more extensively than any other economist of his time. His varied personal experience was enriched and turned to account by his extraordinary knack of observation. He lived in economic environments of very different sorts—the East, with manufacturers and nature, and the West, extractive and a frontier. In his early years he tried many ways of earning a living. He went from galling poverty to the acclaim of millions. He stood in the morning chill of a San Francisco street to beg of a stranger, and he later formed a plan for the economy of the world.

His glance was not hastily cast upon one environment nor upon several. Remember that when monopoly drove him from California to the East to seek out a way for independent enterprise, he was shocked at what he saw in the social contrasts of New York. He had come from what he still considered to be the classlessness of opportunity, from the democracy of the buoyant primitive. Still with nature's promise to man in his mind he drew back at what he discovered had been the result of social evolution in old settled communities. Here was such a great divide as he had not passed in his journey across the continent—suffering on the one hand and surfeit on the other, the alley and the avenue. Profoundly as he was moved by this paradox, and solemnly as he promised himself that he would find its cause, he did not leap to a conclusion. There were to follow patient years of more observation, more reading, more thinking. The query constantly presented itself to all that struck his senses, but did not find its answer. It is worth while to remark that in this industrious scanning of his environment he did not recognize nor develop the implications of his own earlier inspiration. The complaints of gold-miners of falling earnings, the doubts of what the railroad would bring to the Pacific coast had retreated in his memory to the faintest echoes. He went on busily, talking with everybody, writing on many topics until, in the strawstack of his threshing, he really found his own sharp needle.

Some are apt to consider that George was more mindful of land than of capital, that he did not scrutinize industry. This was many times refuted, as it would be easy to show at length. It is enough to be reminded that "Progress and Poverty" was written in the midst of a great industrial depression, that the sub-title of the book declared this, and that the opening sentences gave such a picture of industrial lapse as few have penned.

And even when he had completed "Progress and Poverty" there was time for a passing fever of conviction to cool.

First of all, the manuscript went the dreary round of publishers unimpressed. There is no superior prescription for an author's disenchantment. In that manuscript, both copies of which are now the cherished possessions of two of our foremost libraries, he had invested not only a year of composition. He had confided to it the burning thoughts of an obscure man, like which there is no shorn lamb in the untamed wind of hostility or the rawer blast of mere neglect. If Henry George was to be disillusioned, now was the time. But he kept up his belief in himself while he contrived a way to get the book printed. He moved to New York to await his success, but there ensued another trying period of pause. He did hackwork, even humiliating hackwork, for a living. Sales of "Progress and Poverty" at first continued to be slow, and reviews were uncomprehending. Still he did not revise the judgment he had reached. When notice came—sudden, widespread, acrimonious, enthusiastic—he was called, in lectures, newspapers, and more books, to the severe text of elaboration. He had to apply his principle to the thousand and one events of the passing scene. He must answer, in the impromptu of the platform, the considered, searching questions of some of the quickest minds of his time. He must convince the understanding and attract the loyalty of men of all kinds of interests. Few works have queried so many accepted doctrines and institutions as "Progress and Poverty," or lain so much in the cross-fire of economic and political controversy.

So this book, and the others so closely related to it, grew out of thorough inspection and were allowed to stand after full criticism. Many things have been said of the author of "Progress and Poverty" by threatened landlords, by selfish officeholders, by smug economists more pontifical than another critic in Rome itself—but nobody, to my knowledge, ever said he was not honest. If he had come to believe there were faults in his work, that he had preached what he could never perform, he would have been the first to amend, to correct, or to disavow.

A thoughtful student of the history of economic doctrine said to me recently that Henry George the propagandist will tend to fade, while Henry George the economist will grow more distinct and distinguished with the years. This may very well be true, but I should like to make two remarks in connection with the observation.

One is that if George, the popularizer of a principle diminishes in perspective, we may hope the example which he gave of reforming zeal shall not be lost to present and future philosophers. This was where his moral courage and his unselfishness marched side by side with his mental acumen. The plague of our social sciences is inquiry that stops with inquiry, that does not find legs with which to walk about in the world of men. Economic investigation which treats insecurity, for example, as an

element in an academic experiment is a degenerate performance. If we have something to offer for human betterment, we must do it eagerly and not be deterred because many call us rash or wicked. Nor should we ever forget that Henry George spoke, like a true political economist, for the public advantage. Particularly since the World War we have imported into our academic curricula many studies which, grouped under the head of "business economics," are often mere techniques of private acquisitiveness. They put personal gain ahead of common benefit. Henry George remained always in the great tradition of political economy by aiming to formulate principles of statecraft.

And if Henry George the propagandist is to recede relatively, I want, in the second place, to acknowledge the debt which we owe to his devoted disciples. Not a few of those present belong to this company. Has there ever been such a group for accepting the mantle of a lost leader? Their perseverance in thought, in the spoken and printed word, and in proper political activity has been an indispensable element in the preservation and spread of George's influence. Their appeal, as his, has been to reason. How often we meet adherents of reform philosophies who have accepted a party name without being able to define or to defend their faith. I have never encountered a Single Taxer who did not know why he was a Single Taxer and who was not bent upon convincing rather than just converting. George was not least fortunate in the character of his followers.

Today we look back across forty years to the final scene of this man's career. The welfare of a great city was under fierce debate. And there we find, more striking than ever, what we always meet in Henry George's history—a clear mind and an ardent spirit at the service of the human throng. He gave himself a ransom for many. His genius was not greater than his generosity.

Gilbert M. Tucker at the Detroit Conference

ORGANIZATION

THE subject assigned me is Co-ordination of Ideas, but perhaps I can stretch it to cover the co-ordination of activities, for, while correct thought must precede right action, unless thought leads to action it is of but little value.

Co-ordination means co-operation and this means union. Today the most vital need of the Single Tax movement is a greater degree of unity and team work and, to have this, we must sooner or later develop a broad nation-wide organization of those who put faith in the philosophy of Henry George. I hope the time is not far distant when we can look for aggressive political action and, when this time comes, we shall need an organiza-

tion more or less on the lines of the present-day political parties. Why not start to build such an organization now. Even today we should learn Hiawatha's lesson of tying our little sticks into a strong bundle that can not be broken.

I am not advocating a new organization to displace any of those now functioning so well nor to overlap in their fields—far from it. Rather an association which shall strengthen them and reinforce their work and fortify their position. Something to co-ordinate their work and to attempt the things that no organization today is fitted to do.

Such an organization should be broad, general and national, and of a nature to enlist all Georgeists, without splitting hairs over fine points and distinctions which can well be relegated to the background, pending the achievement of our great purpose. Therefore I would make its platform brief, broad and general—one to which all can subscribe without mental reservation. I suggest:

We favor the collection of all ground rent for the support of government and the abolition of all taxation save that on land values.

To make its membership broad and general and comprehensive, and to keep the interest of its members alive I would suggest two things: First, very low dues, of course with provision for classes of members who could and would pay larger fees.

Tentatively I would suggest:

Dues of \$1.00 a year, including subscription to the *Freeman*.

Dues of \$3.00 a year including both *Freeman* and *LAND AND FREEDOM*.

And we might also have a class of associates who would pay no dues but who would subscribe to our platform, for such a list would be invaluable for the use of the schools and for recruiting, and it is not always policy to start by asking each convert to pay anything or to become a formal "joiner," just as soon as they "see the cat."

Of course headquarters should be maintained, with a paid executive and whatever office staff is desirable and necessary.

In order to place major control in the hands of those who have demonstrated loyalty, and willingness, and ability to serve, I suggest that some plan be worked out to give to the organizations something like proportional representation in management. Control might be centered in a board to have either membership or votes selected by our active organizations, such, for instance, as the School, the Schalkenbach Foundation, the Henry George Fund, the Fellowship, the Manhattan Single Tax Club, etc., each group having voice proportioned to the number of their members who become affiliated with the national organization. Such a policy would have the two-fold advantage of stimulating the formation of other Single Tax groups, as for instance, local chapters of the Fellow-

ship, of graduates of the school, and of bringing support to the national organization.

What would be the functions of such a body?

1. Maintain full up-to-date lists of
 - (a) Active Single Taxers,
 - (b) Sympathisers,
 - (c) Interested outsiders on whom we should work and who should be constantly followed up.

Such lists should be open to all legitimate use which will further the cause.

2. Serve as a clearing house for ideas and activities, co-ordinating programmes.

3. Support and encourage approved programmes, discouraging those that are unwise or overlap. Particularly should it formulate broad political programmes and policies, endorsing, aiding or checking programmes according to circumstances, and, if the time is ripe for political action, concentrating where conditions are most promising. Just as an illustration: What should we do in California? Is the time ripe to work for extension of Pittsburgh plan? Is it wise to bring our philosophy before the coming New York State Constitutional Convention?

4. Stimulate educational programmes, aid in starting classes and recruiting teachers and students. A live list of those interested or even sympathetic would be invaluable in these matters. Consider further extension of educational work. I believe there is a vast untilled field of opportunity in extending our courses of study to new fields and suggest courses in the following:

- (a) Promotion of peace, to bring the thousands of pacifists, using the word in its broadest and unobjectionable sense, into our camp. This would give us an entering wedge in churches, schools, colleges, etc. And of course such study should be based wholly on the economic causes of war, keeping away from neutrality, disarmament, dum-dum bullets and other futile and half-way measures.

- (b) Housing: to bring housing reformers into our faith. This should embrace also the appeal to construction and building trades and professions and we should endeavor to make real estate operators see the gain in freeing buildings from taxation.

- (c) Business aspects, dealing with the beneficial effects on all industry and business life, showing industrial leaders how they would benefit.

- (d) The labor problem. The approach to this is too obvious to need elaboration. Bring out the basic principles of economics, skidding over such matters as the Malthusian doctrines lightly and stressing the identity of the interests of labor and capital and showing that wages and interest are essentially twin-brothers, and are both the reward of labor, the one direct and immediate, and the other—the reward of thrift—deferred and prolonged.

- (e) Fallacies of socialism, communism and kindred

cults. This would go far to counteract the impression that we are reds and would help to enlist support of conservative elements and perhaps to win financial support for our work.

(f) Perhaps the purely ethical and religious side of our philosophy, stressing that, as McGlynn put it, our present system is a flat denial of "the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God." This, I believe, would find easy entrance into the churches.

These are only suggestions and some have proposed that we follow our basic course with such courses, but this, I think, is putting the cart before the horse, and I don't see it that way. The object is to make pacifists, housing reformers, business men, etc., Single Taxers, and not to train Single Taxers in these particular phases of our philosophy. Make builders and architects and building material trades see how we can help them. Make the manufacturers and machinery people see that we would give them tax exemption on their products and operations. These subjects should be introductions rather than follow-ups to our philosophy.

5. General publicity. I am glad the school is using the methods of advertising and believe a wise and carefully planned advertising campaign, under expert guidance, would bring results. The single "ad" of the Citizens National Committee brought them in \$59,000 for their work, and brief notice of the starting of an extension class in Albany, in the newspapers and not paid for, brought us more than a dozen students and students of very high calibre, including two bankers. I believe carefully planned advertising in building and business papers, might bring us very material support from manufacturers and professions and might lead to formal endorsement and support by various trade associations. This might easily lead to valuable contacts with many groups.

Aside from newspaper and magazine advertising there are limitless opportunities for publicity along other lines. I have had a good deal of experience in health work with visual exhibits at fairs, conventions, etc., and I know they can be made to bring results. What is to be done at the coming World's Fair in New York? Am sure much could be done and that it might prove invaluable in recruiting students.

6. Contact and follow specific groups and individuals, Rustgard, Crusaders, Citizens National Committee, machinery people, National Association of Manufacturers, Chrysler School, Political parties, etc. Get Republican support in fighting fallacies of New Deal, Democratic support in fighting tariffs and in supporting Hull. Watch the newspapers and follow up the news. And this pays.

7. Publications. Membership would aid LAND AND FREEDOM and the *Freeman*. Aid and advise authors and see that new Single Tax books mention and advertise our school and present activities. Get away from present inertia—or shall we say bad manners—of those who fail even to answer letters, or to acknowledge contributions.

Organize to sell helpful books and this can be done with profit, as I know.

8. Most important, keep converts busy. Don't let our rich harvest of students rust away but give them something to do. All too often new converts say yes, that is all true, but there is nothing I can do about it—and frankly, today, there is often very little. Mere membership in an organization helps some, reading current journals helps more, but being given a job helps most. What can our newer converts do? They can:

(a) Study and read so that they shall be more competent and qualified to take an active part.

(b) Teach and enlist students, and help in organizing classes (as Brown has done).

(c) Extend our teachings into such groups as I have indicated, peace, housing, politics, business groups, etc.

(d) Letters to the press and particularly follow-up letters.

(e) Sell books, get them into libraries, get them read, and start circulating libraries. Wish the general association could make up small traveling libraries of about a dozen books and place them in local hands to be loaned out, perhaps at a moderate charge like many of the libraries in our cities, and perhaps to be sold.

(f) Research and writing. Make studies of assessment rolls to show how the Single Tax would actually work in concrete cases. This is needed.

Activities of The Manhattan Single Tax Club

RECENT current events are concerned with Philadelphia and environs. Mr. Ingersoll has concentrated on his Friday activity, and, as a result, is doing five broadcasts within 24 hours.

Here is a "story" used in one of the station house organs, the WSNJ *Radio Press*. This tells of a single day's activity which Mr. Ingersoll calls, "A Full Day's Work," which many of his friends will follow through with interest. Of course every day is not like this. But it demonstrates what is possible with concentration, which some day Mr. Ingersoll would like to carry further.

One Day's Broadcasting: Starting Thursday evening, at 6:30 P. M., on station WBIL (5000 watts, 1100 k. c.) our broadcaster embarks in his '34 Chevvy for the city of brotherly love (Philadelphia), so as to be on hand for his first Friday broadcast from station WPEN (1000 watts, 1150 k. c.), at 9:45 A. M. This is at Walnut and 22nd St. Then comes WDAS, on Chestnut and 12th, at 12:45. This finishes the city and releases the circuit rider to the 45-mile run across the Delaware on the beautiful Camden bridge, and on perfect roads to one of Jersey's most attractive localities, Bridgeton, where there is a brand new radio station just out of a Pandora box. It

is WSNJ ("We Serve N. J."), and the broadcaster goes on at 3:00 P. M.

It does serve a very wealthy triangle, including Atlantic City, Vineland, Hammonton, and more. Then the day's radio business is completed with a 75-mile run to Trenton, the capital city. Station WTNJ (500 watts, 1200 k. c.) is being born again—like new, with its beautiful new 284-foot Westinghouse antenna; over below where Washington crossed the Delaware—on a hill in Morrisville. 7:45 P. M. is the time. The last broadcast permits Mr. Ingersoll to complete a trip of over 300 miles, and to get back to his New York City home by midnight, including a call or two on his daughters.

THE INGERSOLL WEEKLY SCHEDULE

Mon., WCNW, 2:30 P. M.; WWRL, 11:15 P. M.
Wed., WCNW, 3:45 P. M. Thurs., WLTH, 8:15 A. M.
WBIL, 6:30 P. M. Fri., WPEN, 9:45 A. M. (Phila.);
WDAS, 12:45 P. M. (Phila.); WSNJ, 3:00 P. M. (Bridge-
ton); WTNJ, 7:45 P. M. (Trenton). Sat., WWRL,
11:15 P. M. Sun., WOV, 4:00 to 4:30 P. M. Public
Service Forum Hour (C. H. I., Chairman and Director.)

All kilocycles 1400 to 1500, except WOV and WBIL—
1100, 5000 watts.

DORIS ANGEL, Office Secretary.

A Few Extracts From Recent Ingersoll Broadcasts

THE Y. M. C. A. CHAIN OF HOTELS IS EXTENDING. The latest being in the Bronx and having the Mayor and his first lady at the inauguration. These hotels fulfill a great mission, especially under such financial conditions as in the past few years. They do not make things easier for hotels, however, nor do the thousands of cabins, everywhere along the highways, nor the "transients accommodated" signs on the houses.

THE TEACHERS COLLEGE HAS DISCOVERED THAT A FAMILY OF FIVE CAN HAVE THREE SQUARES A DAY, comprising 12,000 calories for \$1.25; which is not much over 8 cents each for the 15 meals. And I do not see much missing from the bill o'fare. Verily, there is not much excuse for people starving at that rate, which is all the greater indictment against an economy that includes poverty and distress among those who do all the work.

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT HEADLINES GROVER WHALEN GIVES US, is that 5 cent drinks will only cost a nickle at the World's Fair; and to prove this, Moxi—or something—will be there with 59 kiosks, where thirsty visitors may get the only original cooling drink. Walter Winchell and I will be watching closely to see whether another equally delightful beverage, in exactly double-size bottle, will also be there at a nickle.

WHAT IS MONOPOLY? WHAT IT IS OR WHAT PEOPLE THINK IT IS: For example, here is the owner of coal land, say inherited, containing a prime necessity, placed there by nature or a Creator for the children of men. The owner does nothing to mine coal—supplies neither labor nor capital; all he does is to collect royalties. Operators sink the shaft, supply machinery and money to operate; railroads transport the coal; wholesalers and retailers deliver it—buying, selling, finan-

cing; and banks loan the money. Now the government is looking for monopoly, and makes itself very popular by shouting at everyone in this chain of industry, and ignoring the only drone, and who directly and indirectly takes half the wages and profits! Now the answer: People do not generally look on landowning as monopoly, so the government cannot treat it as such; but its leaders could propose—and the people would soon instruct them—to tax only the land monopoly, exempting all industry.

PORTLAND, OREGON, A CITY OF 325,000, IS WITHOUT NEWSPAPERS—FOR FOUR DAYS NOW. Part of a strike infection which shut down the *Seattle Post Intelligentsia*, until Mr. Hearst decided to put the President's son in charge of it. Such experience should serve to educate our editors in the economics involved in the labor problem; and result in their settling that problem not only for themselves, but all other papers, and then all industry; for the problem is always the same. But these experiences wherein labor, in effect, destroys their delicately poised business, seem to be more effective in teaching economics than strikes in automobile plants. Their editorials are directed at communists, reds, agitators, and union invasions; true enough, but falling short of solution. The trouble is where the President and his three assistants have located it—in monopoly; but it is not to be found in newspaper plants or motor factories. Monopoly is organic; it is a system that does its fatal work through use of our tax system, that, applied to all we consume, doubles its cost, cuts its volume, makes unemployment and low wages.

THE PRESIDENT HAS STARTED THINGS IN TWO DISTINCT DIRECTIONS OF BASIC MONOPOLY, UTILITIES AND COAL MINING. Now it remains for us to see if he will follow through, or back up, or make believe. And also for us to see how his critics will perform in either contingency. First, utilities; he has laid the ground work for right action in (a) sternly condemning their practices, (b) more than threatening them with competition and worse, (c) stating the terms of peace as being a rate basis that will include no unearned increments, etc.

Forcing utilities to act on this formula will do them and their investors full justice, especially if taxation on their plants will be replaced with franchise taxation. But if, as charged, his purpose in (a), (b) and (c) is to confiscate and buy them out, he will justify the charge that he is communistic; or if he falls for a high price from Willkie, he will label himself as something not impossible nor uncommon, a combined monopolist and communist.

Next, Coal Mines: The Guffey Act was a legalized political conspiracy against the consumer in favor of union labor, the mine landlord, railroads, and distributors, to all get theirs and add it to price. This has not been put to work and probably cannot be. The physical situation is that mining, as a business and sustainer of a half million miners, has broken down, and a natural system is growing up in the form of bootleg mining, entailing also bootleg trucking and selling. So, although its basis is sidestepping the only fundamental monopolist, the mine landlord—in refusing to pay his royalties and going direct to "mother earth" for a prime necessity of life, by 25,000 jobless miners—this "lawless" act has also fostered a revolt against the whole system—mine operating, transporting, and selling.

Here is a revolt against basic monopoly, the very reverse of the labor-war revolt against industry; monopoly being the only enemy of both labor and capital. It also illustrates how correcting basic monopoly will correct monopolistic abuses in industry, in its productive and distributive branches. Now we have Gov. Earle proposing to settle this age-old problem—primarily the labor problem—in another equally futile way, to the Guffey bad guess,—he would buy the landlords out when they have nothing to sell that they created; and he would buy out the operating and distributing system when all they need is what labor needs—to have the royalty collector taken

off their necks. But here, as in utilities, there is a wonderful opportunity for "the State" to take its first major plunge into socialization, and this will be the test of whether the President wants to revert to a corrected individualism through destruction of monopoly, or go on into "a new order"—communism.

Special Privilege

By HENRY WARE ALLEN

AS our time honored political maxims become hackneyed they are very apt to pass into what Grover Cleveland would call innocuous desuetude. We subscribe to the sentiment that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" and yet little is done to counteract those aggressive forces which nullify that freedom which we profess to prize so highly. Even the prayer, "Thy Kingdom Come," is repeated as a mere wish that something good would happen rather than with a determination to bring about those righteous conditions which make for a heaven on earth. Possibly the most neglected of all of our national ideals is our professed adherence to that most democratic of all maxims, "Equal rights for all and special privileges for none." For at the present time our country is honeycombed with special privilege that has become so entirely entrenched as to be regarded on all sides as vested right. Special privilege is condoned by force of its familiarity. Like vice it is endured, then pitied, then embraced.

There lived in a Colorado city years ago a house-wife who made convenient use of coal cars on the side track across the street from her dwelling with which to replenish her stock of fuel. This she did without any qualm of conscience but as a special privilege which, by the sanctifying touch of time had grown into a vested right. This woman doubtless was punctilious in the ordinary obligations of life and would have hotly resented any statement to the effect that she was stealing coal. She was guided by that all too common kind of honesty which is based upon expediency rather than principle. Not on any account would she have withheld what was due from her to a neighbor who would have suffered by her delinquency, but the advantage to her of getting this coal was so great and the loss to some impersonal owner of same, mine, railroad, or smelter, was relatively so negligible that the argument was all in favor of her acting in her own interest without question. No personal equation was involved and if at first there had been any hesitation on her part of this practice, that was long ago a thing of the past. But the railroad company put a watchman on guard and her supply of fuel was thereby stopped. She then turned to the local charity organization with request for a continuation of the supply which had thus been rudely taken from her and the very righteous indignation with which she told her story was ample proof of entire absence of comprehension on her part that she had been stealing.

This incident, which is a true story, illustrates very

nicely the evolution and the nature of that special privilege which eventually becomes a vested right. And if the searchlight of analysis is turned upon our social system we may be surprised to find the presence of special privilege in unexpected places and of a volume that is, in the aggregate, enormous.

As a basis for this inquiry it may be well to state the fundamental truth that property may be secured in three ways only; first, by labor; second, by gift; and third, by theft. If this test is repeatedly kept in mind, the task will become easier. One of the commonest forms of special privilege is that which is provided under ninety-nine year leases on valuable business property sites. These leases convey to the owner of the land a stipulated income after the tenant has paid all taxes and expenses. In the parlance of political economy this revenue consists of what John Stuart Mill defined as unearned increment, a value which is produced by no individual but which is purely the result of population reflected upon desirable locations. For this revenue to be turned over to individuals as is now the unquestioned custom in all of our large cities and to an amount of billions of dollars annually is a procedure which is precisely in the same class as the stealing of coal from the railroad car by the Colorado housewife.

A much larger source of public revenue which is diverted to individuals is that of the rent of valuable property in excess of a fair interest return upon the intrinsic value of improvements on the property. This applies to practically all property located at the center of our large cities and involves enormous revenues. There is a mixture here of legitimate return on capital invested with the unearned increment which belongs absolutely to society but the case is not less clear on that account.

Another prolific source of public revenue which is diverted to individuals is that which comes from the lucky possession of oil wells. This possession frequently gives incomes of thousands of dollars daily to those who have no more claim on such revenue than is involved in the possession of the land upon which the wells were developed. The wealth that has by this means been given to certain sections of the country and certain groups of people has run into the billions of dollars. The Osage tribe of Indians in Oklahoma are said to have been made the richest people in the world due to this special privilege. Such beneficiaries are no more justly entitled to the revenue which they receive than was the Colorado woman justified in stealing coal from the railroad car. It will be said that the oil industry involves a great deal of capital and that many dry wells are paid for before a single producing well is developed. This is true and therefore makes the proposition somewhat more complicated but does not alter the conclusion.

Another source of revenue which diverts public funds into private hands is speculation in land. Purchase of

inside property sure to increase in value is the one investment that has been invariably recommended by shrewd financiers. This speculation is far greater than has been generally realized. More than one-half the area of New York City consists in vacant lots which are held out of use for speculative purposes, and the same is true of all our larger cities. Incidentally, this speculation has the effect of enhancing the selling price of desirable land to artificially high figures. When land which is purchased with a hope of subsequent rise in value, the investor practically lays a trap by which he may secure values that rightfully belong to the community. And this process makes an artificial scarcity of land with consequent artificially high cost to those who must use it. This process of securing a profit, of getting something for nothing, is persistently the same in character as that by which the Colorado housewife secured her supply of coal. Here again objection may be interposed to the effect that land frequently has to be sold for less than it cost. This is an objection that was raised by no less an economist than Francis A. Walker, the foremost critic of Henry George during his life-time. General Walker exclaimed, "Mr. George has much to say about unearned increment: He says nothing, however, about unrequited decrement." Mr. George's rejoinder to this was an expression on his part of his inability to discuss the problem with one who spoke of unrequited decrement in something which originally had no value. In other words, so far as society is concerned its interest is only in the rental value which is produced from year to year and which rises or falls accordingly as population grows or wanes. The important fact is that this increment, whether large or small, belongs to the community which produced it.

The most spectacular form of special privilege which we have to deal with today is that provided by the protective tariff. This protection enables the American manufacturer to secure an artificially high price for his product. The common argument in support of the protective system is that the American standard of living must be maintained by this artificial means, but this argument falls to the ground, if at the same time, we permit any improvement in labor-saving machinery which naturally has far greater effect upon the labor market than is produced by the competition of merchandise imported from abroad. The enormity of special privilege due to the tariff is perhaps more conspicuous in the State of Pennsylvania than elsewhere, a single family in Pittsburgh, the direct beneficiaries of the tariff on aluminum, being reputed to be worth in excess of two billions of dollars. There will be found that, with a few rare exceptions, the great fortunes of America are based upon special privilege of one kind or another.

Although there are many minor sources of special privilege which are embedded in our political and social

institutions, those above enumerated are the principal ones.

The special privileges provided by legislative action at Washington are in a different class from those which have become a regular part of our system of taxation but are none the less to be condemned. The most flagrant of these in recent times was the appropriation by Congress and approved by President Hoover, of five-hundred-million dollars of tax payers' money for the specific purpose of stabilizing or artificially enhancing the price of wheat, cotton, and other farm products. It was presumed by the makers of this law that it would have the effect of giving artificial advantage to the farming class, which would offset in a measure the special privileges which had been given so generously to Eastern interests by means of the protective tariff. The plea for this farm legislation was repeatedly based upon that consideration. It so happened that even the immense waste of money involved by the farm marketing act was negligible as an influence in the world wide markets and that it did not affect in any considerable degree the law of supply and demand upon the prices of the agricultural products which were supposed to be favored. But the very fact that this legislation was put through with little opposition furnished a very good illustration of the fact that special privilege legislation is regarded as perfectly legitimate. And this has been further illustrated in monstrous degree by the New Deal legislation under President Roosevelt.

There is everywhere consciousness of a mysterious force which is responsible for easily acquired fortunes on one hand together with an increase of unemployment and consequent lower incomes on the other hand. Each succeeding census report makes more appalling this undemocratic and unjust condition in our social fabric.

If prosperity is to be secure, there must be an end to special privilege of every kind, and a system of taxation inaugurated in place thereof which shall be based upon justice to all. Henry George has demonstrated how this should be done.

A Glance at Aldous Huxley

BY FRANK W. GARRISON

SOMETHING has happened to make the world appear more bearable to Aldous Huxley, in spite of the deepening chaos. An escape from frustration signalizes his new book of essays, "Ends and Means," where an attempt is made to survey present-day problems and formulate an approach to a solution.

The contention that the means employed always determine the end arrived at, that a good end cannot be won by bad means, is as easy to accept in theory as it is hard to put into practice. In Huxley's case his conviction has led to an uncompromising pacifist stand,

and a partial detachment from the tenets of Fabian Socialism, accepted by so many of his contemporaries. Yet he does not seem to have been influenced by the writers of the individualistic school who explored the science of political economy in the 18th and 19th centuries. There are no references to Quesnay or Turgot, to Cobden, Herbert Spencer or Henry George.

Huxley makes the common mistake of assuming an opposition of hostility between competition and co-operation. Cooperation consists in an exchange of goods and services, by individuals or companies. It includes trade and business relationships of all kinds, and it is clear that these relationships will increase as economic barriers are removed, i.e., as competition is promoted. If cooperation is to be enjoyed in its fullest extent, competition must be unrestricted. This is the goal of *laissez-faire*. It would put an end to prohibitions and partial laws, just as it would restore the natural flow of population and transform the present system of land tenure, bringing it into harmony with the ideal of equality of opportunity.

That access to land is the basis of independence is indicated by the history of the common lands in England, and is being illustrated afresh in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania where public opinion makes it possible for discharged miners to help themselves to coal seams on land that belong by statute to the owners of the mines. A revised land system might provide an alternative to factory work and thus, at a single stroke, modify the problems of low wages, long hours, and many phases of exploitation that seem to compel government interference. The ending of trade monopoly and land monopoly would, it is safe to predict, lessen the accumulation of wealth and power at one end of the scale while tending to remove the causes of poverty (with its concomitants of degeneration and crime) at the other end.

If Franz Oppenheimer is correct in his theory of the origin of the State, the real purpose of government is not to increase human happiness but to accumulate in the hands of those who control the political machinery as large a proportion as possible of the wealth produced. Military prowess and a swollen bureaucracy, essential parts of the system, are incompatible with self-government in industry and the extension of individual rights. Nothing would have a greater decentralizing effect than the repeal of privileges and the consequent opening of the field of economic opportunity to all manner of talents.

Huxley moves but hesitatingly in this direction. He sees equality best served by "a society where the means of production are owned cooperatively, where power is decentralized, and where the community is organized in a multiplicity of small, interrelated but, as far as may be, self-governing groups of mutually responsible men and women." It may be said in passing that there can be

no monopoly of the means of production in the absence of land monopoly.

"If we want," he continues, "to realize the good ends proposed by the prophets, we shall do well to talk less about the claims of 'society' (which has always, as a matter of brute fact, been identified with the claims of a ruling oligarchy) and more about the rights and duties of small cooperating groups." Better still, to consider the rights of men and women, whose true interests are threatened at the threshold of life by State education, the logical end of which is now apparent in the countries ruled by dictators. Huxley calls attention to the fact that the decline of democracy coincides with the rise to political power of the second generation of the compulsorily educated proletariat.

As in the case of the long list of troubles associated with the industrial revolution and the factory system, the seeming need of State interference in education is but a symptom of the disease of poverty. The remedy is an enlargement of economic opportunity, by removing the man-made obstacles to self-employment and co-operation. Private education would help to sap the foundations of militarism, and would substitute diversity for standardization.

Equal freedom in the production and exchange of wealth would not only tend to establish harmony in industry, but would diminish international friction, by allowing people and goods to move freely, and by providing access to raw materials on even terms for all nations. To arrive at the millenium, something more than economic justice may be needed, but it is the first requisite, and each instalment will liberate a portion of the moral and intellectual forces by which the advance may be hastened.

The Meaning of Graduates

OVER six hundred of those, who had just completed the course in fundamental economics at the Henry George School of Social Science, foregathered at the Engineers Auditorium, New York, on December 13. Several hundred former graduates and friends helped to make this an inspiring assemblage. The speakers were two graduates—Dimitri Sousslof, an engineer, and R. Joseph Manfrini, head of an investment brokerage firm.—Mrs. Anna George deMille, Dr. Henry George, 3d, Congressman Charles R. Eckert, Col. Victor A. Rule.

What do such graduation exercises mean? Similar assemblages, though not so large, were held during December and January in dozens of cities where classes are held. Dinners, speeches, resolutions, plans—the mass expression of a community of interest. Gatherings of people, however, are not difficult to create, since people are gregarious, nor are the methods of arousing enthusiasm unknown to us Americans.

But these graduation exercises are somewhat different from the commonality of mass assemblages. They are the expression of a newly acquired loyalty. We go to school and college reunions because of our loyalty to our own youth. We go to business meetings primarily for selfish reasons. We are loyal to our trade, to our favorite charity, to our bridge or golf club, and we get pleasure from meeting those who have similar loyalties.

But a meeting of people who have nothing in common, except that they recently read a famous book, attended ten discussion groups under various teachers (strangers but ten weeks ago) in various parts of the city—people from all walks of life and with different social, political and educational backgrounds—is rather unique. A new loyalty has been developed—a loyalty to an ideal. They cannot know all the people at the gathering, they do not come to meet people at all. They come because in so doing they express a desire to record themselves in favor of a philosophy to which but three months before they were total strangers. They have learned the meaning of—and the way to—economic freedom. Their presence alone at these graduation exercises is their pledge of allegiance to this ideal.

The inspiration that comes from meeting many people who, no matter how divergent their personal interests may be, accept this new loyalty is as nothing compared to the inspiration such gatherings give to those who have been in the work for many years. Said an old-timer in the lobby of the Engineers Auditorium: "I have never been at a Single Tax gathering where there were so many new faces and so few of the old faces."

At these graduation exercises, from the card index file of the graduates at headquarters, from the records of the increasing number of classes, from the mounting numbers of those taking the correspondence course, from the new names of workers and financial contributors, from all the indications of growth which characterize the Henry George School of Social Science, comes the conviction that—

TRUTH MARCHES ON.

FRANK CHODOROV.

Philadelphia School Commencement Dinner

THE Philadelphian Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science held its sixth Commencement Dinner at Van Tassel's Restaurant in that city on December 11. There were present about 150 diners, and graduation certificates were awarded to thirty-nine students.

James S. Farnum, President of the Student Alumni Council, under whose auspices the dinner was given, made a brief speech of welcome and turned the duties

of toastmaster over to Henry W. Hetzel, whom the writer had not met since the famous "Delaware Campaign," more than forty years ago, though he knew his father, dead these many years, fairly well. Another veteran of that campaign present was Harold Sudell.

The first speaker was Mrs. Anna George deMille, who, as President of the Board of Trustees of the New York School, brought "Greetings from Headquarters," in one of her characteristic talks which kindle enthusiasm for the work of economic education.

Dr. Henry George, 3d, of Wilmington, Del., called on to speak in the absence of John Lawrence Monroe, Field Director of Organization, who found himself too busy organizing schools in New England, to attend, gave a talk which, while it had the earmarks of an impromptu, was packed with a physician's solid arguments for a sane economic system as the indispensable condition of a sane and healthy civilization. This young man has no reason for growing stoop-shouldered under the great name born by his father and grandfather.

Frank Chodorov, Director of the New York School, spoke on "The Correspondence Course," which on several counts he deems to be even more important than the class course, claiming that its graduates seem to acquire on the average, a more comprehensive grasp of the science of economics. He presented an amusing as well as informing picture of the "mechanics" of the school's routine.

The Hon. Abe D. Waldauer of Memphis, Tenn., was another speaker who found it impossible to attend and sent his regrets. Dr. Walter Mendelson of Philadelphia, who had delivered a fine address on the early days of the movement and his associations with Henry George on the occasion of the unveiling of a bust of that great leader in the Library of Princeton University on Oct. 31, forty years to the day after his funeral services in New York in 1897, was asked to repeat it, which he did.

Stephen Bell, author of "Dr. Edward McGlynn, Rebel, Priest and Prophet," presented a bird's eye review of that great priest's career, his espousal of the philosophy of Henry George, the condemnation of that philosophy by sundry high prelates of the Roman Catholic Church, his refusal to retract it, his suspension from priestly duties and the order that he go to Rome to answer for his "contumacy," and his refusal to acknowledge Rome's jurisdiction over his politico-economic opinions and utterances as an American citizen, all of which led up to his formal excommunication in 1887, an event that for more than five years shook the Church from center to circumference and finally forced a reconsideration of his case by Pope Leo XIII in 1892, his complete vindication and restoration to communion and the priesthood without being required to retract a single word of the Georgeian economic philosophy which his "superiors" had condemned. Relating, briefly, the events of the New York Mayoralty campaign of 1897, which resulted in the death of Henry

George, Mr. Bell closed his talk by reading Dr. McGlynn's wonderful eulogy of the fallen leader in the old Grand Central Palace, where he electrified his vast audience by declaring:

"As truly as there was a man sent of God whose name was John, there was a man sent of God whose name was Henry George!"

Julian P. Hickok, Extension Secretary, and Francis J. Fee, Secretary of the Philadelphia Student Alumni Council, officiated in the awarding of the graduation certificates.

In Philadelphia, as in other places where extension schools have been started and maintained, the opinion is unanimous that "This is the thing we long have sought and mourned because we found it not," in that it appears to be the only feasible way to reach those "file leaders of public opinion," without whose active support no cause can prosper.—TOM DICKANBARRY.

Graduation Exercises in Chicago

THE graduation exercises of the Henry George School of Social Science was held December 15, 1937, in the grill room of Mandel Bros. department store. There was in the neighborhood of 50 graduates. Altogether about 120 were present. Mr. Max Korshak acted as auctioneer to raise funds for the school. He promised to match dollar for dollar of all the money that was pledged or contributed at the meeting. Under his vigorous leadership something like \$232 was paid in or pledged. This, with Mr. Korshak's contribution, will make about \$464.

The Old Guard Passeth

THE death on December 23 of Edwin Ross of Arden, Del., means another break in the thinning ranks of the "Old Guard." And one that will be deeply felt. Like his older brother, Will Ross, who died several years ago, "Ned" Ross (as he was known to his many friends) could look back on a lifetime of devoted service to the ideals of Henry George. His understanding of these truths did not come until he was a young man, but they overshadowed his childhood, in Coventry, Kentucky, in that he was obliged to cross the Ohio River into Cincinnati once each week to fetch *The Standard* for his father, John Ross, who was already a Single Taxer. In Philadelphia, Edwin Ross met the old Philadelphia Single Tax Society, and from then on gave all of his free time to the Cause. He worked on the old *Justice* as printer; worked side by side with Frank Stephens throughout the Delaware Campaign. He was an active worker in Henry George's last Mayoralty Campaign, and was stopping in the same hotel, in the next room to Mr. George, the night of the latter's death. He had lived in Arden

for 27 years, had been a Trustee of the colony for many years and had worked to keep it firmly to the original principles of its foundation. Ned Ross' belief in the principles laid down by Henry George was so strong that he passed it on to his entire family. His wife, who survives him, was already a convert when they married. And their three sons and two daughters are all active workers for the Truth. Ned Ross was an excellent speaker, compromising not one jot of his convictions, but so kindly and gentle withal that he never antagonized and always interested his audience. As chairman of meetings he was even more successful. Ross was in active business at the time of his death, as traveling representative for an important fire insurance company. His friends knew how, on his travels, he never forgot to put in a word or two which may have awakened a mind here and there to a desire for greater knowledge of fundamental economics. Death came very suddenly, from a heart attack. He was within a week of his seventieth birthday.

His name, like that of his brother, Will Ross, will be writ high in the annals of our work.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

The Robert Schalkenbach Foundation Report

TO jump right into the middle of things, let's talk about the December book selling.

Our Christmas letter, signed by the Honorable Lawson Purdy, President of the Foundation, went to ten thousand people. It asked them to give books by Henry George, or about his plan, as gifts. A folder accompanying the letter described seventeen suitable titles. Our appeal was answered with characteristic loyalty. Three hundred and thirty books were purchased. They were attractively wrapped—gifts to be proud of. They went to far-off Manila, and to war-torn Spain.

Aided by funds donated by its friends last spring, the Foundation is launching a campaign of national advertising. Fourteen advertisements of varying lengths will appear during the next four months in *Fortune*, *Harper's Magazine*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The United States Journal* and the *Wall Street News*. The advertisements are worded to appeal to a conservative, thoughtful audience. One, headlined "An Old Bequest," tells of the founding of this organization under the will of Robert Schalkenbach (whose legacy was called "an odd bequest" by the newspapers of 1925), and the purpose for which it was created. A second advertisement addressed, "To Brain Trusters and Social Planners," quotes from Henry George, then goes on to say, "in 'Progress and Poverty,' a real American contribution to social thinking, Henry George points the way to the achievement of the individual freedom that is the life blood of the healthy social state . . . a

road we must follow unless the tax-gatherer is to become our personal dictator." A third quotes John Dewey's famous opinion regarding Henry George, and says, "Henry George's philosophy is as American as a sod house, a native contribution to social thinking—sprung, not from Russia or Italy, but from George's own observation of the American scene."

During the advertising campaign we are asking our bookdealers to display "Progress and Poverty." One Albany bookstore has promised a special window-showing of George's books.

Last November we attempted to interest a list of certified public accountants in "Progress and Poverty." The venture was outstandingly successful. From the first thousand names circularized we secured forty orders and sold forty-three books. The literature used in the campaign was a folder reprint of the Dun and Bradstreet article entitled, "Three Important Balance Sheet Ratios." An interesting feature of this campaign was an offer to send the book on five days' free examination. Although almost all those ordering took advantage of the return privilege, only one man sent the book back. A list of several thousand more accountants is now being approached in the same manner.

May we again remind the readers of LAND AND FREEDOM that, as long as the edition lasts, "The Theory of the Land Question," by Professor George R. Geiger, published by Macmillan at \$2.00, can be secured from us at \$1.00 a copy. Published in 1936, this book is an excellent argument for land value taxation. It shows how land value differs from other forms of economic value and points out that two distinct classes of value must be considered in economics: that of reproducible human enterprise and that of irreproducible nature, i. e., land.

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

Dated, Thanksgiving Day, 1937.

"Thanks galore for such an institution as yours.—You folks getting material to the universities, colleges and schools are doing a great work. I am thankful for the opportunity to be along with others, in this important movement."

V. G. PETERSON, Acting Secretary.

I HAVE already read Henry George's great book and really learnt a great deal from it. Men like Henry George are unfortunately rare. One cannot imagine a more beautiful combination of intellectual keenness, artistic form and fervent love of justice. Every line is written as if for our generation. The spreading of these works is a really deserving cause, for our generation especially has many and important things to learn from Henry George. It almost seems to me as if you had no conception of what high degree the work of Henry George is appreciated by serious, thinking people.

DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN.

International Institute For Georgianism

THERE has been formed in Melbourne an International Institute for the Interchange of Information regarding the progress being made in the practical applications of the principles of Henry George's teachings. The founder of the Institute is an internationally known Esperantist and has been a Georgian almost from the cradle.

There are Esperantists in every city and town throughout the world and many of these are being asked to assist Georgian Clubs where they also exist to form small internal groups who will study the International Language with a definite objective in view—to send to the Institute in Melbourne reports of progress made in the application of Georgian Principles in their district, to report about Georgians generally (not omitting, perhaps, social ills), and also to cover Proportional Representation in like manner. English communities should not imagine that English is a suitable language for the primary purpose—the gathering of information from all the world into one place—English has its limitations, and because the Georgian Movement is now alive in almost every land in the world (despite reports by G. B. Shaw, and the Communists to the contrary), an International Language has become more and more necessary to keep in touch with our movement *in all places*.

At least this is the view of the Institute, which will simply make of the International Language the instrument for collecting and disseminating News,—news of a kind not obtainable through the ground-lord controlled press agencies. Our beginnings will be modest, but whatever information we receive from foreign lands will be freely passed on to the Georgian and P. R. Press in Australia, translated into English, of course.

Membership is five shillings per annum for those who wish to receive the International Letter in full as issued from time to time during the year: supporters may become members by paying one shilling or any sum by way of donation to assist in the work being undertaken. One of the matters to which the Institute will give early attention is the publication of a translation of Bengough's "Up-To-Date Primer"—possibly in the form of a textbook through which the budding linguist-economist may gather economic truths whilst learning the simple words which are the core of language. The late Mr. Bengough's nephew is the Registrar of the McMaster University at Hamilton, Ontario, and is the President of the Canadian Esperanto Association (National Federation of Esperantist Clubs throughout Canada.)

Address correspondence and subscriptions to The Secretary, International Georgian Institute, Henry George Club, George's Lane, Melbourne C1., Australia.

Yesterday's Causes and Today's Effects

Charity is indeed a noble and beautiful virtue, grateful to man and approved by God. But charity must be built on justice. It cannot supersede justice.—HENRY GEORGE.

LIKE the weather, much has been said of environment as an aspect of our social problems but little, if anything, really has ever been done about it. Many will question this assertion contending that our present social order benefits currently from not one but actually two horns of plenty, one furnished a reputedly social-minded and perhaps well-intended Governmental Administration in Washington intent on improving the conditions of the entire country, excluding, as Mr. Harold L. Ickes recently inferred, sixty families of wealth, the other provided by numerous charitable organizations and eleemosynary institutions working earnestly for the betterment of mankind. Both these groups, we might admit, continuously try to appease the hungry public appetite for better living standards but, when we pause and look about us today at the poverty which exists in this wealthy land of ours we are forced to conclude that in spite of a slight improvement, absolutely artificial in nature, neither group is having much success in its endeavors along these lines. Would it be too dogmatic to claim that all this energy and all this money is being misdirected? It would not seem so if on one hand we reviewed the tremendous amounts of energy and money expended to help mankind and on the other hand . . . well, just look at mankind.

Many years ago the river Nile was known to go on an habitual spree, overflowing its bank almost seasonally and causing terrific damage to the countryside. Man endeavored to anticipate these disastrous outbursts in many haphazard ways but found himself faced with the same dilemma time and again. Finally, as our civilization developed and land values expanded, it became more and more expensive to society to ignore the fundamental aspect of the problem and a scientific survey was compiled of the entire situation. Artificial irrigation and other similar feats of engineering were introduced. The energy of this mighty body of water as well as the energy of man, no longer misdirected, then contributed towards the production of a fertile countryside where barren wasteland was known to have existed for many years before.

In citing this particular instance in the metamorphosis of our present civilization, let us not be accused of digressing. Today the Administration in Washington offers new solutions daily with the ultimate objective of improving our public environment and elaborate philanthropic organizations worthy products of Capitalism (communists, Mr. Ickes, et al, please note) continue to expand energy and vast sums of money in an effort to aid the less fortunate.

Now the point is: How can both these competing agencies expect to improve the environment of man when neither one has given sufficient thought to the actual sources from whence the social conditions of our present civilizations have sprung? Omar Khayyam says, "Yesterday this day's madness did prepare." Why do intelligent individuals strive to eradicate our every day social diseases without tracing the ailments of today to the sources of yesterday? It is hoped that in the future more mental power and physical energy will be deflected into channels leading to laboratories for human research, where our current dislocations may be traced to the source, laboratories where the desire for truth must be the sole dynamo generating mental energy.—R. JOSEPH MANFRINI.

Washington Letter

THE third meeting of the Woman's Single Tax Club for the season of 1937-1938 was held with Mrs. Jennie Knight at the Cordova, 20th and Florida Avenue, on December 6, with the vice-president, Mrs. Minnie White, presiding, in the continued absence of the president, Mrs. McEvoy.

During the business meeting, attention was called to the curriculum, published for St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland, in which the names of Mill, Malthus and Marx were given as the economists to be studied, and a motion was carried that the secretary, Mrs. Walter N. Campbell, be requested to write a letter to Dr. F. Stringfellow Barr, President of the college, inquiring why Henry George's name was omitted.

Readings from Otto Cullman's book entitled, "\$20,000,000 a Day," with discussion on the points brought out, formed the main programme for the evening.

The fourth meeting of the season was held on January 3, at the home of Mrs. Daisy Campbell, 4915 Fourth Street Northwest, with the vice-president still in the chair.

Under the head of reports of officers, Mrs. Walter N. Campbell read a copy of the letter which she had written to Dr. Barr, in accordance with the request made at the preceding meeting, and also a letter to the Schalkenbach Foundation, and their reply. Mrs. Mackenzie followed suit by reading a letter written unofficially to Dr. Barr, and his response thereto. A letter addressed to her by Mr. Peter Schwander, the "Horatio" of Single Tax verses, was also read, approving the metal literature container which he had read of in one of the LAND AND FREEDOM reports of W. S. T. C. meetings, and adding the suggestion that leaflets be tucked inside of library books just before their return, which plan found general acceptance among the members.

The subject for consideration at this meeting was the possibility of educating radio broadcasters on the subject of the Single Tax, in view of their wide sphere of influence, the good work of Mr. Ingersoll and others being cited. A committee was appointed to see what steps might be taken in this direction, and advice and suggestions from anyone having ideas along this line to contribute, will be appreciated.

Just before refreshments were served, Mr. George A. Warren extended an invitation to hold the February meeting at his home, Hammond Courts, at which a Single Tax debate is scheduled to be held.—GERTRUDE E. MACKENZIE.

I BELIEVE land values taxation to be the salvation, and the only salvation of the South.

DR. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

Miscellany

FAIRHOPEISM VS. ALTRUISM

Written by Ernest B. Gaston, for *The Fairhope Courier* of Sept. 1, 1894. *The Courier* was then published at Des Moines, Iowa, but moved to Fairhope with its founders in November, 1894.

It must not be thought because the *Fairhope Courier* does not gush over the altruistic feelings actuating its members and which shall make life delightful in its community; because it counts selfishness the mainspring of human action, that the editor and his associates have no faith in the influence of higher motives of human conduct. Far from it.

Love is the divine germ implanted in the human heart and we rejoice in the feeling that its blossoms of kindness, purity and self-abnegation increase in numbers and fragrance with the passing generations. We believe its growth may be encouraged by favorable conditions, but cannot be forced. Kindness and unselfishness cannot be commanded, they must be volunteered, and so we believe that the effort to ordain unselfishness by rule and rote must end, as it always has ended, in failure.

The function of organized society is, to establish and maintain justice. The higher ethical rule of unselfishness must be applied in the individual human heart.

So in the Fairhope plans we have endeavored to establish justice. To remove the opportunities for the preying of one upon the other. Recognizing that selfishness has been the ruling force of mankind from the infancy of the race, we have not been so foolish as to command or expect that it should immediately cease. Selfishness says "take," love says "give": we may not command a gift, but we can say to him whose impulse is to take—"take that which belongs to you by right of creation, no more."—This we do. We close the gates against injustice; we open them to unselfishness. Society can do no more.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN AUSTRALIA

If the general industrial group, particularly the main manufacturing group, can save £200,000 by the Government dipping its hands into the public Treasury and financing private enterprise to purchase houses to let at a low rental, naturally they will enthusiastically favor such a proposal. My opinion is that it is no more a function of the Government to build homes for the people than it is to provide them with umbrellas to keep off the rain. We have gone too far along that scheme in days gone by.

HON. E. J. CRAIGIE in the Australia House of Assembly.

LAND REFORM IN MEXICO

The position of United States capital has been affected by three policies of the Cárdenas administration: agrarian reform, protection of labor, and the recapture of natural resources. On October 23 it was announced that during the last three years 25,000,000 acres carved from great estates—some of them American-owned—have been given to 569,000 peasants organized into 5,985 communal villages. Following large-scale division of cotton and wheat lands in the Laguna region of north-central Mexico during the fall of 1936 President Cárdenas initiated a similar programme for the heneque plantations of Yucatan in August, 1937, and two months later for the Yaqui River valley in the northwestern state of Sonora. While the Mexican constitution provides for compensation to owners of expropriated lands, the government declares that funds are at present lacking for indemnification.—*Foreign Policy Bulletin*.

SNOWDEN AND MACDONALD

Two other tragic deaths this year have saddened me—the death of Snowden and MacDonald. Passing the moors, o'er which the ashes of Snowden were scattered at the very time when MacDonald

death came to hand, I could not refrain from thinking of the tragedy of their closing days.

Verily I believe that Snowden died a broken-hearted man. For I think he left little doubt about the fact that he felt he had been betrayed by MacDonald, when the latter became the head of the so-called National Government—the most Tory of all the Tory Governments by the way—but the greatest sorrow of Snowden's life was the treatment he received from his own Labor Government, when he introduced his *Land Value Taxation* proposals in his budget. The support he got might be termed acquiescence without approval, and he got only one or two backers in the debates from his own party whilst his budget was before the House of MacDonald—well he is gone, "Peace, let him rest!"

There have been but one or two straws floating on the waters of 1937 which have engendered hope and strengthened one's faith in the capacity of our younger people to accept the discipline of high and sober thinking. One such straw is the growth of the Study Circles for a ten-week scientific examination of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." This method of propagating the teachings of your great prophet comes also from you. I understand that it has captured the imagination of your young people and thousands are flocking into your classes.

Hence, its trial here and such reports as I get are thrilling. A friend of mine is running different classes four nights weekly. By the time the ten weeks expire his pupils have canvassed to get him recruits to start a new class, whilst they carry on, mutually aiding one another to follow the gleam. My colleague tells me this is easily the most fruitful form of propaganda he has been associated with in all his fifty years of service for the cause, I feel, therefore, that "The Economics of God," for such is what I conceive George's message to imply, is going to get a more thorough ventilation and a fuller hearing than ever before.

T. A. in *Unity* of Jan. 3, Edited by JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

BOUQUET

The New York journal, "LAND AND FREEDOM," in its July-Aug. number makes the editorial comment that there are few Land Rent Restoration journals which are so well edited, or the contents of which are so well written, as *The Commonweal* of New Zealand.

While being by no means satisfied with our own efforts to make accurate and attractive use of the English language as a vehicle of expression in behalf of Fundamental Social Justice, we nevertheless very much appreciate this particular tribute.

LAND AND FREEDOM itself displays a depth and breadth of culture, a profundity of philosophy, and a facility of telling expression, not, in our opinion, equalled elsewhere, and as we value a compliment according to our estimate of its tributary, the bouquet from our big brother in U. A. S. is decidedly encouraging.

New Zealand Commonweal.

We are sorry to chronicle the suspension of the *Commonweal*, from which this is taken. Our periodical literature is poorer by reason of its untimely suspension.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

END OF ALL TAXES ON HOMES URGED BY GOVERNOR WHITE OF MISSISSIPPI

Governor Hugh L. White of Mississippi, startled the Legislature with a recommendation that all homesteads be exempted completely from State, county, district and municipal taxes. He declared that the State's present financial condition, with a surplus of more than \$5,000,000 in the treasury, justified such action.

The recommendation was greeted with a roar of applause from members. To bring about the proposed exemption a constitutional amendment will be necessary.

The Governor said:

"I do most earnestly recommend to you that you endeavor to find the necessary means to make possible the lifting of all taxes from the home. I mean taxes of all description—State, county, district and municipal.

"And I mean homes of all kinds, without distinction or discrimination. I mean homes on the farm as well as in the towns and the cities. The home is a home, whether it be occupied by a man of wealth or by a man who must earn his daily bread by his daily toil. I would lift the burden of taxation from them all alike.

"An amendment to the Constitution may be necessary to the accomplishment of what I have in mind, but if so, I think there is no question whatever that our people would overwhelmingly ratify such an amendment at the polls.

"Too many of our people, too many widows and others of small means, have spoken and written to me, for me to have any doubt as to public sentiment on the question."

SOCIAL JUSTICE FIRST

The following quotation will interest Georgeists. It is from a little book of 100 pages, entitled, "Social Justice First," by C. V. Brayne, C. M. G., Retired Land Commissioner of Ceylon, published 1937, by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, England. Because Mr. Brayne is a Retired Land Commissioner of Ceylon, the following, from page 94, deserves attention.

"The bounty of Nature must in common fairness belong to the whole community. Every member of that community should have equal rights to it. That one member should have to pay rent to another for the use of land is, therefore, wrong in principle. If rent is to be paid for land, and it is difficult in our modern society to see how this can be avoided, that rent should be paid to the community. In practice this would mean its being paid to the State as the trustee of the whole community. The revenue obtained by the State from land would belong to the whole community and the fairest way of disposing of it would be as a dividend amongst all the members. How far such a disposal would be practicable or how far such revenue should be utilized as a substitute for other forms of taxation as proposed by Henry George, need not now be discussed. Suffice it here, merely to state that the demands of social justice can only be met by the abolition of the system under which rent for land is payable to any private individual, or to anyone but the state as the trustee of the whole community."—H. ELLENOFF.

Collecting What He Does Not Produce

IT should be noted that the land owners do not bear the cost of war; it is borne by those who must of necessity use the land controlled by ten per cent of the people. All the land owners do is to collect the rent for the use of the land over which they hold sway. These earth owners did not produce the land, their ownership adds nothing to its utility or value, and should they, by due process of law, be dispossessed of their holdings, the productivity of the land would in no wise be altered. The landlord simply collects where he has not produced.

Cause and Effect, FOLEY, Alabama.

AS we go to press news reaches us of the death of Fiske Warren. Fuller details of his life and work will appear in the March—April issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

Jew and Christian

THEIR COMMON SIN AND THE COMMON PENALTY

HOWEVER great the differences that separate Jew and Christian, they have this in common: the Jew professes allegiance to his Torah, and the Christian, in professing allegiance to the Bible necessarily accepts that part of the Bible which constitutes the Torah.

Does either Jew or Christian pay more than lip service to some of the most vital edicts laid down by the Great Law-Giver?

If not, and if the basic principles from which spring those guiding edicts are sound, is it necessary to look further for the cause of the sufferings to which both Jew and Christian are subject in many of the nations of the earth today? The answer to this question is found in the one great truth so often proclaimed by Moses, and since his day endorsed by all students of history and philosophy,—that the violation of any law of God (or, law of Nature, if one prefer to so regard it) must eventually be atoned for in suffering; and that, conversely, compliance with the law must bring corresponding benefits.

In Lev. 25:18 we read: "Wherefore you shall do my statutes, and keep my judgments and do them; and ye shall dwell in the land in safety." Is either Jew or Christian today dwelling in the land in safety? Is the promise, or sequence, between cause and effect, (if one prefer so to regard the subject) false, or have the statutes and judgments been violated?

Not to commit the common error of dealing with generalities so vague as to be valueless, let us be specific: What is the specific statute the violation of which has brought destruction to the nations since the days of Moses, and the results of which violation today bring the persecution of Jews in one country, and the persecution of Christians in another? It is the command stated and re-stated so plainly by Moses, that while private property rights in labor products should be sacredly observed (the antithesis of socialistic, communistic, fascistic, and all other collectivist proposals), the *land*, the *source* of all labor products "shall not be sold forever ("in perpetuity"). Lev. 25:23.

This was not the capricious command of a leader desirous of merely exercising authority. It was the reflection of knowledge of a basic natural law—the economic law, that to extend property rights to the inclusion of land, is to deny true property rights,—and therefore to deny human rights.

The violation of this basic principle has brought about present world conditions. It has caused restriction of economic opportunity, and is thus responsible, chiefly, for a condition that leads both to the persecution of the Jews and the dire distress of those peoples and sects themselves, who practice the persecution.

Like capital and labor, both ignorant of the economic cause of their plight, and consequently engaged in fighting each other, instead of combining against their common oppression, so Jew and Christian, equally unfamiliar with the great economic truth back of the Mosaic command, instead of intelligently combining against the common cause of their ills, leave unassailed that which pits Christian against Jew, Christian against Christian, Jew against Jew, and brother against brother, in the intensifying struggle for existence.

While the method of application obviously would not be the same in our modern civilization, as in the crude days of Moses, the principle back of the Mosaic command is unchangeable, eternal and impregnable. Modern writers have evolved modern methods of application. The method proposed by Henry George is the most practical.

GEORGE L. RUSBY.

The Republican Party As An Alternative

REACTIONS to Mr. Hoover's suggestion, that Republicans meet in convention prior to the next congressional elections, for the purpose of discovering and revealing what they believe in and stand for, are interesting, and, at times, amusing.

Mr. Landon objects, apparently for the naive (and probably sound) reason that a revelation of what the Republican Party really stands for would embarrass its candidates in most of the congressional districts.

The blue ribbon for such suggestions must, however, be awarded to Mr. Glenn Frank. His suggestion is unveiled in his syndicated column appearing in many papers of recent date. He there suggests that, before any such gathering of Republicans, some intelligent person be employed to travel over the entire nation and "comb the brains" of Republicans for the purpose of ascertaining what they think and believe. Evidently Mr. Frank considers the task a trivial one for he contemplates its completion within a few weeks—most of which time would be taken up in traveling, leaving only a few odd moments for "combing" brains. Mr. Frank then suggests that, after this "combing", a gathering of Republicans be held at which the "combings" would be fashioned into a wig to adorn the Republican head. He hopes the result would attract those who disagree with many of the acts of the present administration.

Granting that many of us do not approve of some of the things done, or attempted, by the present administration, might I, as an old line Jeffersonian Democrat, suggest why the Republican Party can never hope to be an acceptable alternative?

As a starting point, there is no need for a combing

of Republican brains or for a convention to ascertain the controlling and basic thought ("obessoin" would be a better word) of Republicans generally. A "combing" of Republican brains would reveal only what we already know, and that is that Republicans, over and above everything else, believe that building barriers to trade between nations is the sole and only remedy for all the ills with which we are afflicted. They have no other thought and they have no other remedy. For sixty years the leaders of the Republican Party have thundered from the rostrum that *the Government* could make people happy and wealthy by legislation; that by passing laws putting into effect so-called "protective" tariff, which erect barriers to healthy, normal trade between the nations of the world, we can all be made rich, healthy, happy and wise.

That Republicans generally still labor under this obsession is illustrated perfectly by one example. Some short time ago when Secretary of State Cordell Hull negotiated a treaty with Canada looking to the partial resumption of trade between that country and the United States, Mr. Hoover, then titular head of the Republican Party, before the ink on the treaty was dry, before he could have read it, to say nothing about studying it, made the enlightening comment that it was "evidence of the more abundant life—for Canadians." There you have the apogee of asininity and the nadir of thought. It is enlightening because it illustrates the natural and instinctive reaction of all real Republicans to any effort to encourage trade between the nations of the world. Implicit in its fatuous folly is the thought that trade between nations is an evil to be avoided and discouraged and that it is against our interests to have other nations prosper—true Republican doctrine, and, by the same token, asinine economic thinking. Compare such muddled, vicious and dangerous thought with the truth uttered so clearly by David Hume over one hundred sixty years ago. Hume said:

"I shall therefore venture to acknowledge that, not only as a man, but as a British subject, I pray for the flourishing commerce of Germany, Spain, Italy, and even France, itself. I am at least certain that Great Britain and all those nations, would flourish more did their sovereigns and ministers adopt such enlarged and benevolent sentiments toward each other."

This Republican doctrine that trade between nations is an evil, is the very centre and political soul of every dyed in the wool Republican. It will be the cornerstone of any structure Republicans may build. Believing it to be a deadly poison, responsible in large measure for the trouble the world finds itself in, how can I, or anyone else, turn to the Republican Party as an alternative? If I had a sick child and was not satisfied with the attending physician would I turn to another physician whom I knew used but one prescription calling for heavy doses of a deadly poison?

If the Republican Party desires to attract voters now without its folds it must definitely abandon its belief that prosperous neighbors are a menace and that trade between nations is an evil to be fought. It must accept the truth that we are more likely to prosper if our neighbors prosper and that growing trade between the nations of the world is the most effective insurance against war as well as the most effective assurance of world peace and our own prosperity and well being.

JOSEPH F. COWERN.

HENRY GEORGE is greater than ever! Little by little, the world is feeling the influence of his noble thinking! His great work has been translated into every language and has profoundly modified legislation in the last thirty years.—POULTNEY BIGELOW.

WHENEVER the ownership of the soil is so engrossed by a small part of the community that the far larger part are compelled to pay whatever the few may see fit to exact for the privilege of occupying and cultivating the Earth, there is something very much like slavery.—HORACE GREELEY.

THERE is much said of "Irish landlordism," as though it were a peculiar kind of landlordism, or a peculiarly bad kind of landlordism. This is not so. Irish landlordism is in nothing worse than English landlordism, or Scotch landlordism, or American landlordism, nor are the Irish landlords harder than any similar class.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS, BY HENRY GEORGE.

YOU should talk Single Tax from the housetops! You ought to have your principles engraved in the sky in letters a mile high! Don't stop! Keep on fighting! Ground rent, instead of being paid to landowners should be paid, in place of taxes, to the government! The depression would be over in a month.

BERNARR MACFADDEN.

ANYONE who really fears a revolution in America ought to reread Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," one of the great social documents of all time. . . . I first read "Progress and Poverty" thirty years ago. . . . In all these years I have never known his premises to be shaken in the least.—KATHLEEN NORRIS.

WERE all taxes placed upon land values, irrespective of improvements, the scheme of taxation would be so simple and clear, and public attention would be so directed to it, that the valuation for taxation could and would be made with the same certainty that a real estate agent can determine the price a seller can get for a lot.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

BOOK REVIEWS

A NEW WORK BY LOUIS WALLIS *

"The Burning Question, Making Your Living in a Monopolized World," is another welcome contribution to our literature from Louis Wallis and fitly supplements his previous work, "Safeguard Productive Capital," which has had a wide circulation.

The author in his preface introduces his subject as follows: "This book deals with the problem raised more than half a century ago by Henry George, without some of his presuppositions, and from a different point of approach."

He begins his discussion with the housing problem, which he declares to be "but a single phase of the larger economic problem which now challenges civilization."

The author indicates the weakness—indeed the absolute futility—of federal housing schemes, while the double pressure of heavy taxation on improvements and the inflated, speculative cost of land continue. He sees the slum problem as created by the force of public authority, "which penalizes improvements by overtaxing them and undertaxing both improved and vacant land to such a degree that speculators have been able to withhold a large part of the ground area in America from all use, and selling and leasing land at prices far above productive worth."

He commends the federal information agencies for making thorough research into the appalling facts which in themselves doom its housing problems. All this is enforced with admirable simplicity which we do not recall to have seen surpassed anywhere. Productive enterprise is crushed between two forces, the power of taxation and the exactions of private monopoly.

There are many passages which we would like to quote, such as: "It will be news to most persons that bona-fide human industry is under organized obstruction by the law, while speculative, unearned incomes are specially favored and protected by the law."

The chapter in which Mr. Wallis states his differences with Henry George seems to us rather attenuated. We would point out that withheld wages cannot for long reinforce the stream of productive capital; since the return to capital is determined by the same law that determines wages—the margin of production.

We would differ with Mr. Wallis when he quotes approvingly from Dewey and Tufts, that "no individual knows how much he creates; it is a social product." This lends strength to the socialistic viewpoint. But with rent no longer privately appropriated the amount going to wages automatically determines the value of the individual's contribution to society, which we think Mr. Wallis, on reflection, will not deny.

We have not the space to review this somewhat metaphysical point more in detail. The work is so excellent that these points of difference need not be emphasized.

Advertisements of this valuable little work appear in newspapers and periodical mediums, covering a million and a half readers in this locality. What more can we ask of the services of one man to the cause of greater economic freedom?

J. D. M.

*Burning Question, Making Your Living in a Monopolized World. By Louis Wallis. Cloth. 111 pp. Pocket size. Price 75 cents. Willett, Clark & Co., Chicago, Ill.

Correspondence

DEFINITELY CORRECT

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I read in your November–December, 1937 issue, page 181, an example of slipshod writing and thinking; which is all too rampant among us. I am becoming convinced that our own mental foggiess is a power-

ful deterrent to our getting anywhere in convincing clear thinking people.

The reporter of the Detroit Henry George Congress, purporting to quote a speech by David Gibson, cites statistical figures for the City of Cleveland, winding up with the startling statement that "One-third of the land value is held by 125 families." So far so good. This is excellent information with which to convince our potential convert, provided we follow it up with the right conclusions. But look at the conclusion attributed by the reporter to Mr. Gibson, and printed by your magazine.

\$50,000,000 rent (presumably the assumed entire rent for the whole city) must be paid each year before anything can be done. This is an absolute debit against producers.

This clearly implies that there is something wrong about the payment of the \$50,000,000 rent, and that our movement will do something to correct the wrong. That is where our potential convert, if he is a clear thinker, will become a cynic and will eventually confound us.

Nothing is more fundamental with us than that ground rent (exclusive of speculative rent) is not only just, but is inevitable. It arises largely from the simple fact that a given number of people on the earth at any particular time, in order to live, must have the privilege of using a definitely limited amount of usable land. We should never promise, expressly or impliedly, either to abolish or reduce rent. In fact, we should prophecy its increase. The tenants of the land owned by the 125 families in Cleveland should in all justness pay their rent. We make an insidious mistake in doing anything to lead them or others similarly situated to believe that we will abolish or reduce their rents, or do anything for them, as distinguished from all other members of society, by reason of their special condition.

The statement that the rent of Cleveland is "an absolute debit against producers" is particularly unfortunate. The rent is just and should be paid. If it is a debit against producers, it is a perfectly just and proper debit, and nothing is proved. Furthermore, to call it a "debit against producers" is to suggest in a backhanded way the old bugaboo about whether "rent enters into price," for if it is charged to producers, it is ultimately charged to consumers in what the producers produce, and this goes by indirection into the high cost of living. The statement quoted thus not only alienates the outsider, but tends to start argument among ourselves.

We can and should draw at least two proper conclusions of a convincing nature from the given statistical material. I speak not of convincing ourselves but of convincing our potential ally.

First, we can draw a statistical conclusion, not from the fact that \$50,000,000 rent is being paid, but from the facts as to who are the recipients of that rent. The conclusion is that the general public is being subjected to an unjust burden of about \$50,000,000 per year, by reason of its having to pay exactions of taxes, licenses, permits, fines, etc., to the extent of \$50,000,000, which it would not have to pay if that \$50,000,000 rent were paid to the general public as it should be. The injustice of the thing arises not from the payment of the rent, but from its payment to private individuals. The hurt comes not from the payment of the rent at all, but from the payment of the taxes. Where we come in is to lead the way in abolishing the taxes by having the rent paid to the proper people.

Second, the statistics lead to a nonstatistical conclusion, but one highly important. They show graphically the major cause for the concentration of power in the hands of a few, with all of the attendant evils of trade monopoly, price fixing, graft, lawlessness, and the various social evils that arise from the existence of silver-spoon babies and power-drunk moguls. Many of these problems appear on the surface to be far afield from ours, and it is probably sound to be cautious about promising too much for them. But the fact remains that they are definitely connected in a large way with the land problem. The solution of the land problem will go far in ameliorating any ill connected with the concentration of power and wealth.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

F. B. McCONAUGHY.

THE CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Battle lines are forming rapidly in California for and against the recently-prepared constitutional amendment repealing the sales tax, and gradually all taxation on improvements and tangible personal property, and transferring the burden to land values. Nearly all the signatures necessary to give it place on the ballot this fall have been secured, and the present prospect is that by the time this number of LAND AND FREEDOM reaches its subscribers they will be secured and the needed certificates filed with the Secretary of State.

This undertaking has been one of no small magnitude, the total names being about 186,000, an almost unworkable number. This illustrates an error made in some initiative and referendum provisions, that of failing to place a reasonable limit upon the necessary signatures and proposing a straight flat percentage. Better provisions exist in some other states, as for instance Massachusetts.

The fight will be a most bitter one. Already from one end of the State to the other it is being proclaimed that an attempt is being made to put over the Single Tax in the guise of repealing the sales tax. Those repeating the charge fail to understand that sales tax and taxation in other ways upon industry are part and parcel of the same struggle to oppress the people. It is curious, however, that the cry of "Single Tax" seems in the eyes of our opponents to relieve them from the necessity of all argument. The counter-campaign, therefore, becomes simply an appeal to an outworn prejudice. I cannot believe that it will get very far.

That the amendment means much, we cheerfully admit. In the eyes of some it may seem step-by-step. In fact it has seven-leagued boots to travel with. Our opponents so thoroughly recognize this that they have exaggerated its probable effects. The statistician of the State Chamber of Commerce tells the members that it will take for public purposes from 80 to 90 per cent of rental value. He exaggerates, by using some figures over again and because, being simply a statistician, he knows nothing about the imponderables entering into the calculation. However, beyond doubt, very much the larger share of rental value will be taken, one-half of the new takings being in the first year and the rest in the course of nine years. This process will give industry a tremendous impetus and go far to solve the out-of-work problem now distressing the state.

May your readers understand that the spearhead of the movement for the freedom of humanity, as far as it can be done through freedom of industry and opening up of land, is right here in California. Here we may believe that we are fighting for the benefit of mankind everywhere. The man who fails to perceive this is blind to the obvious and to be pitied. We cannot take the time or strength to open self-blinded eyes.

The time will come when all who help us may feel that they have taken part in a great movement, and if they do not, then the future will bring with it regret over a lost opportunity.

We are fortunate in having good men and true at the head of the California fight. In San Francisco Noah D. Alper, 83 McAllister Street, works day and night for success. In Los Angeles, the campaign is in charge of Harry H. Ferrell, Bradbury Building, a very accomplished worker and devoted to the cause.

Palo Alto, California.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

INTEREST AGAIN

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I notice a discussion in your December number on interest, and among others, friend Beckwith has a long letter. He claims to be a scientist, in fact the only real economic scientist who is 100 per cent Henry George. All others are "spurious imitations."

In a little notice of my book you qualify your praise by the statement that you "do not hold his views on interest." There are two

different things called interest. I and some others discuss one, Beckwith and those who agree with him another.

My contention is that interest is the payment for the use of borrowed wealth and nothing else. George says that this is not all interest, thereby admitting it is interest. Then he tries to make out that some part of the increase due to the use of capital is also interest, but nowhere does he define it or give any clear law for its division, and finally says, "In truth, the primary divisions of wealth is dual not tripartite. Capital is but a form of labor." (Book III, chapter 5, last paragraph.) All your correspondents, Beckwith included, discuss interest in the commercial sense (the payment for the use of borrowed wealth) and although the latter denies that there is interest, he proceeds to discuss it without explaining what, in his view, it is; so his discussion is neither scientific nor understandable, as he is trying to apply his idea of interest to something, which he says is not interest. The only interest that is meant by economists other than Beckwith (if you can call him one) is that which I have defined, and which will disappear when economic rents are collected in lieu of all taxation and not until then. For as long as wealth can purchase and that will yield a revenue without the labor of the owner, just so long will man refuse to loan wealth without demanding a similar return.

I notice Mr. Beckwith says that defining terms first is a mistake. Certainly no one would accuse him of doing this in regard to interest. Toronto, Canada.

ALAN C. THOMPSON.

FUNDAMENTALS OF INTEREST

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Should not the followers of Henry George be sufficiently grounded in the fundamentals of economics to tide them over any problems with which they meet? It appears to me that the careful student would be impressed with the thoroughness with which our author delved into the natural laws that underlie all social and economic problems. It is not that we should accept all of his conclusions, unless to our own understanding those conclusions are the logical results of the premises he lays down. To my mind and the best of my information, no one has yet arisen to show any error in the premises. Being grounded upon them the student should develop his own conclusions. If he is logical in his reasoning, his conclusions must be correct.

In the discussion of the justification of interest, always there arises in my mind certain queries. For instance: There is not an intelligent person, whether conservative, liberal, communist, socialist, or what not, who will deny that, from the standpoint of justice, whatever any one produces through his own effort is sacredly his private possession. With it he may do what he will, so long as in so doing he does not injure another person. Yet, when it comes to the matter of interest, we find among all these groups—except only among the consistent followers of Henry George—some who question the justice of interest. Now what is interest?

In plain English, interest consists of a certain payment to some person by another for the use of something—whether that be a commodity, a tool or a sum of money. Now, if legally we abolish interest, or in any manner regulate the amount of it as payment for the use of capital, do we not by that act confiscate or deprive its owner of what is sacredly his own? Can any one propose a just manner by which society may compel any one to grant the loan of anything which he may have to any one else without recompense?

Then, too, by the simple natural law, operating all about us all the time, we observe that the wages of labor—despite even the efforts of unions—will rise as interest rises and fall as interest falls. Stating the same thing conversely, interest will rise as wages rise and fall as wages fall. Why should this be considered a natural law? The answer is simple. First, all will agree that prices of anything are determined by the natural law of supply and demand. Second,

it is seen in the fact that labor cannot profitably be employed without the use of capital, nor can capital be employed except by the employment of labor.

I am not overlooking the fact that, given access to natural resources, labor can employ itself without the service of another's capital. Though this be true, the laborer would even then be obliged to produce some form of capital by which to produce wealth. That is, he must first make some kind of tool with which to work. That would be his capital. The effort he expended in making the tool would be the "interest" which he is paying for the use of that capital. For the tool itself is not wealth which he may consume by eating or wearing it. It is capital only to be used in the production of wealth.

Now, if one uses the capital belonging to another, it matters not what form of capital it may be, he is doing so in the hope of gaining some advantage. That advantage may consist of almost anything. In any event, he enjoys the privilege of escaping the toil of or in saving the time in waiting until his own labor may produce that capital. He is gaining some immediate relief or profit. (Whether he gains or loses in his effort, or whether the lender risks his capital, is entirely another question, having nothing to do with the fundamental economics of the transaction.) However it may be considered, the arrangement on both sides was intended for gain. Justice, then, demands that if one producer gains by the use of the "stored-up labor"—capital—of another, he should share with that other some portion of that gain. That is what is meant by the term "interest." Therefore, interest is nothing more nor less than wages for labor previously employed. Whether the lender should also share a loss, if such there be, is a matter to be specified in the contract voluntarily agreed to by the lender. This is sometimes done.

I am not forgetting the fact that those who have any form of capital to lend, often corrupt legislatures to make laws in their favor, just as at times unions, securing undue advantage, seek to enforce a higher wage than a given business may afford. Both of them are seeking personal privileges which, in the end, must meet with defeat, because the natural laws of economics are as absolute as any others. Soon or late man will discover that it is as impossible to vacate or set aside a natural economic law as it must ever be to nullify the law of gravity. Los Angeles, California. LAURIE J. QUINBY.

RENT IN PRICE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In these discussions about rent-in-price one may learn a great deal about the dynamics of the natural order and of our unnatural order as well, but it seems to me that both sides of the controversy are right and both are wrong. This is because they do not take into consideration the components of ground rent. Simply stated the solution seems to be this:

In monopoly rent there is price; in speculative rent there is price; in pure economic rent there is not price.

In other words, monopoly and speculation raise price. The purely economic order does not raise price but leaves it flat on the basis of competition, the natural equalizer of price.

Waterbury, Conn.

ROYAL E. S. HAYES, M. D.

PRAISE FOR VICTOR RULE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In the days of pristine youth when I suffered from the universal fever for reform, I was a Single Taxer. A man named Monroe found financial support from me for the spreading of "the gospel."

With years and maturity came serious doubts. It was not so much the gospel itself as it was the way it was put out to the public. I became wearied with the repetition of statements whose only claim to truth was the man who uttered them; I grew to suffer under Single Taxers' intolerance and pedantry; I became bored by the monasticism of ideas which describes so many who were supposed to be the guardians of the "truth once for ever delivered unto the saints."

Naturally, I wandered away into other fields of thought. But through the intervening years some Single Taxers have never let up on me. I have been bombarded with letters and magazines—I have read more "printed proofs of this truth" than most. They did not "prove" to me. I resented their patronizing tone and their mental slapping of those who could not understand.

Just the other day a man gave me a book on war. I began to read it with avidity because I hate war. Do you know, I was half way through that book before I began to see the outlines of "the cat"? But it was so eloquently written, so fascinating in its logic, so tolerant and electric in its spirit, that I simply had to finish it.

How I wish every Single Taxer would read that book. It is a masterpiece of propaganda, because you read and do not know you are being educated.

Here is a hope for your movement and a wish for 1938; may you all read this timely treatise and see that it gets into your public libraries and into your high school and college libraries. You can do no better Single Tax work, because it fascinates the mind of the reader and leaves him in the lap of Henry George, where beneath the smile of justice there begins the reign of peace.

The name of the book is "Chain and War-God," by Victor Alexander Rule. It revived my faith, it will stimulate yours and it will make converts, if it is used.

Chicago, Ill.

C. S. ADELMAN, Editor *Real Estate Advertiser*.

SOME TRUTH IN THIS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

You may or may not recall my visit to your office last year, when I put up the argument that so long as the vocabulary used by Single Taxers conveyed to the farmer mind the exact opposite of the real intention, political progress was bound to be very slow. Since then I have pondered the problem further, and am now wondering whether *accessible population value* would convey the idea of what we propose to tax.

When one really understands what Single Tax would do for agriculture, it seems too bad for the movement to be held up by what appears to me as a simple misunderstanding.

North Stonington, Conn.

CHRISTOPHER M. GALLUP.

FROM AN INNOCENT BYSTANDER

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The business recession now on, which as yet has us more scared than hurt, is just another of those flarebacks from our raids on capital and wealth in general, with the New Deal new-fangled levy on corporations as a starter, or, would you say, pump-primer.

We just don't like big aggregations of wealth, corporate or otherwise. There must be something crooked about them to need watching, and they have plutocratic ways of bossing us and our Congressmen around. So we offer every chance for them to grow and wax fat by opening up all our resources on the most inviting terms. "Here you are, gentlemen, the people's preserves, no charge for admission." Then we lie in wait to highjack them with all sorts of tax weapons, leaving enough of their plunder, and all ways open, for a periodic re-staging of the performance. The rest of us, innocent bystanders, get stray shots, bruises, side swipes, and other kinds of enjoyment out of the annual melees, enough to make it all the harder for us to gain an honest livelihood.

In ordinary life we are disposed to lump in highjackers with bootleggers, gangsters and other depredators, with Uncle Sam as High-jacker in Chief.

Washington, D. C.

W. N. CAMPBELL.

ASKS BECKWITH TO BE MORE CAREFUL

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I regret exceedingly that our friend, L. D. Beckwith, did not read my article ("What is Interest?") with the care necessary for a proper

understanding of the propositions advanced. Undue haste in arriving at conclusions has never contributed anything to science. Certain self-contradictions and statements ascribed to me do not appear in my article. A patient re-perusal might serve in the interest of truth. Brooklyn, N. Y.

RAYMOND V. McNALLY.

SYLLOGISM ON INTEREST

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Interest is the return for the use of capital.¹

Capital is a product of labor.²

Use of capital is a mode of labor.³

Interest is a form of wages.⁴

Labor applied to the production of capital gets the same proportionate return as does labor applied to the use of capital in the production of consumptive wealth.⁵

The confusion which often arises in discussions among Single Taxers on the question whether or not the rate of interest will rise or fall, or the amount of interest will increase or decrease, under the free economic condition advocated by Henry George, arises out of the failure to hold fast to the precision of definition of the economic terms used, which are prescribed in "Progress and Poverty" as necessary in a scientific argument.⁶

Economic interest, precisely defined, excludes interest on the public debt⁷, because the public debt is neither wealth nor capital. It excludes the major part of interest on real estate mortgages⁸ because they are mainly secured by land value, which is not wealth or capital. It excludes so-called interest on loans from pawn brokers and loan sharks, which are exactions upon personal distress. It excludes the major part of so-called interest on public utility bonds⁹ which mainly represent capitalization of franchises and other forms of land value.

It is indeed true that the great burden of the payment of so-called interest to "coupon clippers" will be lessened, but not because the interest rate will be reduced, but because the people generally will tend to free themselves from the burden of debt, both public and private, under a free economic condition.

There will be also, under the plan of Henry George, a tendency for productive labor to own its own tools of production and the borrowing of capital will decrease.

Interest, however, is not a return for borrowed capital, but is the return for the use of capital. Interest is earned just as surely whether capital is borrowed or is owned by the laborer, just as it is true that rent accrues whether land is leased from another or is owned by the user.¹⁰

Interest is a part of wages and is governed by the same law as wages. When wages rise, interest rises, when wages fall, interest falls.¹¹

The relation between interest and wages, and the proportion in which the produce would be divided between labor and capital, is governed by natural law under free competition, which is that man seeks to satisfy his desires with the least possible effort.¹² This means that each man will get the most he can for his labor. Neither labor nor capital can take any advantage of the other, because between them there sets up what the engineers call a "dynamic equilibrium."¹³ Under free competition the contest between labor and capital will settle itself.

The solution of the land question, which will come when rent is taken for common use will have the same beneficial effect upon interest as it does upon wages; that is to say, both will rise in rate and increase in amount.

New York City.

WALTER FAIRCHILD.

Citations from "Progress and Poverty":

¹ page 162

² page 163

³ page 198

⁴ pages 199 and 203

⁵ pages 198 and 199

⁶ page 31

⁷ page 190

⁸ page 40

⁹ page 191

¹⁰ page 223

¹¹ page 199

¹² page 12

¹³ page 199

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

A LIFE of Francis W. Maguire under the title, *Ecce Homo* ("Behold the Man"), written by John C. Rose of Pittsburgh, Pa., is ready for delivery at \$2.00 a volume. Those who have seen the work in manuscript speak highly of it; one Henry George man pronouncing it "a beautiful character study." Mr. Rose may be addressed at 491 Norton Street, Pittsburgh, or 725 Bakewell Building, same city. A review of the book will appear in LAND AND FREEDOM.

THE death of Ernest B. Gaston, editor of the *Fairhope Courier*, occurred December 21. Mr. Gaston was born in 1861 and was married to Clara Leah Merston in 1887. They were a united and happy couple up to the time of her death, which occurred three years ago. Five children survive him. As the moving spirit of Fairhope, the Single Tax colony on the shores of Mobile Bay, he was known wherever the cause is known. In the *Fairhope Courier* he sent forth a paper interesting and well edited. He was a familiar figure at many of the Henry George Congresses. On another page will be found an article from the pen of Editor Gaston, written in the beautiful spirit that was part of the man. At the funeral service there were a number of visitors from various sections of Mobile and Baldwin County, and there were many beautiful floral tributes. Rev. H. D. Williams of Des Moines, who conducted the services, had lived for a number of years with Mr. Gaston in that city.

GEORGE HUGHES of Topeka, Kansas, son of Thomas Hughes, author of that juvenile classic, "Tom Brown's School Days", writes an enthusiastic letter regarding Stephen's Bell's "Life of Father McGlynn." He says it has taught him a new tolerance for the Catholic faith. He wishes that the book was in the hand of every Georgeist, and expresses his gratitude to Mr. Bell for his fine achievement.

ARTHUR MADSEN of London, editor of *Land and Liberty*, writes: "Congratulations to you and 'our reporter' on the fine story of the Detroit Congress. It was a masterly piece of work. 'Our reporter' drew the right pen picture with the 'values' as the artists call them, very properly balanced. Please give John Lawrence my affectionate greeting and I am his comrade in all ways just as we found each other (and without false modesty, I think he will say that too), right good comrades, when we were together in the historic year (for me) of 1935. I know he is a most busy man; yet I am to blame that we do not contact each other more often in the mails."

CHARLES B. ROGERS of Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin, writes:

"I have said to you many times before, and I wish to reiterate it, that your editorials in LAND AND FREEDOM are like a breath of fresh air in a foul, unventilated room, clearing away the mists and fogs which obstruct the view and removing the smells which offend the nostrils. There would seem to be not the slightest conception in the minds of our statesmen that there is such a thing as economic law, the violation of which will bring disaster just as the violation of physical law will bring disaster to our bodies."

Terre et Liberte of Paris, France, edited by Sam Meyer, prints extracts from Charles H. Ingersoll and Jackson Ralston culled from LAND AND FREEDOM.

THE *Square Deal* of Toronto, for November, has been received and we are glad to welcome its re-birth. It contains a report of the Henry George Congress at Detroit, by Alan C. Thompson, and a valuable article from Miss Margaret E. Bateman on "Denmark, the World's Social Laboratory." This was an address given in Toronto on March 26, 1937. Other interesting features are included.

The Other Half is a magazinelet, published by Frank L. Brooks, at Topeka, Kansas. The articles are couched in the vernacular and we found it entertaining reading.

LANCASTER M. GREENE, trustee of the Henry George School and teacher at the New York School, replies to Dr. Fabian Franklin in a two-column letter in the *New York Times*, entitled, "Property Rights Being Re-defined," and makes a neat job of it.

JAMES P. KOHLER of Coral Gables, Florida, is continuing his work of letter writing and speaking wherever he gets an opportunity.

AN admirable review of Stephen Bell's "Life of Dr. McGlynn," appears in the January number of *Land and Liberty* of London, England, from the pen of F. C. R. Douglass.

IN *The Irish Catholic* of Dublin, Ireland, is a two-column article entitled, "Progress and Poverty.—We all Balk at the Vested Interest Obstacle."

Columbia, organ of the Knights of Columbus, publishes a not unfriendly review of Stephen Bell's "Rebel, Priest and Prophet."

Cause and Effect, edited and published by C. R. Walker at Foley, Alabama, is an eight-page periodical conducted by a man who knows his economics. We find it extremely interesting.

PROF. WILLIAM C. BAKER of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, died in December of last year. He was the son of the late John F. Baker of Kingston, who, during a long life, was an outstanding representative of our philosophy in Canada. "His children," Mrs. Post informs us, "were brought up in that philosophy, and he had a wide and human view of the deeper realities of life." The *Kingston Whig-Standard* printed an editorial tribute to the life and work of William C. Baker.

CONGRESSMAN HERBERT S. BIGELOW writes: "Louis Wallis's book, 'The Burning Question,' is a welcome restatement and critical reappraisal of the George thesis." Prof. Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, echoes this encomium in a letter of Mr. Wallis in which he says: "Your little book will be timely, for all over the world thinking people are searching for something else than having the state take charge of all production. I agree with all you say."

IN the *California Class Room Teacher* for December, N. D. Alper has a long article entitled, "The Sales Tax not a School Tax." We make one short extract:

To the extent that land is taxed in proportion to its value, private interests in so far as they are land-holding interests, can no longer collect tribute from "industry" and the need of the human family for access to land. They can not longer be a "dog in the manger." To the extent land values are appropriated by all the people for their common use in government, to that extent the great "inland piracy" is ended, and land monopoly curtailed.

WILLIAM H. QUASHA, member of the faculty of the Henry George School of Social Science at national headquarters, debated the question, "Is There a Way Out of Our Present Business Recession?" with Miss Sadie Van Veen, a charter member of the Communist Party, at the Ninety-second Street Y. M. H. A., here, January 13. O. K. Dorn, also a member of the Henry George School faculty, was chairman. About 200 persons attended.

PROFESSOR A. MATHEU ALONZO, now located at Tarragona, Spain, writes, appealing to the Georgeists of the United States, for copies of "Progress and Poverty" and copies of LAND AND FREEDOM

for his classes. Professor Alonzo, whose books and furniture are at Salamanca, insurgent territory, has been appointed professor of English at the National College of Tarragona and professor of French at the Mastery School of Tarragona. For those classes he needs also, fifty copies of the French translation of "Progress and Poverty." We are glad to hear from Prof. Alonzo and to know that he is still safe and sound. We recall, with pleasure, his visit to this country and the opportunity that was given us to entertain him. He is a splendid Georgeist and a fine upstanding physical specimen.

THERE are few active Single Taxers in the movement who can write as well as Henry H. Hardinge of Chicago, and his article in the *Independent Food Business*, a monthly magazine from Chicago, is indicative of his metal.

THE GEORGEIAN PLAN, by John Harrington, is an article in the *Commonweal*, Catholic organ, published in New York City.

THE Science of Political Economy is the title of what may serve as a text book on our philosophy, now running through the columns of the *Gaelic American*. The first instalment appears in the issue of January 8, and will run in all probability for the year and will then, we hope, be printed in book form. The author is Henry J. Foley, well and favorably known to local Georgeists, and he knows how to present forcibly and simply the fundamental principles of our teachings.

IN the *Labor Leader* of San Diego, California, appears a two-column article by the secretary of the Building Trades of that city, under the title "Judge Ralston Gives Labor a Goal." He concludes: "November's election will surprise even you. We salute you, Judge Ralston."

THE 1938 Henry George Congress will be held September 7th, 8th and 9th, in Toronto, Canada. The Committee has met and appointed these dates.

NEWTON BAKER, whose death occurred recently, might have gone down in history as a great civic leader and protagonist of the philosophy of Henry George, which he learned from Tom L. Johnson. As it is he will be remembered as an efficient Secretary of War. He made his choice. Whether he was happy in that choice we do not know. It is interesting to recall, however, that at the Fels Fund Conference in Washington, he did say, as reported by Grace Isabel Colbron, "No matter what any one may say, I am now and always will be, a Single Taxer."

BENJAMIN MARSH, head of the People's Lobby at Washington, said in a recent address: "Another crash cannot be averted by smashing big concerns, but by ending first the special privileges which make them dangerous, and ending private monopoly of land and other natural resources."

IN another part of this issue will be found a tribute to Ed. Ross whose sudden death has saddened us, from the pen of a life long friend Grace Isabel Colbron. We sat at the table with him during the banquet proceedings at the Henry George Congress in 1936, and he was in great, good humor. Always a delightful companion he enlivened the meeting with his delightful table talk and incessant repartee.

DR. E. L. FREYERMUTH of South Bend, Indiana, has contributed a number of letters to the *News-Times* of that city. One is entitled "Suggestions for Thinkers Only," in which he quotes from Carlyle, Kant, Emerson and others.

OUR old friend, George White of Asbury Park, has attained his eighty-third birthday. *The Monmouth American* contains an account of his work in complimentary vein. Mr. White contemplates the publication of a bi-monthly to stir up local sentiment in which he will have the cooperation of Harold S. Buttenheim and Hon. Chas. R. Eckert.

MOST all of our Single Taxers will recall the name and work of Asher George Beecher of Warren, Pa., who departed this life in November of last year. He wrote and published many pamphlets on the Georgian philosophy. In a beautifully written editorial on his life and work the *Warren Times-Mirror* concludes as follows:

"Asher George Beecher is dead, but his works live after him. And it must be a rash prophet indeed who would deny that a troubled world may not some day, in desperation, turn for salvation to the fundamental tenet of the Single Taxer, that this God-given earth is the common property of all who live upon it, not that of a chosen few who seek to exploit it for selfish gain."

"I LIKE Mr. Ashton's articles very much," writes J. A. Johnson of Chicago. "Ridicule sometimes has the effect of making a superficial writer dig deeper."

FISKE WARREN writes: "Permit me to say how much I enjoy your editorial columns and often wish they were longer."

It is with real sorrow that we announce the death of Silas S. Taber of San Diego, California, at the age of 81. We met him at one of the Henry George Congresses. He is survived by his wife, Mrs. M. Annie Taber and a son Ray H. Taber, of Chula Vista, California. He was one of our earliest subscribers.

COL. VICTOR A. RULE spoke before the Henry George Club of Pittsburgh, Pa., on December 28, his subject being "Peace and Prosperity, What Georgeists Can Do."

DR. WALTER MENDELSON recently addressed an assembly at the Friends' Meeting House in Philadelphia, and at the conclusion distributed copies of "Jones Itemized Rent Bill." This pamphlet is having a wide circulation. Mrs. Post writes: "It is really very clever," and Dr. Harry Gunnison Brown echoes the same comment. This pamphlet can be secured of LAND AND FREEDOM or from A. Laurence Smith, 2460 East Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan.

FROM a letter of Chas. F. Owen of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, we quote:

"I can never understand why the average man or woman does not realize his or her right to the resources of Nature, and apparently does not want to. The labor question will never be settled until Mr. Average Man realizes that God is the Employer of all men; that the earth we live on is His workshop, and that He designs that every man shall have a job—a real steady job in which he will live in continued security."

FREDERICK C. LEUBUSCHER in a recent letter to Benjamin C. Marsh of the People's Lobby, comments on its declaration of principles as follows:

"You ask my opinion of proposed 1938 legislative programme. As an individualist, as rugged as they make them, I agree with very little of it. 'Federal licensing of corporations' might pass under the police power of government (its only function). 'International co-operation' is a glittering generality. Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are pure socialism and will further rivet the chains of bureaucracy. They would be unnecessary even if otherwise desirable were we to collect the entire economic rent. No. 1 is the least objectionable. Of course, I favor the repeal of consumption taxes; indeed of all taxes, including income and estate.

What do you mean by 'heavy progressive taxation of land . . . values'? All land values, both large and small, belong to the people. Why should Smith's little lot be taxed at a lower rate than Astor's vast holdings?"

ARTHUR MADSEN of *Land and Liberty*, London, England, writes

Louis Wallis regarding the latter's book, "The Burning Question" reviewed in this number:

"I must compliment you heartily on your new book. I had it at home for Christmas and read it with both delight and instruction. It struck a refreshingly optimistic note which is the right note, I think. But the whole temper and tone of the book recommends it to every sincere person. We will review it in an early number of *Land and Liberty*."

DR. S. SOLIS COHEN writes in a recent letter:

"The doctrine of regulation is so deeply hammered into the public skull that there seems no room for common sense. Nevertheless we must continue to bear witness, and even to hope. LAND AND FREEDOM helps to give courage to go on."

The New Republic contains an interesting sketch of Senator S. A. Stockwell of Minneapolis. The writer, Dorothy Walton Binder, says: "He is a liberal and a loyal disciple of Henry George. As such he has fought for progressive measures in his state, especially those which have to do with returning the great mineral resources of Minnesota to the people."

FROM a letter of Vernon J. Rose we cull the following:

"Last night until one o'clock I read the latest issue of LAND AND FREEDOM. Your 'Comment and Reflection' were never better. Its exalted thought and forceful expression ring like a chapel bell in one's memory.

'Freedom of Commerce' is a classic. A marshaling of facts which will stir any thoughtful mind, expressed with an eloquence that warms the soul.

The whole issue is so good, I want to thank you and let you know how much I appreciate it."

WE regret to chronicle the death (self-inflicted) of our long time friend and subscriber, W. O. Blase, of Youngstown, Ohio. He was an active Single Taxer and a generous contributor to its activities. He was of a genial and cheerful disposition and his tragic death has shocked his many friends in the city in which he lived. He organized and was president of the Henry George School of Social Science, and in Youngstown *Vindicator* he paid for the "ads" of the School which appeared in that paper. Mr. Blase had been married to Laura J. Breeze for thirty years and is survived by his wife, two sisters and two brothers. A penciled note from Mr. Blase was found beside his body which read: "Life divine, revealing the spiritual individualism and the consciousness of man's dominion over the whole earth." The fatal weapon was one of a small collection of firearms which the *Vindicator* tells us he highly prized. He had a number of hobbies, his chief pastime being gardening and birds. He also had a collection of clocks. He was born in Wilkes-Barre in 1873.

JOHN M. MOORE of Lancaster, Pa., writes:

"I enjoyed very much the article which was reprinted from the *International Journal of Ethics* of London, England, which you wrote, on the *Difficulties of Democracy*, and which was reprinted in the September-October issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

I consider it one of the ablest articles on the subject that I have read for sometime."

WILLIAM H. QUASHA, a member of the faculty of the Henry George School of Social Science at national headquarters, has accepted the chairmanship of a sub-committee of the Taxation and Finance Committee of the City Club of New York, leading civic body, which is reporting on whether or not there should be a differentiation between land and improvements for tax purposes, and whether the rate of taxation on land values should be limited.

LANCASTER M. GREENE, a trustee of the School, has accepted membership on the Taxation Committee of the City Club. Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City* and an authority on municipal finance, is chairman of the committee.