

November—December, 1926

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

Inspiring Reports of Progress in Denmark

New York Single Taxers Welcome Delegates
Returned from Copenhagen Conference

Bob Davis Recalls: How He Imperilled
Manuscript of Progress and Poverty

The Bankers' Free Trade Manifesto

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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

THE death of Eugene V. Debs, on October 20, removes from the scene one of the most lovable and most abused men of the century. He was indeed a remarkable character. He had a host of friends who did not share his economic convictions; he was tender hearted, generous in his sympathies, tolerant of differences. He had immense courage. He was so bitterly opposed to the savagery of armed conflict between nations that he was willing to go to a federal prison for the right to speak freely his opposition to our entry into the World War. It is creditable to President Harding that he was finally pardoned without a gesture of condescension on the part of the then Chief Executive. And Debs came out of prison to reiterate the same determined opposition to a chaotic civilization. Wherever he went he was greeted with the love of thousands, a love that was dearer to his heart than the acceptance of the political views he stood for.

IT was inevitable, or nearly so, that a man of Debs temperament should accept socialism rather than the more virile doctrine of Henry George. It is no disparagement to his fine intellect to say that the emotional characteristics predominated. Socialism, too, was in the air—he found a party already organized when in 1897 he helped in the formation of the Social Democratic party. The Single Tax was the belief of a sturdier but politically unrecognized group. His experience as a labor organizer had also created an environment favorable to the course he took. At all events he became the leader of the Socialist party; he typified more its social aspirations than its economic structure, for it was not in his nature to accept the rigidity of Marx's social mechanism despite a formal approval. It was the human side of Socialism that drew him, and it was this side that he lived to expound. Now that he is dead we who differed with him must nevertheless be conscious that a great and generous spirit has gone, and that the world is richer for his having lived in it.

SUPPOSE you were asked to deliver an address to graduating students at some college or university on what the country most needs from its educated young men and women. Being a person more or less enlightened would you not begin in a strain something like this:

"To you who have been fortunate enough to have had a college training the country looks for openmindedness

and a courage to follow all inquiries to a conclusion. We look to you for that passionate love of truth and desire for justice on which true citizenship and the future well-being of our country depend. We have a right to expect from you an independence of judgment, and no such over-weening respect for authority as negatives the fullest and unprejudiced investigation of social and economic problems—almost if not quite in the spirit that impelled Dr. Thomas Arnold, the master of Rugby, to say that he arose each morning with the conviction that everything was an unsettled question. We have a right to ask that in this attitude of mind you confront the problems of the world."

SOMETHING like this you might have said. But this is not what President Coolidge told the graduates of Georgetown University. The address was made some time ago, but so characteristic is it of the man that it may even now serve as a text for Reflection and Comment. Here it is. "I would not venture to say what our country most needs from its educated young men and women. But one of its urgent needs is a greater spirit of loyalty which can come only from reverence for constituted authority, faith in things as they are."

THE final arbiter of all intellectual truth is the mind; of all moral truth the conscience. These are the real authorities, and the duty of subjecting all things to the test of reason and conscience a man owes to his fellowmen, and to God. It is the most solemn of all obligations, for truth is the most valuable of all earthly possessions. How great a wrong then he commits by a slavish subservience to authority. The fallibility of human reason is not to be disputed—we hear much of it, certainly too much. But the fallibility of authority is of an infinitely more tenuous nature. We may decide wrongly by following our own mental processes. But ultimately the path if persisted in leads to truth. To the rational processes of the mind there is no other destination. But Authority is the rock in the way of intellectual and social progress. It is a tyranny that keeps kings on their thrones and fakirs in high places; that moves armies across the prostrate bodies of peoples; that sends Conscience that should rule the world quaking and trembling into dark corners.

WHAT credentials has Authority beyond its apparel, insignia, gold lace or sounding titles? Can it "point with pride" to its record, or "view with alarm" the results of disobedience to its commands? Has it such achievements to its credit that justify the suppression of con-

science and the reasoning faculty to its obiter dicta? Read the record and decide. For instead of being usually right this most worshipful Authority is nearly always everywhere wrong. Its history trails with blunders, bristles with fallacies; it is even now pompous with theories long exploded; everywhere it has cheated, humbugged and tyrannized over reason and conscience.

LOOK at the long record of Authority in every department of human activity. Authority supported slavery; it guided the whip in the hand of the overseer as it fell upon the quivering shoulders of the black; it sounded in the boom of cannon whose dreadful messengers brought death and sufferings to millions of men; its voice is forever on the side of war. And how has it treated the great ones of the earth? To Socrates it gave the poisoned draught; the Gracchi it stoned; Garrison it drove through the streets of Boston; Giordano Bruno it burned; Christ it crucified.

IT was Authority that threw Roger Bacon, the ablest man of his time, in prison. It was Authority that in the person of Calvin put Servetus to death. It was Authority that lit the Smithfield fires, that presided over the horrors of Siberia. It was Authority that exiled Cameons, and the glory of Portuguese poetry saw the light on an inhospitable Chinese coast. Authority has denounced the teachings of the prophets of all the ages as heretical, from the Hebrews to those of the present day. What a biting poison it is should be obvious to those who reflect how instantaneously and completely a man is transformed when its mantle falls upon him, and how strikingly it effects a metamorphosis from humility to arrogance.

IT is the tyranny of Authority that keeps the Arab sheik of today like the sheik of Abraham's day; that has petrified Chinese civilization; that in the Middle Ages desolated western Asia from the Bosphorus to Jerusalem. It was Authority that hissed "Jacobin" to every proposition for social reform as now it shrieks "bolshhevik." In Egypt Authority enthroned the cat and made sacrosanct the crocodile. It has been polygamist, monogomist, polyandrist, as suited its purpose. It put kings on white elephants and clothed them in mail of precious stones. It has invented all kinds of evil spirits from Belzebub to Hobomoko for men to bow before—and industriously they have made obeisance. They have yielded to Authority as did men in fabled Athens to the bed of Procrustes, to which they have accommodated the proportions of such independent judgments as they were capable of forming.

THE advertisements of realtors and real estate boards are amazingly frank. They are teaching more political economy than you can get from the books. They

ignore the moral implications, and these the reader must supply for himself. This advertisement from the Youngstown Real Estate Board is a sample: "Babies and Real Estate. Why does land continually rise in value? The Lord quit creating land long ago. He still creates people—and they all need land. If a city like Youngstown grows from 45,000 in 1904 to 145,000 in 1924 what happens? Land is greater in demand and prices go up."

JUST so. And babies are dependent upon land, the element on which they must live, the reservoir from which mankind must draw its sustenance. God has stopped creating it. What blasphemy is it that tells us He has not already amply provided for all these babies born into the world? That when He "quit creating land" there was not enough and to spare for all that were to come? The Real Estate Board of Youngstown does not imply that the city needs more land, for taking the city as a whole there is no crowding, though here and there, as in all cities, there are congested centers, people living too closely together, while elsewhere there are spacious quarters unimproved, vacant lots, land unused. And always it is the poor that live in these congested centers. Did God quit creating land only in those portions of the city occupied by the poor? The rich are never uncomfortably crowded. Did God provide for the latter class while ignoring the claims of the former?

IF the Real Estate Board of this Ohio city claims this they are lying humbugs. Perhaps they are that anyhow, since there seems always a tendency for "realtors" to ignore the moral implications in their appeals to investors. The land in Youngstown is not going up in value because God "quit creating land." It is going up because population creates certain advantages, because the production of wealth becomes easier where many people are gathered, and because the city government has added pavements, and roads, and schools, and police, and because there are social advantages. And those who are invited to buy land—such at least as wish to speculate—are invited to profit by what others are doing. By "others" we mean those who comprise society and government. Reduced to its final analysis the appeal is addressed all who want to grow rich by other men's labors—and that is not honest. No man is entitled to what he does not earn, and "earn" means produce. It means payment received for some real service. And these impudently blasphemous sellers of God's bounty try to bolster up their trade by throwing the responsibility on the Creator. No wonder the innately honest Abraham Lincoln in his youthful manhood instinctively shrank from it.

THERE is no more independent body of thinkers among Catholics, nor indeed among Protestants either, than

the members of the Society of Jesus. We therefore welcome the Resolutions of the recent Jesuit Educational Association Convention at Loyola University, Chicago. These resolutions urge upon Catholic bodies the study of social problems, and use the following significant language:

"Upon the progressive solution of social problems, industrial, societal, political (civic, state, national and international) depends the whole fabric of Christian civilization. Observant contemporaries of the World War, the Russian cataclysm and the current Mexican disorders ask no further proof for this statement.

"Social problems, unlike problems of the exact sciences, can be rightly solved only by constant reference to and application of ethical and religious principles. Interest in social problems is a distinctly apostolic interest, a postulate of the priestly vocation.

"Apathy on the part of our college students and graduates toward social problems is all too common. Their contributions and our own toward the solution of social problems should be vastly greater.

GRATIFYING indeed are the words, "constant reference to and application of ethical and religious principles." How otherwise can the social problem be solved? Approached in this spirit the solution cannot long be obscured. And the apathy on the part of college students and graduates toward social problems, which the resolutions of the Jesuit convention declare is "all too common," arises from the lack of deep conviction on the part of public educators who approach these questions in a spirit of dry formality lacking in any sense of their responsibility to the community. The resolutions state the matter forcefully. It is only by bringing to these problems a deep conviction as to their ethical and religious considerations that the true solution can be found. We commend to the attention of the reverend fathers Henry George's letter to the Pope published under the title of "The Condition of Labor." In it they will find how these often perplexing economic and social problems are answered by an appeal to the religious consciousness; they will find nothing that conflicts with the canons of the Church, as the American Catholic Church has itself declared through its highest authority, and much that is reminiscent of the teachings of the early fathers on the institution of private property.

THE recent Labor Party Conference at Margate, England, went on record in favor of land nationalization with compensation to the landowners. Col. Josiah C. Wedgewood opposed the plan of land nationalization as involving compensation, and was supported by his fellow Georgians who urged the policy of taxing the landlords out. Ramsay Macdonald declared: "To me compensation is not a bogey. If I can get a thing done by reasonable compensation and cannot get it done without compensation, it is purely a business consideration." Which would be true if he and not the people of Great Britain were to pay the bills.

THE Plan recommended in the Report has provisions for Boards of Agriculture and Boards to fix a "Living Wage," and other boards to regulate this, that and the other thing. It is an amazing revelation of ignorance. There is no recognition of natural laws, no comprehension that things regulate themselves, that with freedom established by the government collection of economic rent, wages would be all that labor earns. Is Justice such a profound and complicated thing that all the economic ramifications of trade and production must be regulated by Boards and Commissions? Mr. Macdonald said that the Report was "not meant as a lasting and final pronouncement," thus leaving the way open for another switch of policy.

WE wish all our readers could have been present at the dinner in this city when Charles O'Connor Hennessy and Anna George deMille told of their experience in Denmark. It was an inspiring occasion, as the enthusiasm of the speakers and the facts they presented gave renewed hope to those present for the progress of our cause. These addresses appear elsewhere in this issue in a report of the dinner, and we hope they will be read carefully.

Though there seems to be a general indifference in this country toward economic problems, we can rejoice that there is one spot where the doctrines of Henry George are a vital issue and are making substantial progress. Here are some indications: the reception that was accorded to the daughter of Henry George at the conference of the Danish housemen; the procession that accompanied her through the streets of Copenhagen when she laid the wreath in memory of her father on the Liberty Memorial; the portraits of Henry George in the high schools and the peasants' homes; the proffered use of the government's radio to broadcast Senator Hennessy's speech; the presence of cabinet officers at the Conference; and the graceful tender of the Parliament Buildings for the sessions of the Conference. These things alone (apart from the legislation in our direction described in a recent issue) indicate that the Danes realize the high importance of Henry George's message.

IT has been our desire to present a full report of the Hennessy Dinner because it was a notable occasion. We have therefore omitted little in the report of the addresses, each representing the speaker's point of view. We desire, however, to register our emphatic dissent from much of what was said by George L. Record. For temperamentally in his view of George's message, and politically in the policy he would pursue for the attainment of the ideal, we see only an unreasoning pessimism and practical futility.

POLITICAL futility too, we mean. And we point to Mr. Record's own state as an example. There

was a time when the Progressive Party of that state, under the leadership of Messrs. Record and Colby and others, seemed on the point of making certain important advances in our direction. Evidently, there was something wrong with the method, for not only did the movement come to naught, but the Progressives ceased to be a functioning body.

WE are glad to have Mr. Record declare for the full reform without compromise in the field of propaganda. Evidently he is not in favor of minimizing the doctrine in our educational methods, or teaching it piecemeal as a mere fiscal reform. So far we are in agreement. Nor are we opposed to accepting legislative measures going in our direction. The plain commonsense of the matter is to accept what we can get with a polite "Thank you for so much." But that it lessens the efficiency of political leaders to be known as thoroughgoing Single Tax men we do not believe. And to imagine that the idea can be put over by attacks on the minor forms of monopoly without enlightening the voter upon the relation these bear to the major monopoly, that of the land and all natural resources, is to cherish a delusion.

WE submit, too, that the analogy Mr. Record draws of the Single Tax and anti-slavery movements will not bear examination. Seward told Emerson, "You make history and we profit by it." We cannot say what the result would have been had Lincoln ranged himself on the side of Phillips and Garrison, and demanded the abolition of slavery. Perhaps he might never have been president. But as it was, despite Mr. Lincoln's somewhat timorous treatment of the question, the attack on slavery and Lincoln's own attitude, did help to precipitate the Civil War. And we do not know, and never can know, if the political programme of Abraham Lincoln would have succeeded or not, since the war came, utterly wrecking all these nicely laid plans, and abolition came, not as a successful outcome of Lincoln's policy, but as a war measure forced upon a half reluctant North.

WE wonder where Mr. Record has been all these years when he says, "I have never been able to talk to a miscellaneous audience upon the Single Tax with any feeling that I put it over at all, and I say that I have never seen anybody that could take a miscellaneous, untrained audience, and put over the Single Tax." Did he never hear Henry George do it? Or Father McGlynn? Or John S. Crosby? Or the hundreds of others who in halls or from cart tails were able to make converts? Where then did most of our converts come from? If we have failed to make them, "the fault is in ourselves"—for others have done it. All will bear witness that they have seen it done. It is true it cannot be done by fiscal appeals

alone, and Henry George did not rely exclusively on such appeals when he sent men away from his meetings convinced crusaders for the great truth which some of them heard for the first time. It is precisely because Mr. Record—and we say it in no unkindness—has minimized the truth he knows, in accordance with the policy he has declared that when we speak as an economist we can say one thing, and when we speak as a politician we can say another, that he has failed to "put it over."

Far-Fetched Objections to Conscription of Wealth

SENATOR JAMES A. REED'S statement assailing the recommendation by President Coolidge for conscription of wealth and labor in event of another war exhibits either a complete misunderstanding of the President's proposal, or a willingness to misrepresent the conditions that may reasonably be expected to result from their adoption. Coming from one who has opposed American entrance into the League of Nations and the World Court because of his alleged fears that the United States would be drawn into armed conflicts that might arise between other nations, this objection against a practicable method for equitable distribution of the cost of conducting war is enlightening, as showing how thoroughly mistaken are the opponents of all-inclusive conscription in their opinions as to the operation of that policy. It is possible that the danger of such conscription might not operate to create a sentiment strong enough to prevent a declaration of war. It is impossible that the alarming results of universal business paralysis, and industrial chaos, should follow the taking over for public purpose of the machinery and labor necessary for the production of all war material.

"At the mere approach of war every dollar would go into hiding," asserts Senator Reed. This is merely his guess, but suppose it were true, what of it? The factories and all the vast equipment for producing munitions and clothing for the army would remain. The labor necessary for their operation would all be in the United States. Under the direction of the Chief Executive a currency system for the payment of the workers would take the place of the money hidden away. The expenditures for the late war were paid for by government promises to pay, called bonds. If the owners of money withdrew it from the banks a perfectly satisfactory substitute could be supplied in the shape of a government-managed currency. Instead of being used to make excessive profits out of war-material contracts, the industries needed would be operated under government direction, with elimination of profits for the duration of the war.

The notion that industry and trade in general would stop because certain productive agencies were taken over

for the public service, is akin to the suggestion, seriously put forward when the income-tax proposal was pending in the Congress, that if incomes were taxed the rich would emigrate, taking their wealth with them. They might have taken money, currency or securities, but all the real wealth of the nation would have remained. Senator Reed need not worry over the danger that in a time of national peril the citizens controlling the nation's wealth are suddenly going to lose their patriotism, merely because they will make less profits in time of war.

Australians' New Capital Profiting by Mistakes

SPECULATOR IN REALTY HAS BEEN ELIMINATED.

THE following is from a news article which appeared in the *Washington Post* of October 31. In a letter to the editor of LAND AND FREEDOM Mr. Louis F. Post writes: "It is the first fair account of Canberra that I have seen in any news press. You may remember that the location was chosen by a legislative Commission appointed several years ago, under a law which provided that the compensation for the site taken should be no more than its value at a stated period prior to the enactment of the law (or the appointment of the Commission, I forget which.) William Burley Griffin was assisted by his wife in the plans drawn for the city. Both were well known Single Taxers of Chicago at the time. It is a comprehensive and ideal design."

The *Washington Post* says:

"How Canberra, the new capital of Australia, conceived with this city as its ideal, is now facing the identical problems Washington grappled with and solved more than a century ago, was recounted yesterday by Joseph A. Alexander, of the *Melbourne Herald and Sun Pictorial*, who is in Washington collecting biographical material for a book he is to publish.

"In May, the Duke of York will formally inaugurate Canberra as the Australian seat of government, 25 years after his father, King George, then the Duke of York, also inaugurated the Australian commonwealth. On that day parliament will sit in Canberra for the first time and the scepter of power will pass from Melbourne.

"Following the precedent set by Washington, Canberra is being erected on a grant of unpopulated land ceded to the commonwealth by one of its states. Like Washington also, according to Alexander, the selection of the site was forced by rivalry between states, each seeking to have the capital situated within its boundaries.

COMPROMISE ON SITE.

"Residents of Victoria demanded that the seat of government continue in Melbourne, while citizens of the state of New South Wales were just as positive to have it removed to Sydney. Following the American analogy, a compromise was finally effected in the present site of Canberra, situated in New South Wales territory, between Sydney and Melbourne.

"As in America, provincialism died hard," said Alexander. "Now that it has been vanquished, a truly national capital is arising. As Washington typifies the national spirit of the United States, Australians hope that Canberra will ultimately represent, politically and architecturally, the highest development of Australian genius."

"In the same manner that Canberra will profit by this city's example, Alexander points out, it will also profit by what are often considered Washington's early mistakes. He holds the opportunities this city has offered to land speculators is one of the most serious of these. In Canberra, all land is owned by the government, and leased at auction to individuals for 99 years. As reappraisal of values is provided for, every dollar spent in improving the city accrues to the profit of Canberra, instead of the speculator.

"Another disadvantage is safeguarded against through stringent building regulations contained in the leases. One will not see in Canberra, as they may to this day in Washington, a shanty and a mansion within the same city block.

"However, Washington is the great architectural and spiritual ideal to which the Australians have set themselves, Alexander insisted. All information concerning Washington is eagerly seized upon and studied. Then, again, Canberra is essentially an American conception. The plans for the city were drawn by Walter Griffin, of Chicago, whose design was selected in an international competition."

Bob Davis Recalls

A WINTER NIGHT'S ADVENTURE WITH THE SOUL OF HENRY GEORGE

(Reprinted by permission of Robert H. Davis)

STEADY readers of this column, if there be such, may have observed that in previous references to my father I pointed out his catholicity with all sorts and conditions of men. He was an omnivorous reader, a student of political conditions, a subscriber to most of the magazines that pretended to present the best thought of the period, and a staunch advocate of the Single Tax theory. In the remote fastnesses of the Sierra Nevada, where he conducted his Episcopalian parish, he found time to develop a very considerable correspondence with men of the outside world. Among them was Henry George, whose tax doctrines had begun to attract the attention of economists. The friendship that grew up between them resulted in the great expounder of the dangers of the "unearned increment" paying a visit to my sire at Carson, Nev., in the early '80's.

Mr. George arrived at our house in a blinding snowstorm. My father, who had met him at the train, was carrying the guest's carpetbag, while the Single Taxer clung tightly to a small leather grip in which was concealed, as I learned later, his whole existence.

I valeted the visitor to the extent of removing his galoshes and his heavy overcoat. To this very day, although

forty-five years have elapsed, I can see him standing in front of our parlor stove warming his hands and turning around slowly so that the generous heat could reach his small body. He was about five feet four or five inches in height. Even as a small boy I was overcome at the size and splendor of his head. He wore a close brown beard that gave prominence to the whiteness and height of his forehead, which was like a dome. He spoke very slowly and distinctly, dwelling at length upon the milder climate of San Francisco, from which city he had just come.

I was not aware at the time that one wet and bleak night a few years before Henry George, in dire poverty, frenzied lest delay should mean death, rushed into the streets of San Francisco and sought the aid of a stranger that his wife, in the pangs of childbirth, might secure the necessary medical aid to bring his first born, Henry George, Jr., into the world. Such is the fact, however.

After a nourishing dinner Mr. George was escorted by my father into the study, where behind closed doors evils of taxation and the problems of Government were thrashed out far into the night. The next day broke clear and cold with a carpet of ice spread over the city.

Mr. George had planned to leave that night on the 7.30 train for Reno, there to catch the Overland and proceed East, but the condition of the streets was such that it became necessary to get out the family mustang and the Petaluma cart, which comprised the vehicular plant of the Davis family, in order that the notable visitor could be transported to the depot. When Mr. George and my father, together with the carpetbag, were stowed in the narrow seat, plus the thick overcoats which they wore, there was little room for the grip.

"Bob can bring it to the station," said my parent. "He can take a short cut and meet us there."

"Be careful, my son," said Henry George passing the grip over reluctantly. "Everything I have in this world is in there."

The two economists drove away, while I hustled over to the railroad track, bent on delivering the goods. Along side the Virginia and Truckee Railroad right of way ran a creek from one to three feet in depth. The freeze of the night before had thickened the ice and while hurrying along its banks I caught sight of a slick black stretch that seemed worth at least one experimental slide. I took it on the run, using the black leather bag of Henry George to balance me in flight. But something went wrong; the ice rocked, cracked and then broke through. I struck on one elbow and let go of the grip, which came down with a splash into open water, where it sank.

I floundered out of the shallow stream and ran along the bank in terror, searching the running brook in wild confusion. Presently I caught sight of the precious thing bumping along slowly downstream. It moved under the sheet of ice with the deliberation of a funeral. I was

sorely tempted to break through, grab the bag, hasten to the train and then slowly freeze to death in expiation. It was growing darker every second and I was at my wits' ends until I discerned a few yards ahead some free water which pulsed and eddied. I hastened forward and took a position at that point. After a spell that seemed to last all winter the bag pumped into view. I nailed it and ran down the track to the depot, the ice congealing on the saturated bag as I fled onward. I arrived just in time to hand it over to Henry George, who was pacing the platform like a caged panther. I tried to explain, but a chilled heart and frozen lips balked me. "All aboard!" yelled the conductor, and the author of "Progress and Poverty" with a leather lined cake of ice climbed aboard and went away from Carson for good.

* * *

Fifteen years later during a New York Mayoralty campaign I met Henry George coming out of the Tribune Building on Park Row. I presented myself as the boy who had brought the frozen grip to the train at the Carson depot on that winter evening. I confessed everything.

"What did the black bag contain?" I asked.

"The revised proofs of a new edition of 'Progress and Poverty,' with some added chapters in longhand," he answered in that same deliberate carefully phrased speech that I had heard years before. "I sat up all night on the train drying out the pages and turning them over one at a time in my drawing room. I never knew how you so completely saturated the contents of that bag. Your explanation is satisfactory. It would have been difficult to replace the material had it eluded your vigilance. I suppose," he said reflectively, "that it was predestined. I wrote the book in poverty. Once I lost part of the manuscript in a basement furnace. And finally it arrived at the river. Famine, fire and flood."

* * *

Within two weeks Henry George, exhausted by his campaign labors, died on the eve of election, his son Henry George, Jr., taking his place on the ticket.

(Copyright, 1926, by Robert H. Davis)

—*New York Sun*, Nov. 23, 1926.

"**H**E that will not work, neither shall he eat." That is not merely the word of the Apostle, it is the obvious law of nature. Yet all the world over, hard and poor is the fare of the toiling masses; while those who aid production neither with head nor hands live luxuriously and fare sumptuously.

—HENRY GEORGE, in "Social Problems."

"THE sole purpose of the Single Tax is to secure the freedom of the race. It is idle to talk of the rights of men when the one thing essential to such equality is withheld."

—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Personal Impressions of Single Tax Progress In Denmark

CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY AND ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE AROUSE
ENTHUSIASM OF NOTABLE GATHERING AT COMPLIMENTARY
DINNER IN NEW YORK

AT the Hotel Belmont, on October 28, about one hundred and fifty Single Taxers and their friends gathered in honor of Charles O'Connor Hennessy and Anna George de Mille, in recognition of their work at the Copenhagen Conference and the formation of the new International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, of which Mr. Hennessy is Provisional President. The large banquet hall was too small to accommodate all those who made application for tickets, and many filed in after the dinner was over and the speaking began.

A notable committee, consisting of Samuel Seabury, Amos R. E. Pinchot, George L. Record, Lawson Purdy, and Frederick C. Leubuscher were sponsors of the dinner.

It was a tribute worthy of the occasion. No more distinguished gathering has taken place in Single Tax circles in years. At the speakers' table were Hon. Samuel Seabury, Charles T. Root, president of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, Hon. George L. Record, Hon. Lawson Purdy, Hon. Frederick C. Howe, and the guests of the evening, Hon. Charles O'Connor Hennessy and Anna George de Mille. Frederick C. Leubuscher was the very efficient toastmaster.

It was gratifying to see so many familiar faces, undoubtedly brought together by the prospect of renewed activity for the great cause. It so happened that this night was the anniversary of the death of Henry George, which occurred early Friday morning, October 29, 1897. No more fitting tribute could have been made to our great leader than this gathering assembled to hear the message brought from Denmark by the daughter of Henry George. Those who listened to her account of the great procession which accompanied her when she laid a wreath in memory of her father on the Liberty monument must have been thrilled to know that in this forward looking little country the message of our great leader has made such remarkable progress. For not alone the leaders of thought in that country, the statesmen who are to guide her destinies, are committed to our principles, but the great body of the "housemen," the small peasant farmers, know and revere the name and the teachings of the great American economist. And this message was supplemented by a recital more in detail of the prospects for a continuous progress in Denmark along our lines from the other guest of the evening, Charles O'Connor Hennessy.

Nor were the other speeches less inspiring. It was good to hear Judge Seabury reiterate his faith in the principles with much of his old time vigor. Lawson Purdy told the diners, with a touch of humor, of the early days of the movement and Frederick C. Howe dwelt upon the fact that a knowledge of the Georgian principles had kept so many men clear of vision and unflinching in their faith in human progress.

MESSAGES OF REGRET

Mr. Leubuscher, in opening the proceedings, read some notable letters and telegrams of regret. Louis F. Post wrote from Washington:

"Very much do I regret my inability to attend the complimentary dinner in honor of Mr. Hennessy and Mrs. de Mille upon their return from the International Conference at Copenhagen. Attendance in person being impossible, I take advantage of this opportunity to send a letter of greeting.

"From across the ocean I get the highest kind of expressions of favorable appreciation of Mr. Hennessy's abilities and useful service as presiding officer of the Copenhagen Conference. Also of Mrs. de Mille's brilliant participation in the proceedings. It is gratifying to me, too, to be among those who welcome the international organization which is developing out of that conference.

"An organized international body that recognizes Henry George's fundamental principle of common rights to natural resources; that adopts his progressive method of securing those rights by substituting gradually for confiscatory taxes on production compensatory taxes on land in proportion to its value; and that advocates free trade in the interest of economic development throughout the world, and therefore in the interest of world peace, —should be welcomed not only by every disciple of Henry George, but by every other thoughtful citizen of any nation who cares more for his country than for opportunities to live parasitically upon the labor of his fellow citizens."

Major George Haven Putnam, President of the American Free Trade League, wrote:

"I am sorry not to find myself free to be present at the dinner that is to be given on the evening of Thursday, October 28th, in honor of Mr. Hennessy and Mrs. de Mille. I have a speaking engagement out of town for the same evening. The recent statement from the group of pub-

licists in Europe, the plan for which originated in our Cobden Club Committee, is bringing fresh attention to the importance of breaking down tariff barriers if civilized relations are to be maintained among the nations."

A telegram from Detroit, from Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City*, said:

"Absence from New York, much to my regret, prevents attendance at dinner to Senator Hennessy tonight. It would have given me real pleasure to join in this well deserved tribute to one for whose services to mankind I have the highest respect, and among whose friends it is a real honor to be numbered."

Other regrets were from Hamlin Garland, Raymond V. Ingersoll, Dan Beard, Edwin I. Jones, Bolton Hall, Lewellyn E. Pratt, George L. Rusby, Mrs. Edith Hibbard and others. There was a cablegram from the Secretariat of the London headquarters of the International Union for the Taxation of Land Values and Free Trade, signed by John Paul and Arthur Madsen, who also forwarded compliments to Mr. Hennessy from the editor of *Grundskyld*, the organ of the Danish Georgeists.

MR. LEUBUSCHER'S ADDRESS

Mr. Leubuscher, in his introductory address, stated that, possibly excepting the banquet tendered to Tom L. Johnson in 1910 upon his return from England, this dinner had brought together the most distinguished body of Single Taxers gathered together since the death of Henry George. He alluded to the happy coincidence that he had acted as toastmaster at the Johnson Dinner. Proceeding, he said:

"Single Taxers sometimes say that it is not good policy to associate the doctrine of the land for the people, the doctrine that the economic rent of land that is the creation of all the people, belongs to the people,—to associate that doctrine with the philosophy of free trade. These people forget that the sturdiest blows ever struck at the fetish of Protection were struck by Henry George in his great work 'Protection and Free Trade.' (Applause.)

"And so this great International Conference at Copenhagen by unanimous vote adopted resolutions that were sent to the Secretariat of the League of Nations at Geneva in favor of absolute and unqualified free trade. (Applause.)

"It is evident that that declaration was most timely,—for only a few days ago we saw big headlines in the newspapers announcing that the great bankers and industrialists of sixteen nations had made an appeal to the world to overthrow all tariff barriers, as a means of bringing peace and prosperity to the world. The question of the land for the people, the question of free land and free trade, are being discussed in the world as never before as a possible remedy for after-war ills. Now, to my mind the greatest event of the year 1926 was this International

Conference at Copenhagen in July. After going through a fine programme lasting about a week, the Conference, representing many nations, decided to form an International Union for the Taxation of Land Values and Free Trade. It is no longer a local or even a national movement, but an active international organization, and as such has increased and is increasing the respect of mankind for the philosophy of Henry George. That is why I say it was one of the great events of the year 1926.

"In 1897 Henry George was a candidate for Mayor of this city for a second time. On his campaign committee was a young lawyer who had been or was soon thereafter President of the Manhattan Single Tax Club. That young lawyer has become a great lawyer,—in fact one of the great Judges of this state, starting at an early age in the City Court, then in the Supreme Court, and then in the Court of Appeals, the highest Court of a state of ten million people. This gentleman will now address you—the Honorable Samuel Seabury." (Applause.)

JUDGE SEABURY'S ADDRESS

"It is a privilege to sit at this board today in honor of Charles O'Connor Hennessy and of Anna George deMille. We delight to honor them not only for what they have done to promote a great cause, but because of their association, in our minds at least, with one whom we recognize as one of the greatest characters that the nineteenth century produced.

"Many years have gone by since Henry George gave his message to the world. In the early days, the days of our youth, we used to believe that that message would soon realize fulfillment. Henry George knew that was not to be the case, and we lived to learn that Henry George was right. The struggle against private monopoly, against economic privilege, against international jealousies, against hate and against ignorance is not a struggle that can be easily won. In the years that have intervened, the truth which Henry George made clear has progressed. It has slowly marched on. But the world has as yet refused to accept the truth to which he gave expression, and has paid a heavy penalty for its failure so to do.

"Henry George taught the lesson of brotherhood among the peoples, and we have seen nations divided into armed camps intent upon bringing about the destruction of one another. Henry George taught that the people of the world must cooperate in the spirit of good-will, and we have seen the peoples priding themselves upon their isolation from one another. Henry George taught the rule of the people, and we have witnessed a very different thing—the rule of great states oppressive of the personalities of their own citizens within them and grasping and blatant toward other states without. Henry George taught that freedom of trade and exchange among peoples led to the welfare and the happiness of all; we have witnessed

the erection of tariff barriers and the establishment of governmental restrictions upon the right of one people to deal with another. He taught that economic freedom was as essential as political freedom. We have witnessed the unprecedented growth of private monopoly and economic imperialism. Henry George taught that individual freedom could not exist coincident with the monopoly of natural resources. We have passed laws which, while they fulminate against monopoly, leave unrepealed upon our statute books laws which of necessity create and protect private monopoly. Henry George taught the lesson of tolerance and freedom of opinion. We have been passing through an era of bigotry and intolerance, under which the restraint both of public opinion and of law prevent the free expression of individual opinion. Henry George taught that the expenses of government should be borne by the taxation of socially created values. These great values which the community creates we have donated to a privileged class, while burdening and harassing the producers of wealth by a great multitude of inquisitorial, unequal and unjust taxes.

"I point to these self-evident facts not in any spirit of pessimism. Only the truth and a realization of facts can make us free, and it is an encouraging sign of the times that the truth in reference to these subjects is becoming more generally appreciated and known.

"When the world and its civilization passed through the Valley of the Shadow of Death in the Great War, men believed that when the War was over the governments of the world would act upon a higher plan, and that the world would then be made safe and free for democracy. It was a noble hope, but it remains unfulfilled. Like causes produce like results. Unless we can change the causes, the deep, the fundamental causes which give rise to social injustices and wars, we have no right to expect that we shall reap any different results.

"Is it not time to try to change these practices and policies which have resulted in injustice and in war? Is it not time that we should try other and different policies and practices? We have tried isolation. Is it not time to try cooperation? We have tried economic imperialism and aggressive nationalism. Is it not time to try the abolition of economic imperialism, and the monopoly of natural resources, the root from which they spring? We have tried jealousy and hate in international relations. Is it not time to try fraternity? We have tried intolerance and the suppression of opinion. Is it not time to try tolerance and the freedom of opinion? We have tried allowing the state to limit and to restrict the individual in a thousand unnecessary, meddling ways. Is it not time for the individual man and woman within the community to restrict the State and to curtail its powers of meddlingness and interference with personal rights? (Applause.)

"There is no short, no easy way. If we would aid toward laying the foundations of social justice, we must

abandon the practice and the policies which, wherever applied, have led to injustice and wars among people. We must try to remove the obstacles to free cooperation among the people of the world—insist that the state shall perform its primary state function of securing equality of opportunity by the destruction or the abolition of the private monopoly of natural resources.

"Apart from the personal feelings of regard which I entertain for your distinguished guests of honor, I feel, as I have no doubt you feel, that we are delighted to be here to recognize what they have done in the past for the cause in which we are interested, and we are glad to be here because we think that the efforts that they will exert in this cause will contribute toward the accomplishment of the realization of these great objects to which I have referred, and we are glad—and I am sure that I speak not only my own sentiments but the sentiments of all around this table—to wish them Godspeed and success in the future labors that they will engage in." (Applause.)

LAWSON PURDY'S REMINISCENCES

Mr. Leubuscher: "Single Taxers sometimes deplore the slowness of the world's appreciation of what seems to us an accurately logical economic doctrine and the only doctrine which, if applied, will abolish poverty. I think they have no cause for pessimism. Great fundamental reforms come slowly. It took thousands of years to abolish chattel slavery. Why, when I was a boy, and that is not so many years ago, woman suffrage was laughed at. The agitation for that reform lasted at least a century. The proposals of Henry George have in forty years made wonderful strides. What has helped to advance land value taxation in our country more than anything else, especially in the City of New York, is the work largely of a man who will now address you—Lawson Purdy—(Applause.) A former President of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, for many years he was President of the Tax Commission of this great city. Largely through his efforts was adopted the separation of the assessment of land and improvements. (Applause.) That was a great entering wedge. It enabled people to realize what a great thing was the land value of New York City, now, I think, assessed for over six billions of dollars. In the year 1925 there was collected in taxes upon land value about one hundred and fifty million dollars, in one year. That is more of the economic rent of land than is collected in all of Great Britain, and I venture to say, without knowing it to be a fact, more of the annual value of land than is collected in one year in France and Germany combined."

Mr. Purdy said:

"I came here to reminisce about Charlie Hennessy and I have been thinking as I sat here tonight about the campaign of 1897. Some of us didn't want Henry George

nominated for mayor in 1897, partly because we knew that his doctor had told him that it was taking his life in his hands to undergo the stress and strain of such a contest. You know that mattered nothing to him. He thought that there his duty lay, and he went through it to the end that his physician had foreseen. There was a goodly demand that he accept that nomination before he did accept it. George's knowledge of practical politics in the City of New York was not much greater than that of men far inferior to him in knowledge and intellectual power. He selected a small personal campaign committee. They were all young men. I think the oldest of them was only turned forty, and Hennessy was chairman of that small committee. I had the honor of serving upon it and what I didn't know about how to run a political campaign would fill the British Encyclopedia. We went to the task with all our hearts.

"We were confronted with a very serious situation. Richard Croker was the Boss of Tammany Hall. He had an ancient enemy in James O'Brien, once sheriff of the City of New York, who was the head of a Democratic faction in the City of New York and always eager to get Richard Croker's scalp. He saw the opportunity to win a few minor places for his followers by allying his cohorts with the Henry George movement. Very nearly he succeeded. But Hennessy was then a newspaper man, and he was born astute. He knew that there was some friction and jealousy between Leader Pat McCarren of Brooklyn and Richard Croker of Manhattan. It was the first election of the combined, consolidated New York. We had gotten into a position in which it seemed likely that Henry George, with the O'Brien alliance, would have to head a ticket that would have more undesirable people on it than ever were on any ticket in the City of New York. We were aghast at what lay before us.

"We figured that it would be disgraceful for Henry George to be at the head of such a ticket. How were we going to avoid it? Well, Hennessy made a combination with McCarren, by which we would take all the Democratic ticket in Brooklyn, and put them under our city-wide ticket of three, composed of George, Dayton, and O'Neill, and then he made a combination with Seth Low's manager and took all the Citizens Union ticket in Manhattan, and put Henry George at the head of that. You might remember it cost a lot of money to get petitions to nominate all those officers, and if you had an imperfect ticket you had not the remotest show. So when finally we came to the election, largely through Hennessy's engineering, we had a good, decent, respectable crowd in Manhattan underneath Henry George, and in Brooklyn, we had a perfectly regular Democratic Party crowd for whom we assumed no responsibility. It was a work, I think, of genius.

"Well, that was the kind of a man Hennessy was. He had the ability to deal with people, and in all these years

since he has shown it. His early training as a newspaper man gave him a very wide acquaintance and the kind of knowledge which helped him in a period of stress and strain. And through him we were able in that great campaign to have a ticket that was a decent ticket, for which Henry George had no personal responsibility. If our leader had lived his vote would have been very, very great. No man knows how much it would have been.

"Then Hennessy after that goes right on working in good causes until today. After serving the same co-operative savings society for nearly forty years, he has built up one of the greatest institutions of its kind in the United States, and so long as we haven't fair economic opportunities, the sort of institution he is at the head of is one of the very best agencies that has ever been devised for enabling people to acquire their own homes and to have the security that comes with home ownership, and the stability that comes with it. And he has found time while conducting that big institution to serve the State of New Jersey in the Senate and do good work there, and so spread the gospel of correct economics. And then the United States was honored by having him elected to preside over our International Conference at Copenhagen. Hennessy deserves well of us and of the City of New York where he labors, and of the State of New Jersey for his legislative services to it, and of the United States now that he represents our country as president of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade."

ADDRESS OF GEORGE L. RECORD

Mr. Leubuscher: "I think everybody would like to see and hear the man who contributed so much to the political education that made Woodrow Wilson president of the United States. Over in New Jersey it is known that there was one man who, more than any other, was the leader of the progressive political movement that made a logical basis and opportunity for Wilson's entry into public life, and who, after Wilson's election as Governor, was pre-eminent in moulding the policies that the Governor supported, and that won him the confidence of the country. That man was George L. Record." (Applause.)

Mr. Record said: "I have come over here this evening with a group of Single Tax people from New Jersey to do honor to the guests of the evening. I do not know Mrs. deMille personally, but those of us who have been active in New Jersey politics for the last twenty odd years have had very grateful reason to know Senator Hennessy. It is to the immense advantage of our state that Senator Hennessy came over there and took up his residence and interested himself in the public affairs of New Jersey. He immediately attained distinction as soon as he appeared at Trenton. Most of you have had little contact with legislatures. By reason of my professional relations as the representative of municipal bodies and my interest

with our other friends in New Jersey in the practical politics of the state, I have been familiar with the legislatures of New Jersey for thirty years or more, and it is perfectly astonishing to get the measure of the average member of the legislature: I would put it the other way, to get the measure of ninety-nine out of every hundred of the members of the legislature.

"If a man appears at the legislature in New Jersey—and I suspect that we are no worse than in any other state—if a man appears honestly and disinterestedly trying to put over something in the public interest, ninety out of every hundred members of the legislature think he is queer, and 'off his nut' and they look at him askance and say: 'What is his graft? What is he driving at?' Never by any possible chance does it enter their minds that any one can be down there at Trenton sincerely on behalf of some public interest. And into that atmosphere came Senator Hennessy, with his great intelligence and his disinterested love of the people, and with his clear power of statement. Within a very short time he was the intellectual, dominating figure of that legislature when it came to any question of real public interest. Our state profited immensely by his service, and those who were in contact with him then are glad to come here and join you in rendering him the honor his distinguished services here and abroad have brought to him. We wish him a long life and happiness. We know that as long as he lives he will do whatever he can with his great intelligence and ability to follow the ideal of the abolition of privilege and the equality of opportunity for all.

"Now it is not in my opinion a proper time to discuss any of the principles of Henry George. It is a waste of time to do it with this group. But it may be worth while to consider from our different experiences what we are to do in the future. While I find as the years go by that I am more and more convinced of the truth of the principles as to the land, which Mr. George expounded, I find myself drifting away from the idea that those principles will ever be applied as a result of the direct agitation for their adoption.

"I have a notion that while it is true, as Henry George said, that here are a number of robbers and that if you would kill them off, there at the end is the big robber, the land robber, and that's a true picture economically,—I have very great doubts whether it is a true picture politically. I and the group I work with in New Jersey are politically minded and we are not primarily propagandists. We are striving all the time to give this immense idea a practical political form which will get it into politics. We have run tickets and talked in the streets and from soap boxes and in halls, and we have taught the straight Single Tax and I say to you, ladies and gentlemen, that I have never been able to talk to a miscellaneous audience upon the Single Tax with any feeling that I put it over at all, and I say further that I have never seen anybody that could

take a miscellaneous, untrained audience and put over the Single Tax. I have never seen it done. I have come to the conclusion that politically, that is a mistake and a wasted effort. But propaganda must go on and the propaganda must be as Mr. George said "The demand for the full reform which must never be qualified or compromised." But when you approach the domain of politics, the law of the being of politics is compromise, and it is utterly impossible in a political movement to put over an ultimate philosophy. Now, then, if that is so, we must seek for the thin edge of the wedge. William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips went up and down this country for thirty years preaching the anti-slavery doctrine, but when it got hold of the conscience of the people and got into politics, Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison were perfectly helpless in the domain of politics. Then emerged the politician who in his heart was just as much the abolitionist, Abraham Lincoln. Yet Abraham Lincoln appeared on the scene not as an abolitionist at all. He appeared upon the scene as the advocate of the proposition that slavery must be restricted to where it existed. Garrison and Phillips could not understand that philosophy, and thought he was a traitor and a half-hearted servant, and they never appreciated him. But Lincoln was politically minded and he saw perfectly plain that the way to get the common, average man interested in slavery was to take the thin edge of the wedge and say to him—"Our political party is not an abolition party. If we are successful we will not abolish slavery but will restrict slavery to where it exists." Later on, when that idea had become familiar, he added another idea—"We will insist at the same time that slavery must be put in the process where the public mind will rest confident in its ultimate extinction."

"Now there was the very essence of political leadership. He saw that to restrict slavery to the South you had to give a reason for holding it there, and once you gave the reason the human mind would see that if it must be restricted to the South it must be because it was bad, and therefore must be put in the process of extinction.

Now I have come to this conclusion—that while it is our duty to keep up wherever we can the Single Tax idea as an educational proposition, politically it will not come about in that way. Over in New Jersey as we have run our candidates,—and we have elected several of them to the legislature besides Senator Hennessy, James G. Blauvelt, Josiah Dudley and John H. Adamson as a result of our political activities on the Republican side, while Senator Hennessy exercises his political activities on the Democratic side—we keep trying different plans. It is my view that we eventually have got to get possession of this government, and we have got to get it not by standing for the Single Tax, but by standing for some proposition to abridge privilege in its various forms of which the land is only one. We have the privilege that is exer-

cised by these people who have gathered great patents together, which they hold out of use to sustain monopoly. We have the tremendous privilege which the mass of the people never understand, that the railroads of this country are run for two purposes—one for the rake-off for the bankers in handling the securities—the other to run the railroads as a means of giving illegal favors and privileges to the great trusts and monopolies which these institutions control, and which favors are denied to their competitors.

So we find that there privilege is organized, and when we encounter the political machinery we do not find it subsidized by speculators in land as such, but subsidized by the possessors of privilege of some other kind than land. So if we are to develop a new political party, it has got to be by setting up the thin edge of the wedge upon which all intellectual far-seeing people can agree, and which has in it the essence of the idea in which all of us believe.

"We have tried in New Jersey a plan to take a part of this great programme, to wit: that there is here in the East the Anthracite Coal Trust and that it is created and maintained by two privileges. One is that a little group of people have got all the land containing anthracite coal and the other is that the same group of people have got possession of all of the railroads that run into the coal lands. We say that the remedy is for the State or the Nation to buy enough of this land which is held out of use to suppress competition, and to lease it upon moderate royalties to competitors of the Coal Trust; and we say that that alone would be useless because the channels of transportation are held by the same group, and therefore we say, not because we are socialistic, but opposed to privilege, that we must buy and operate one of the railroads to insure equality in transportation to the competitors of the trust, and we say that that will destroy the Coal Trust. I repeat that I have never seen anyone that could state the principles of Single Tax to a miscellaneous audience and get it across, but I have never seen any audience that would not take that proposition and swallow it whole. Once you get them to see that nobody has the right to own all the land containing coal, they will see that the same rule applies to the land upon which we raise cabbages,—but we don't have to say that now. The job immediately is to get people to think, and everybody hates the Coal Trust except the managers of the political parties. The rank and file of the people hate it and if you can harness that prejudice and hate and justifiable hostility up to the great idea that the Lord Almighty never created the coal lands in Pennsylvania to be held as a monopoly, you have applied to politics the fundamental principle of Single Tax, and it will grow of itself.

Now that is my contribution to the spirit of this occasion.

"This is a tough time. It is low tide. There never was a time in the thirty odd years I have been in active poli-

tics when ideas were so utterly repugnant to the average man. There never was a time apparently, when people were so disillusioned, cynical and despairing as to any intellectual proposition. I tried to interest a brilliant friend along those lines, and he said, "What is the use? When a Rudolph Valentino can drive Charles W. Elliot from the first page to the twenty-first page of the *New York Times*, what is the use of trying to talk to the American people about any serious subject?" And it is so. It is possible that the Great War was the natural and inevitable culmination of this tremendous force in civilization which we call privilege, and of which there are other forms beside that of land privilege. It may be that that old privilege idea has been shaken to its foundation, and I hope that this is so.

"But for the moment we are passing through a wave of reaction. The brilliant ideas that were set up and held out in such wonderful language by Woodrow Wilson have proved such an utter absurdity in their results that there is a tremendous wave of re-action and of despair and hopelessness that now spreads over the mass of the people of the whole world. But that is the time for those who see clearly and who understand the truth to hold fast until the tide turns, because if this universe is organized upon moral laws, the tide must turn. And so, as we come here tonight to pay our tribute of honor, respect and gratitude to these distinguished guests of the evening, let us take heart and renew here our courage for the battles that are yet to come."

ADDRESS OF FREDERIC C. HOWE

Mr. Lebuscher: "We expected to have among the speakers tonight Mr. Amos Pinchot, but this evening I received a telephone message from Mrs. Pinchot that he came home about mid-day feeling ill and is tonight under care of a physician. He send us his sincere regrets. But we have with us Frederic C. Howe, who was the friend of Henry George and the trusted associate of Tom L. Johnson in Cleveland. He will say a few words." (Applause.)

Mr. Howe said: "I have a confession rather than a speech to make. I came here tonight because I wanted to see Anna George. I came here because I wanted to see Senator Hennessy, and I came here—well, I haven't been to a Single Tax dinner since 1914. I have hardly been to a radical dinner since 1914. Most of that time, I have not wanted to go to a radical dinner or a radical meeting. But tonight I wanted to come here to meet you people again. My mind went back to last summer when *The Survey* printed a symposium on "What Has Become of The Pre-War Radical," and most writers said, 'O those radicals wanted to change people over. They wanted other people to be like themselves. They were unhappy beings who felt that God made human beings not in His image but in their image, and they cannot be

appy because of the error He had made.' Well, in answering that in my own mind, I said: 'Now that is strange. The radicals I lived among haven't been that kind of people. They have been as good as the Chinese; they said: 'People are good. Institutions are wrong.' and among practically all of that liberal group, it was the Single Taxers who stood out, thinking straightforwardly into defects of our institutions rather than about the evil inside of some men and the goodness in other men. We thought scientifically and straight. We weren't carried away by the Billy Sundayism of reform, and I am rather proud of myself (although I do not understand quite how it came about) that I, a mid-Westerner, village born, ecclesiastically environed, believing in evangelical religion, should have not wanted to make other people like myself—I only wanted them to think and use their own minds.

"And the second reason I think, why I wanted to be here, was that during those intervening fourteen years I haven't been with many people who used their minds—I have been with a lot of people in high places and in low, but their minds do not work. They do not work when they come up against self-interest. That is where the mind always stalls. But Single Taxers, whether rich or poor, have had the intellectual capacity and the intellectual courage to go through with their thoughts, and that is a rare thing. So your chairman tonight was pretty nearly right when he said something to the effect that this is the most distinguished intellectual gathering in New York City. Its quality is not to be found in University Heights, or in the University Clubs. I do not find it in Bar Associations, Medical Associations, or among philosophers or scientists.

'Now a word about Henry George. I remember many men talking about the prescience of Shakespeare, the perfection of his historical references—his intimate knowledge of law—how he never alluded to any subject without a sure and revealing touch, and with a compendious knowledge. A wondrous thing about Henry George to me was not alone the brilliancy of his style, the marvels of his political and economic insight, but the profundity of his scientific knowledge, a profundity which squares with that of the biological researcher. I have gone through life thirty years since I first read his great book and still find that it squares with every truth. I believe, then, that those here who have received something of the philosophy of liberty through Henry George have had rather more wisdom than is vouchsafed to most people. And I think, despite our lack of political achievement, that we should hold confidently to this power of truth. The honesty of purpose and integrity of mind of the Single Taxer is bringing forth many other fruits than the immediate Single Tax, and in the end it will surely bring forth the Single Tax. Our mission is to continue to see the truth and tell it to the world.'" (Applause.)

Mr. Lebuscher: "Some years ago I saw a very little girl in the home of her parents playing with a little monkey. She was barely more than a baby at the time, and I watched her progression to womanhood and to the maturity of her powers with a great deal of interest. You know it is a hard thing for anyone to be the son or daughter of a great man. I remember Henry George, Jr. often deplored to me that he bore his father's name, and, although he lived for a score of years after his father, he was modest enough never to drop the Junior. He would never trade on his father's name. At Copenhagen, Mrs. deMille was received by the representatives of many nations with great acclaim, not only because she is the daughter of Henry George, but because of her own intellectual ability. Now Anna George deMille is going to address you." (Applause.)

RESPONSE OF ANNA GEORGE DEMILLE

Mrs. deMille said:

"Believe me, I do understand the honor that is paid me tonight is not to me at all but to, and I will use the Danish words, 'Henry George's Datter.' It is Henry George's Datter, I know, that you honor tonight, and I myself am very, very humble. There are some of you here, I have heard, who are not Single Taxers, yet I hope you will go away a little bit converted. I have come to tell you about the Copenhagen experience. It was really a thrilling experience to me. I have come to know that Denmark is noted for other things beside its culture and its pastry. The country itself was a continuous delight; the lush grass of the little farms, the sleek and garnished cattle, the lovely little, clean, well-kept farm houses and the sort of staid people who were running those farms; people who seemed to have a strange uplift in their faces, that thing that comes to lovers of the sea—a sturdy dauntlessness that I think, perhaps, was given to them by their Viking ancestors. So it seems to me they are going to carry on, and find the promised land of high individual and national destiny, perhaps more quickly than we in other parts of the so-called civilized world are finding it.

"It was an amazing experience in many ways and to meet these people from seventeen different countries, all going to that one little far away country to carry forward the cause we have dedicated ourselves to, was a great thrill to all of us. It is a thing that I wish you all might have had. I wish you might have seen Senator Hennessy presiding. He was the politest presiding officer I ever saw, and when you think he is Irish, it is more wonderful than ever, for he just declined to quarrel with anybody.

"They have a curious way over there of asking you to make a speech without any warning whatever, and I learned those words 'Henry George's Datter' to my consternation very often. I had to learn how to look intelligent in five languages, as intelligent as I could look, for the ability to make speeches in three or four languages

was not unusual with some of the delegates, and a never-ending surprise to me.

"One of the greatest experiences of all that time was the visit to the Congress of small farmers which was meeting in Copenhagen to which probably one thousand small landowners were delegates. We of the Conference went down into their big hall, which made me think of Cooper Union, to hear those sturdy farmers stand and sing in Danish their 'Land Song.' I saw their enthusiasm for freedom and the wonderful, dauntless spirit in their faces. 'Henry George's Datter' had to make a speech. Then, a few minutes later, we were taken over to the Liberty Monument in the main street, where I was delegated in the name of the followers of Henry George from all over the world to lay a wreath at the foot of this monument dedicated to the freedom of the serfs of Denmark. Nothing like this had ever occurred before, and it seemed as if the whole town turned out. It was a truly inspiring affair. I have laid wreaths at my father's grave in Greenwood and there I felt very differently. But in laying the wreath at Copenhagen there was something like a feeling of tremendous victory, a feeling of triumph that our cause, for which Henry George had died, had gone very far indeed.

"Then that night I had I think, possibly the biggest of all my Copenhagen experiences. There is a park in the heart of the city, called Tivoli. It is much bigger than Madison Square, and placed more or less as Bryant Park is placed, in the very center of things. A good many years ago, a group of business men tried to get control of this piece of land. It was owned by the City of Copenhagen and they found they could not afford to buy it outright. They engaged with the City Fathers to rent it and turn it into an amusement park upon assuming a ground rent, payable annually, at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of a fixed capital value, to be readjusted periodically according as neighborhood land values would increase. It is now a park where one may go for a kroner, entrance fee, and for that money one may walk in a lovely garden, may listen to symphony concert, dance to excellent jazz or watch a ballet and pantomime. There are entertainment and diversion to suit various kinds of people. All for the entrance fee of 27c. Then if you want more—if you want to see any of the many side shows or have your photograph taken, you may pay a little more. This place being owned by the city, the rental value of the land is taken by the community who created that value. The concessions are owned by individuals, and the money they earn, after paying the ground rent, goes into private pockets. It is a fair illustration of what the Single Tax might do. It brings revenue to the people of Copenhagen as well as the unlimited joy of a well managed amusement resort.

"It was here in Tivoli that the red letter event of my Danish visit took place. I had gathered up a group of young people to dine and dance in one of the charming

restaurants in this park. It had been an evening of gaiety and play—when a quiet moment came and brought with it a spontaneous expression in little speeches from the young Danes, of friendship for us, who had come from over the sea; a sincere and eloquent picturing of their conception of our vision, and a dedication to the great ideal that had brought us all together in the Henry George Conference. It was so deeply stirring that when it was over, I could not speak for a moment. There seemed nothing to say and we all drank silently. It was like a sacrament.

"Since returning to America, I have received letters from some of these young Danes, that continue to show depth and beauty of their spirit. They repeat the spoken pledges of friendship and of dedication to the cause,—they tell of battles waged in their efforts to carry on, and ask us to help them in their fight.

"I have pledged myself to help those boys and girls in Denmark who are struggling to build a better world than we have given them. I think we will all want to help these boys and girls, and the boys and girls in Australia and Austria, in England and Argentine, in Germany and Spain, who have a passion for justice and are reaching for a way out of our present economic morass.

"So I plead that we all band together in support of this new Union for the advancement of the Taxation of Land Values and Free Trade—a union that shall bind not only the seventeen countries represented at the Copenhagen Conference, but shall take in many other countries until it reaches around the world—forming a scientific structure for the Brotherhood of Man. And so tonight, which happens to be the anniversary of Henry George's death, I am going to ask that we all rededicate ourselves to our cause, and to follow in the footsteps of the disciples who have blazed the trail that we hope some day will be a great wide roadway to freedom for mankind." (Applause.)

MR. HENNESSY'S ADDRESS

Mr. Leubuscher: I had in mind a glowing introduction of the next speaker, our guest, Charles O'Connor Hennessy, but the hour is late and I will just read two comments about him; one from *Grundskyld*, the organ of the Danish Georgists, a translation of which has been forwarded from England. The editor says:

"Little wonder that it is wished especially to honor that man whose ability, tact, and humor contributed in such high degree to the success of the world conference. We Danes are present in thoughts while we rejoice over the homage paid to him."

The other is from John Paul, in *Land and Liberty*, published in London, which paper is now the official organ of the international Union. He wrote:

"The Conference was fortunate in its setting, and having as its president, Charles O'Connor Hennessy, who will be remembered by all in attendance for his outstanding ability, his tact and his polished good humor, no less

than for his clear-cut apprehension of what the Conference had met to consider and advise. From the first there was a happy though unexpressed feeling in the room that the right man was in the right place, and when the Presidential address was finished the speaker was master of the situation. It was personal triumph for the man and an assurance to his audience that the chair was occupied by a true disciple of Henry George and one with the experience necessary to guide their debates."

I was present at that Conference, and I endorse every word written by these editors. Ladies and Gentlemen: Charles O'Connor Hennessy will now address you. (Applause.)

Mr. Hennessy said:

"I am very grateful for the personal compliment that is implied in your presence here tonight, but not so much for that fact (and in this I think I can speak for Mrs. deMille) as for the value of this occasion as an opportunity afforded to say something that may serve to advance Henry George's cause of social regeneration, in which we believe.

"I would like to depart for a moment from what might be regarded as the topic of the evening to say a word that is suggested by Mr. Leubuscher's reference to our distinguished friend, Mr. Record. The chairman referred to him as the man who made Woodrow Wilson president. That, I suppose, may be regarded as a generous extravagance, to which Mr. Record could hardly subscribe, but here is, at least, the foundation for the idea. Some of you, I hope, have read that very informing book which some of the reviewers have stated to be one of the most interesting books yet written about the late president of the United States. I refer to 'The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson,' the book by my friend, Mr. James Kerney, editor of the Trenton Times. If you want to know from the pen of a man who knew intimately what was doing on the inside of politics of New Jersey for many years before the coming of Wilson and for years after; if you want to know some inside facts of the political education of Woodrow Wilson, the spirit and motives that moved him, the influences that affected his public conduct, you might read that book. If you do, you may discover that the man who was, perhaps, as influential as any other in endeavoring to mould the progressive political character of a great figure in American history, in the direction of liberal public reforms, was George L. Record. Mr. Record may not recall it now, but printed somewhere in that book is the advice given by him to Woodrow Wilson when the president went across sea to help make the world peace after the World War. In the main, as I recall it, that advice was courageous, sound, and statesmanlike, and if it had been taken, the course of history both at home and abroad might have been changed for the better. (Applause.)

"But what I aim to do here tonight is to help to supply you with some facts tending to prove to you that there

is no reason for pessimism about the world progress of our ideals. I would like to show you that John Paul was not saying too much when he wrote in *Land and Liberty* recently that 'Of all the international gatherings of an unofficial character that Europe has witnessed since the end of the great war, it is probable that none has surpassed in intellectual quality and in world-wide significance the conference of the followers of Henry George, that for a week, in the latter part of July, held forth in the Parliament House in Copenhagen.'

"That is a great deal to say, but in my judgment, it is within the facts. I wish I could give you something of the atmosphere of Denmark. I mean to refer to its political atmosphere of free and radical thinking, its social and political progress toward ideals of justice for the benefit of the ordinary man, its progress toward the uplift and freedom of the human spirit. I came in contact with the Danish outlook upon the importance of our proposals on the day before the conference, when I was called upon, as the president-designate of the conference to meet the press representatives of the city. Copenhagen has a population of seven or eight hundred thousand people, and some of the best daily newspapers in the world. A representative group of their writers, men and women, gathered at the hotel to interview me upon the scope and purposes of the conference which had brought representatives from many parts of the world to advance the ideas of Henry George. From this time on, we were greeted every day with constant evidences of the enterprise of the Danish press and the great importance attached by it to the doings and sayings of our conference. There is a scrap book here containing scores of columns of news reports and editorials dealing with our work, that indicates that this gathering of the Georgists of the world was regarded by the editors of Denmark as an event of real international importance.

"From an editorial review of our first day's proceedings taken from *The Politiken*, the leading liberal daily of the country, let me read this:

'No longer is it a case of a few harmless enthusiasts meeting together to present their Georgist ideas to improve the whole state of society by means of the Single Tax. That is a stage that belongs to the past. The taxation of land values has now become practical politics and it is with a true and far seeing vision that the organizers of the great and distinguished Congress which opened yesterday in the houses of parliament chose for their place of assembly a city where, as it happens, at this very moment we are busying ourselves with the readjustment of the taxes levied upon real estate. * * * Three of the political parties of this country have now accepted this great and significant tax reform. It is only the Conservative that defy the new ideas and the new time.'

"Another significant aspect of the conference was impressed upon us when we came together at the opening session, and this was that the government of Denmark, its officials of power and influence, were interested in the

success of our gathering. Parliamentary headquarters in the Palace of Christiansborg and the adjoining splendid committee rooms were placed at our disposal, and for a week we met in the General Assembly Chamber of the national legislature. That, by itself, was an impressive fact. And the character of the welcome that was given to the delegates was inspiring. On the opening day, after an eloquent introductory address by Mr. Folke, one of the Danish Georgists who had been instrumental in promoting the conference, another fine Danish character, Mr. Larsen, arose and read a simple poem of welcome, the spirit of which may be judged by a few stanzas:

Be you welcome, you brethren from far and from near!
 Be you welcome to pass a few days with us here!
 For the sake of our Cause, we are longing to meet you;
 For the sake of our Cause we are happy to greet you;
 Be you welcome to Denmark!

We have gathered our forces in Liberty's name
 And to free the unfree is our glorious aim;
 Friends and fellows—co-workers, from far and from near,
 We are glad you have come to shake hands with us here;
 Be you welcome to Denmark!

'We were touched, too, by another greeting that came from Jacob Lange, a great educator, the man who has done more, perhaps, than any other man in Denmark to give character to the famous high school system of that country.

'We cannot show you great sights and scenery' he said, 'but we can show you what is more beautiful than mountain or cataract,—the first pale rays of the dawn of freedom and justice in the world.' (Applause.)

'The importance of the official recognition of our gathering was emphasized at its opening by the presence of the former Radical Home Minister, and the former Moderate Liberal Home Minister, while the present Home Minister, Mr. Hauge, representing the Social Democratic Party, sent a letter of greeting, in which, while emphasizing his devotion to the policy of progressive land value taxation, he made the further significant statement: 'I am glad to be able to lay stress on my opinion that it is absolutely fit and proper that the community should assert its right to appropriate the economic rent of land.' (Applause.)

'Another instance of significance was that a few days after the conference assembled, I was notified that the Government radio station had been placed at the disposal of the president of the conference to broadcast his views. And so, one evening, I was permitted to broadcast an address on land value taxation and free trade from this station, having arranged that I would be followed by Mrs. Bjorner, an accomplished Danish lady, who immediately delivered a translation of my address in her native tongue. Forty or fifty minutes were taken up by us, and we were afterwards told that perhaps two hundred thousand people had listened to this message of Henry George, in English and in Danish, from the Government's radio Station. I

am sure you will look in vain for an experience like this in any other country in the world.

'And while speaking of the attitude of the public authorities of Denmark, I should refer to the remarks made by the Finance Minister of the country, Mr. Bramsnaes, at the big banquet that concluded the conference week, when this respected and able political leader not only declared his sympathy with the purposes of our gathering but declared that there was no reason for impatience on the part of Henry George people over the progress made in Denmark, because her statesmen knew the direction in which they were going, saw the end of the road and were 'on the way.'

'One other thing about Denmark before I leave that I should like to talk perhaps about a more important thing. The real strength of our movement there seems to be the small farmer of the country. Mrs. deMille has referred to that inspiring demonstration at the Congress of the small holders. If she says she was thrilled, I may say other people were thrilled also to see this great audience of sturdy farmers rise and cheer the name of Henry George, and give a magnificent welcome to the daughter of Henry George and then to sing their beautiful Land Song, the first line of which is 'Fatherland, the People's Land.' It was really an unforgettable experience. And then to see them marching through the streets of Copenhagen along with the delegates of this Conference from seventeen countries! And there were seventeen pretty women, each of them carrying the flag of her native land, with the flag of the United States carried by a sweet little girl friend of mine who is here tonight—the daughter of our Chairman, Mr. Leubuscher. A more inspiring spectacle than that it would be difficult to imagine. They marched to the Liberty Memorial in the main highway of the city, a memorial dedicated to the principles of economic emancipation, in order that the daughter of Henry George might, in the name of the followers of Henry George from every section of the world, lay a garland at the base of the memorial. And then, the streets having been roped off by the police against vehicular traffic so that a great audience could gather, with amplifiers provided so that the voices of the speakers could be carried to the outskirts of the crowd, orators in English, Danish, German, Swedish and French told the people the meaning of the philosophy of Henry George, and the meaning of the Conference that had gathered to promote the advance of that philosophy. Nowhere in the world, except in Denmark, could such a thing have happened. (Applause.)

'Thinking of the small farmers of Denmark as the mainstay of the Henry George movement in that country I was impressed at a dinner in London after the conference to have our old friend, Fred Verinder, known to many of you here as the secretary of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values, tell with enthusiasm some of the experiences he had in visiting the Danish farm houses. I

was happy to see the picture of Henry George in every farm house he entered. I thought this was very remarkable, and wrote him some time ago asking him if I had correctly understood him. In support of his statement, he sent me a letter, and another from Mr. Madsen of the United Committee, who speaks Danish and knows Denmark better than anyone I know of outside of that country. Here is what Mr. Verinder wrote:

'It is quite true that, in the houses of the Danish 'housemen', that I was privileged to visit at Spanager and at Nislevgaard (near Odense), I found a portrait of Henry George in each house, and in one house a portrait *in each room*, and that on the sitting-room bookshelf in each case there was a copy of 'Progress and Poverty' (in Danish), and, I think in each case, also a copy of the 'Georgist' book of elementary Political Economy written by my oldest Danish friend, Jakob E. Lange, the head of the Peasants' High School at Odense.'

"Mr. Madsen's testimony is in these words:

'I can say that in several of the small holdings we visited we found 'Progress and Poverty' on the bookshelves and also Jakob E. Lange's 'Political Economy' which is pure Henry George doctrine, and is in fact based on George's 'Science of Political Economy.' I have been to many of the 'People's High Schools' and in all of them I have seen Henry George's photo on the walls of the reading or dining room in the same gallery as photos of the world's famous men. The teachers on Political Economy in these schools (forty or more in Denmark) are *invariably* Henry George men. I am assured that there are very few of these schools where George's portrait is not hung on the walls of the hall or class room.

'Here is a story that always appeals to me and I can vouch for it: In the days before the local Land Value Taxation Bill (now a law) came into Parliament, the local authorities, many of them, kept petitioning the Government for power to tax land values. One of these authorities was the town of Bronderslev in the north of the mainland, Jutland. The council unanimously resolved to ask Parliament to pass an act for land value taxation. A stalwart in the movement was (and is) the Mayor of the town—Marcus Hansen. When the Council had passed its resolution, it at once passed another resolution unanimously—that for the future the portrait of Henry George should hang in the council chamber. So the photo or portrait was procured and there it hangs to this day.'

"At the conference itself there were many notable incidents, one of the most significant being the formal presentation to the Government Reference Library in the Parliament Building by Mr. Berthelsen, of the works of Henry George in many languages, and the sympathetic acceptance of this gift in a little address by the president of the Upper House, Mr. Hansen. We had able representatives at the Conference from many sections of the world. The largest delegations, of course, were from Denmark and Great Britain, and the representatives of our own country were not negligible either in numbers or quality. I was especially impressed with the Germans. They had twenty-two delegates, four or five of them, I believe, members of provincial parliaments, and one an ex-admiral

of the German Navy. Among the younger men from Germany was a group, which for loyalty and intelligence, was as fine as any I have ever come in contact with since my long connection with this movement. The address by the veteran Antonio Albendin, speaking for Spain, William Reid for Great Britain, Johan Hanson for Sweden, Dr. Paleta for Germany, Mrs. Signe Bjerne for Denmark, Mr. deClerq for Holland, Sam Meyer for France, Dr. J. J. Pikler for Hungary, and Pavlos Giannelia, the official representative of the Greek government, were all worthy of the great occasion. Many brilliant women beside Mrs. deMille attended the conference, and I should not fail to mention beside Mrs. Bjerne of Copenhagen, Madam Hanson of Sweden, and our own Miss Schetter, Miss Colbron, and Mrs. Skeel, whose ability in discussion gave them distinction. Miss Colbron's accomplishments as a linguist, her facility for speaking equally well in several languages, made some of the rest of us envious.

"If I were asked as to the important results of the conference beyond the bringing together for common counsel these men and women from many parts of the world and binding them anew in a common enthusiasm for a great cause, I would say that I believe the widespread publicity given to that address of the conference to the League of Nations, appealing for free trade as a means of ending international strife, has already had far-reaching effects in Europe. When I went to Germany, I was told of a book of German press clippings almost as large as that you see here. Many of the important newspapers there gave considerable space to the Conference, and featured this appeal to the statesmen at Geneva as well as the declaration that if governments would establish peace, contentment, and prosperity at home, they must give equal access to natural opportunities, and abolish legal and artificial restrictions that impede the right of men freely to produce wealth, freely to exchange it, and freely to enjoy the results of their labor. (Applause.)

"The final and vital act of the conference was the resolution providing for the organization of a permanent International Union for the Taxation of Land Values and Free Trade. That Union is now in being, and has active adherents in many parts of the world. The great honor came to me to be named as its provisional president. The word 'provisional' was used because it is our desire that the permanent form of the organization of the Union be determined at the next international conference in 1928, which I hope all of you will attend. The support and extension of the work of this international body is the great work before us today, and I join with Mrs. deMille in earnestly pleading for it. It seems to have come into being at a time when economic education respecting the production and distribution of wealth is needed as never before in the world. The remarkable manifesto that was published in all the countries a short time ago, coming from the international bankers and industrialists of the

world, and demanding the destruction of the economic barriers that impede freedom of production and exchange, shows how very greatly needed is this Union of ours, aiming to organize and disseminate the views of Henry George for the establishment of real free trade throughout the world. (Applause.)

"Now I want to be frank with you, and reveal something of a secret regarding this dinner. When it was first proposed, I think by Mr. Leubuscher, and when Mrs. deMille and I were consulted, we did not at first see any good reason for an event of this kind. At least, we did not see any reason why our friends should be asked to come here simply as a matter of compliment to us. But it seemed to us, after we had given some thought to the matter, that perhaps this occasion might be made worth while if we could here have an opportunity to render some service to this International Union by telling you frankly the difficulties which it has to meet and ask you—those who profess to be followers of Henry George—to help this new organization in its infancy; to help it grow to be one of the great influences for economic emancipation for the whole civilized world. The International Union is poor in money resources. Its workers in Germany, in Denmark, in England and elsewhere, chiefly because of economic conditions, are mostly men of small means who can be called upon only for devoted loyalty and service to the Cause. The work the Union has to do requires not large money means, perhaps, but considerable expenditures, nevertheless, if the work which we plan is to be done efficiently and effectively. Every day there comes to us some letter from distant places telling us something that ought to be done in the way of spreading the gospel. We need translations of the works of Henry George in many places. Old translations are out of date or out of print. All countries want literature and groups now organizing themselves into branches of the International Union want support of one sort or another. We are trying, therefore, to get all of you who believe in an international union for the promotion of land values taxation and free trade; who believe we ought to organize and bind together the glorious men and women in all parts of the world who see this philosophy and would advance it, to help us do it. I can see where we could spend \$50,000 within the next two years if we could only see where we could get that amount of money.

"So, tonight, while we are not going to pass the hat, as it were, we are going to say that if you have been impressed by what you heard, then you have an opportunity to join us in this splendid and progressive work. I will see that a card is sent you, which you can sign if you wish to join the International Union. There are no dues to be paid. Each is asked to contribute any sum he pleases. Even a dollar will do, or you can contribute \$10,000 if you can afford that. I am told that there are gentlemen who have honored us with their presence here tonight, who could, if they felt so disposed, contribute as much as

\$10,000 to a cause they believed in. If there are such, I can tell them in all earnestness that there is no cause to which they could contribute money in which they are likely to find more glorious reward than this to which I, for one, have dedicated my small means and abilities for the rest of my life. (Applause.)

"Mr. Leubuscher hands me a letter from London speaking of a meeting of the United Committee there, at which it was suggested that some representative of our International Union should attend the Economic Conference of the League of Nations called for Geneva next month. It might be more than a gesture; it might, indeed, be an effective undertaking if we could send some competent representative of our world wide organization to Geneva for this purpose and I would favor it if we had the means. But that is out of the question just now. It is just one of the things that might be done if we had the means to do it.

"Speaking of the League of Nations, I have been criticized a little about some things said in my address at Copenhagen that were taken to reflect upon the League of Nations. I want it understood that I am a believer in the League of Nations. All that I have said that might be deemed a criticism of that great body, is that if it has failed in any degree to accomplish the great aims of its founders for the establishment of a better world and the ending of international discord, it is because in the past, it has dealt with politics more than it has dealt with economics. It is now, it would appear, about to deal with economics. Until the League of Nations examines the fundamental causes that underlie the discords and hostilities that keep friendly peoples from cooperating for their common interest, it will never become the great peace-making agency that Woodrow Wilson aimed to make it when his noble efforts first brought it into being. Speaking of this great man, whose friendship I had the honor to enjoy, it was recalled to me in this Danish conference by Mr. Vedal, an eloquent Dane, who spoke upon free trade, that in his statement of the Fourteen Points preliminary to the establishment of world peace, Woodrow Wilson stressed, in his third point, the necessity for economic reforms that would break down the barriers that impeded trade between the peoples of the world so far as it was possible to attain it. But it seems that in this matter, as in other matters at Versailles, Mr. Wilson was obliged to yield to the politicians gathered there, who elevated politics and selfish national interest as things more important than economics. The splendid thing about the League of Nations however, is that it has brought fifty-five nations together to take common counsel about the common welfare of their peoples, and of the world, and counsel must be taken before action is taken. I firmly believe that out of this spirit of common counsel about world affairs will ultimately come decisions based upon justice, that will set the whole world free at last. It will be a fine thing if we may be permitted to help and participate in this great consummation." (Applause.)

LIST OF DINERS

Agnew, Hon. Arthur M.
Ames, Mrs. John Carroll

Austin, Mr. Thomas D.
Austin, Mrs. Thomas D.

Baerwald, Mrs. P.
Blauvelt, Hon. J. G.
Blauvelt, Mrs. J. G.
Bliss, Major George L.
Boulton, Mr. Alfred J.
Boulton, Mrs. Alfred J.

Brand, Mrs. George C. D.
Brand, Mr. Edward F.
Brand, Mrs. Edward F.
Briggs, Mrs. Esther Belle Raymond
Burger, Mr. Benjamin W.
Burger, Mrs. Benjamin W.

Cavanagh, Mr. Daniel
Clark, Mr. Paul Girault
Clark, Mrs. Paul Girault
Clinton, Mr. DeWitt, Jr.
Clinton, Mrs. DeWitt, Jr.

Cohen, Mr. Martin S.
Colbron, Miss Grace E.
Colton, Mrs. Ruth White
Cranford, Mr. Frederick L.
Cranford, Mrs. Frederick L.

Dadley, Mr. Josiah
Dadley, Mrs. Josiah
Day, Mr. A. Grove
deMille, Mrs. Anna George
deMille, Miss Agnes George
deMille, Miss Margaret George
Devlin, Mr. Joseph
Devlin, Mrs. Joseph
Dintenfass, Mr. Mark M.
Don Levine, Mr. Isaac

Don Levine, Mrs. Isaac
Donovan, Mr. Cornelius
Dowling, Mr. Robert M.
Dreier, Miss Mary
Du Bois, Mr. William Bradford
Du Bois, Mrs. William Bradford
Du Bois, Miss Sara
Dunham, Mrs. Lawrence
Dunham, Miss Margaret
Dupuy, Mr. Clifford

Eagan, Hon. John Joseph
Eyre, Mr. Richard

Eyre, Mrs. Richard

Fairchild, Mr. Walter
Farrelly, Mr. Edward J.
Ferguson, Miss Bertha
Fink, Mr. Joseph

Folsom, Mr. C. Stuart
Folsom, Mrs. C. Stuart
Frazer, Mr. Spaulding
Frazer, Mrs. Spaulding

Geiger, Mr. Oscar
Geiger, Mr. George
George, Mrs. Henry Jr.

Ginsburg, Dr. Samuel
Gramlich, Hon. Alfred
Gruntal, Miss Clara

Hartt, Hon. George Montgomery
Hennessy, Hon. Charles O'Connor
Hennessy, Mrs. Charles O'Connor
Hennessy, Mr. Frank Hancock
Hennessy, Mrs. Frank Hancock
Hennessy, Mr. John C.
Hennessy, Mrs. John C.
Hennessy, Hon. Joseph P.

Hennessy, Mr. John J.
Hicks, Miss Ami Mali
Hogue, Mr. Joseph V.
Holt, Mr. Byron
Holt, Mrs. Byron
Hopkins, Major Nevil Monroe
Howe, Hon. Frederic C.

Ingersoll, Mr. Charles H.

Ingersoll, Mrs. Charles H.

Jones, Miss Rebecca
Judson, Mr. William H.

Judson, Mrs. William H.

Kane, Mr. Martin J.

Leubuscher, Mr. Frederic Cyrus
Leubuscher, Mrs. Frederic Cyrus
Leubuscher, Miss Mary

Lewis, Mrs. August
Loew, Mr. Herman G.

MacIntyre, Mr. John J.
McGuinness, Mr. Joseph
McIntyre, Mr. Robert B.

Martin, Mr. John
Mendelsohn, Dr. Walter

Milbury, Mr. Arthur Wellesley
Miller, Mr. Joseph Dana

Miller, Mr. Roland
Molina, Mr. Edward C.

Molina, Miss Virginia T.
Moody, Mr. John J.
Moody, Mrs. John J.

Nadcrio, Mr. Harry B.
Neff, Dr. Lewis K.

O'Leary, Dr. Arthur J.

Parsons, Mr. Louis B.
Parsons, Mrs. Louis B.
Pascal, Dr. Henry S.
Pascal, Mrs. Henry S.
Peabody, Hon. George Foster
Pearsall, Mr. W. Montague
Pearsall, Mr. Gilbert D.
Pert, Mr. George, Jr.
Pinchot, Mr. Amos R. E.

Record, Hon. George L.
Robinson, Mr. W. H.
Robinson, Mrs. W. H.

Saunders, Hon. Bertram H.
Saunders, Mrs. Bertram H.
Schalkenbach, Mrs. Wilhelmina
Schetter, Miss Charlotte O.
Scully, Mr. John H.

Theis, Mr. Henry A.
Theis, Mrs. Henry A.

Van Buskirk, Mr. Jack
Van Veen, Mr. Morris

Waite, Mrs. Marjorie K.
Walsh, Mr. John F.
Weinberger, Mr. Harry

Moore, Hon. James D.
Muhfield, Mr. Frank J.
Murphy, Hon. John J.

Neff, Mrs. Lewis K.

Pitman, Mr. J. R.
Pitman, Mrs. J. R.
Platt, Mr. Chester C.
Platt, Hon. Dan Fellows
Platt, Mrs. Dan Fellows
Pleydell, Mr. A. C.
Polak, Hon. Edward
Purdy, Hon. Lawson

Rooney, Mr. Arthur
Root, Mr. Charles T.

Seabury, Hon. Samuel
Semsch, Mr. Otto F.
Semsch, Mrs. Otto F.
Sibbald, Hon. Robert A.
Snyder, Mr. Fred M.

Thomas, Rev. Brother

Vernam, Mr. William B.

Williams, Mr. Percy R.
Wolf, Miss Frances I.
Wolf, Mr. Frederick Malcolm

Address of Will Atkinson at the Henry George Congress in Philadelphia Sept. 2, 1926

A CENTURY ago a favorite joke at the expense of the Pennsylvanian was the toast "To the two greatest sons of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin, of Massachusetts, and Albert Gallatin of Switzerland."

This reproach, if it was a reproach, the birth of Henry George in Philadelphia removed.

We are met to honor and to pay our feeble tribute of respect to the memory of the greatest man ever born in Pennsylvania. Aye, more, the world is fast learning that Henry George was by far the greatest native son of all America.

He taught that privilege is the common foe of all mankind and that to insure equality of opportunity to all we need but concentrate taxation on privilege and wholly exempt from taxes, industry and thrift, need but tax unearned incomes and wholly exempt earned incomes.

His proposal is to apply the Golden Rule to taxation and harmonize the land laws of Moses and the teachings of Christ with the civilization of today.

In English his books have had a circulation of some six million copies and were translated even into Chinese and Japanese.

No other American has so profoundly affected the world's thought or done so much to shape its future, and none has today more devoted followers in every land.

He taught that men's miseries are due to man-made laws, never to divine law.

That the ignorance which shelters in schools, the crime which lurks in the shadow of churches; famine amid full granaries, poverty in plenty, are all due to men's laws which ignore and defy the divine intent.

That to abolish poverty and tame the ruthless passions of greed, we need only align men's laws with Nature's.

He died and the world mourned. New York gave him the greatest private funeral in all history. But his truths were buried in ten million hearts, only to spring up again. And in every nation, in every part of the world, the gospel of Henry George is influencing men's thoughts and men's actions.

In New York has been founded a Hall of Fame. Among those already chosen are clergymen of zeal, ability and eloquence. Yet no one of them, not all of them together, have done so much "to justify the ways of God to man" as Henry George.

Statesmen are there whose acute intellects helped solve the ever perplexing problems of human relations; yet not all of them have done so much to promote peace and prosperity.

The steam driven shuttles of commerce foreseen by Fulton, are weaving into one vast web (war-torn now) earth's nations; yet not even commerce has more mightily wrought to obliterate ancient enmities, than have the printed pages of our American Prophet.

Mitchell and Henry weighed stars and traced the pathways of suns; Agassiz and Gray, Whitney and Howe, Morse and Edison have wrested Nature's secrets, made lightning man's messenger, helped harness Niagara to his service; yet even these have not done more to make the earth fruitful for all.

Illustrious authors are there, yet the messages of all combined have not circulated so widely as that of our Apostle of Justice.

No country with a printing press has failed to translate his gospel.

Not since Pentecostal days have all tribes and dominions so echoed to one voice.

Though with closed ears have listened Scribe and Pharisee, Priest and Ruler, yet, everywhere, "the common people have heard him gladly."

His words on Tolstoi's tongue illumined the dark night of Russian despotism; they inspired David Lloyd George

to the supreme heights of oratory; they strengthened Chinese patriots to overthrow their oppressors; there is no corner of the globe so remote that they have not penetrated to renew men's faith in God and in humanity.

IT is impossible for any one to study political economy, or to think at all upon the production and distribution of wealth, without seeing that property in land differs essentially from property in things of human production, and that it has no warrant in abstract justice.

—HENRY GEORGE, in "Progress and Poverty."

Ohio

TWO Cleveland Single Taxers, Charlotte L. Smith and Wilbur B. Lutton, were on the Democratic legislative ticket November 2. They and all the other Democratic candidates for the legislature were defeated, but the campaign gave them an opportunity, which they used to good advantage, to spread Single Tax ideas. They addressed a large number of audiences. Mrs. Smith's campaign card bore on its back the following, headed: "My Tax Philosophy."

Encourage industry by exempting it from taxation.

Tax land values only (a community product) for revenue.

The first step—exempt farm implements and machinery from the personal property tax.

Mr. Lutton, interviewed by a Cleveland paper, said:

"It is no part of the purpose of government to make people good or wise or religious, or to protect the indiscreet from the results of their indiscretion. The present system of taxation produces land monopoly, which denies labor access to the soil. This condition is responsible for unemployment, and the resultant poverty, crime and disease, and countless other evils of which we complain."

Although he was not elected, it would be well for Ohio Single Taxers to keep the Republican candidate for governor, Myers Y. Cooper, a wealthy Cincinnati business man, in mind. His campaign speeches indicate growth. At Cedarville, Ohio, he said: "The time has come when we quit inventing new methods of taxing the public." That is a brave thing for an Ohio political candidate to say, for the multiple taxers have a half dozen new ways they want adopted. State Senator Chester C. Bolton, a very wealthy Cleveland landowner, who was re-elected November 2, told the Chamber of Commerce not long ago, that it might be necessary to impose a State income tax, a capital tax, or a sales tax.

Mr. Cooper said at Youngstown:

"I am becoming more certain each day as I go over the state that the future well being of the state depends upon, first, a more economical government stripped of all unnecessary departments and functions, and, secondly, a sound solution of the tax problem as it affects all classes of our citizens."

This undoubtedly gave great offense to the officeholders and to the real estate boards, and may largely or partly account for his defeat by 16,000 majority.

Cooper also said that a Youngstown steel plant had tax costs, (state and local), about double what they would be were the plant located just across the river in Pennsylvania, and he added significantly: "I am going to look into the matter closely as governor."

It is to be hoped that he will look into it anyway. As a private citizen he has more time to study the revenue problem.

Will Labor Learn the Lesson

FROM OUR SPECIAL LONDON CORRESPONDENT

OVER three million organized workers in Great Britain folded arms at midnight on May 3, in response to the call of their Trade Union leaders, and in the belief that by so doing they would help their fellows in the Coal Industry then, and now 29 weeks later, fighting to resist a lowering of their wages, and making worse their conditions generally. It was a splendid act of unselfishness, and many of those who struck work have since lost their jobs in a fight in which they personally were seeking nothing for themselves. How these are now faring may be inferred from the statements of some of their leaders, made at the National Labor Party annual conference at Margate, in October, where a move was made to get the conference to sanction a compulsory levy upon all trade unionists to provide the miners with funds to carry on their struggle. Mr. J. H. Thomas, for the railway men, said it was impossible; his own union having 45,000 men, who have not been able to get reinstated since the General Strike and 200,000 who are working only three days a week. Mr. Ben Tillet, for the Transport Workers' Union, said the union had spent £1,000,000 on the mining struggle, that it was now £500,000 in debt, and that its sick, strike, political, super-annuation, and organization funds had vanished. Sixty per cent. of the dockers, he said, are now unemployed, and another 20 per cent. under-employed. In the case of the Boiler Makers' Union, over 45 per cent. of its members are out of work.

CERTAIN TO BE THE LAST GENERAL STRIKE

It was the first attempt at a General Strike in Great Britain, and it will be the last. If it should bring home to the rank-and-file trade unionists the utter futility of the strike-weapon under existing economic conditions, it may yet prove to have been worth the cost, heavy as that will prove to be. But this remains to be seen.

In July 1925, Mr. Baldwin purchased a temporary respite at a cost to the British taxpayer of more than £23,000,000. Without any clear ideas of his own, he hoped to gain time on the off-chance that something might turn up before the expiration of the subsidy. In some way or other, he appeared to think, the crisis in the

mining industry would solve itself; as for the Government, all they desire was "tranquillity." With a show of firmness he declared that under no circumstances would he give a subsidy. A few hours later he announced his decision to provide one. This sudden change of front was attributed to weakness, and, by the more violent section of Labor, taken to indicate that he would capitulate at any time if threatened with a General Strike. Thus encouraged, the irresponsible hot-heads, who prattle about "revolution" with the simplicity of a child, became insistent in their call for the General Strike. Like militarists with a new gun, they could not rest until it had been tried. Power to call a General Strike had been given the Trades Union Council by the Congress of September 1925, and the occasion seemed to offer when the subsidy terminated on April 30, and notices were posted at the pits announcing the new, and reduced, terms upon which one million miners were to be allowed to follow their employment as from May 1. Unless the terms were accepted the mines would be closed down and a lock-out declared. The terms were not accepted. With over 250,000 miners in full work getting a wage so low that they were forced to apply to the Poor Law Guardians for relief with which to eke out their pay, this was not surprising—and so the lock-out began. Thereupon the Trade Union Council gave notice that the General Strike would begin at midnight on Monday, May 3. Meanwhile discussions were continued between the parties, and there was a general expectation that in some way the impending disaster would be averted. But there were certain factors to be reckoned with.

FOLLY OF THE TORY MINISTERS

The "fight-to-a-finish" advocates were not confined to the Labor side. These were to be found in the Government itself. Lord Birkenhead, Winston Churchill, Joynson-Hicks, Amery, Cunliffe-Lister, and certain lesser lights of the Tory cabinet were thirsting for blood. To them the situation appeared to offer the long-wished-for chance to "smash the Trade Unions." Mr. Baldwin honestly sought for a formula upon which to base—not a settlement, but a temporary peace. It now seems he was near to finding one when the Tory ministers mentioned above presented an ultimatum. They told the Prime Minister to break off negotiations with the T. U. C. or they would resign from the cabinet. During the nine months of the subsidy they had been perfecting their plans for dealing with any strike, and they concluded it was now time to "have it out" with Labor. This action placed Mr. Baldwin in a difficulty; he had no real pretext for a break with the Council, but it was not long before some unwise trade unionists themselves provided him with a seeming good excuse.

The "overt act," as it was called, was committed by some members of the printing staff of the *Daily Mail*. These

took offence—not without good reason—at the leading article written for the Monday's issue, and refused to bring the paper out. Of course they were not entitled to this, and the futility of the act was manifest when both the Manchester and Paris editions of the paper appeared carrying the offending article. It was as Mr. Baldwin said: "A gross interference with the liberty of the Press," and of course, no Tory government could countenance such an act—unless they disapproved of the views expressed. The matter was reported to the Prime Minister on the Sunday, whereupon, without calling upon the T. U. C. for an explanation of what was clearly an isolated act committed under great provocation, Mr. Baldwin denounced the "act of war" and promptly notified the T. U. C. that the Government regarded all negotiations at an end. This staggered the T. U. leaders, who were not themselves wanting a strike, and they sought to keep alive the discussions but were met with a curt refusal, coupled with a demand for immediate and unconditional calling-off of the General Strike as a condition precedent to the resumption of the conversations between the Government and themselves.

PROCLAMATION OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY

The Government had taken full powers to commit any number of illegal acts. In the *London Gazette* of May 1 was published a proclamation by the King of a State of Emergency. Of course it really was a Proclamation by the Cabinet. All the King has to do is to approve; when a Cabinet is in office prepared to issue a Declaration of the Restoration of the Land, the precedent of this present Proclamation will serve; particularly those parts we have printed in italics. The Proclamation was read from the steps of Town Halls throughout the country, and printed copies were exhibited on public buildings so that all and sundry might see. The actual words of the Proclamation run: "Whereas by the Emergency Powers Act, 1920, it is enacted that if *it appears to us that any action has been taken, or is immediately threatened by any person or body of persons of such a nature and on so extensive a scale as to be calculated by interfering with the supply and distribution of food, water, fuel, or light, or with the means of locomotion, to deprive the community or any substantial portion of the community of the essentials of life, we may by proclamation declare that a state of emergency exists.*"

This Proclamation was *not* directed against the Land Lords, notwithstanding they are guilty of all the offences set out in italics. Under its provisions it is possible for an ordinary policeman to arrest any speaker *for what he thinks the speaker is about to say!* Another proclamation by the Government was addressed to all members of the armed forces of the Crown, and stated that the Government would uphold them *in any action they might take.* Armoured cars, with guns mounted in position and prominently displayed thereon, were employed to convoy long

processions of motor and other vehicles carrying food-stuffs. On each vehicle rode a soldier fully armed and wearing the tin hat of the trenches. Police and "specials," i.e., volunteers enlisted to supplement the regular force, were plentifully in evidence; the whole imposing demonstration of force serving to expose the imbecility of the notion that an unarmed and undisciplined mob of strikers ever could "seize power" in this country.

GOVERNMENT ADOPTS STRINGENT MEASURES

In addition to the physical force at command of the Government there were certain moral forces which were used very effectively. Sir John Simon, a prominent lawyer and Liberal M. P., gave it as his considered opinion that the strike, apart from the dispute in which the miners were involved, was illegal, and consequently the funds of the Trade Unions were not protected by the Trades Disputes Act, but were liable to distraint. Trade union leaders responsible for calling out any men, were warned that they were personally liable in damages "to the uttermost extent of their possessions." The Strike being declared illegal, the Government was able to place an embargo upon any funds coming to the strikers from abroad and so prevented their distribution. Again, Trade Unions found when seeking to liquidate their assets for ready money to meet strike-pay demands, they could neither sell their War stock, nor secure an overdraft against it. Consequently they were unable to pay full rates—12s or less, instead of 25s, being the best they could do. This had a demoralizing effect; men were beginning to go back, and the rot oncé having set in would have spread quickly, with the inevitable collapse of the strike. At this juncture the Government caused it to be known to the T. U. C. that it was their intention to arrest the whole of that body on the grounds of their being engaged in an illegal conspiracy. This had the desired effect; and on the morning of Wednesday, May 12, a deputation from the T. U. C., having asked for an appointment with Mr. Baldwin, called at Downing Street and informed him of their decision to call off the general strike unconditionally. A more abject failure could not be conceived. The speeches of the deputation were pitiful in their humility—Mr. A. J. Cook, Secretary of the Miners' Federation, not inaptly describes them as "grovelling."

THE STRIKE WEAKENS THE UNIONS

On the strikers going back to work they were met in many cases with altered conditions. Many employers have decided in future to disregard the trade unions, and to employ both union and non-union men. In other instances an entirely new agreement had to be entered into wiping out, in effect, seniority and past service. Attempts to reduce wages were made, but here the Government put pressure on large employers like the Railways to prevent any such action being taken at this moment. It has been deferred, that's all; for it is not in the power

of the Government to fix wages, as the workers should by this time have learned. Wide publicity was given to a Government pledge that workers who returned voluntarily would not be penalized after the strike, but the comment of an ex-service man, overheard as we were walking home one night, was eloquent on that point. His companion had reminded him of the promise, and he replied in tones of deepest scorn: "Yes, they promised us poor blighters lots of things if we'd go out and fight, but what have they done for me? I've been out of a job for three years now!"

The immediate effect of the strike was an increase of over 500,000 in the number of registered unemployed—the number having since grown by over one million—while in many industries there is not work enough for a full staff and those re-engaged are working on short time. Meanwhile the miners are still out, and the effect of their stoppage is being felt in increasing unemployment in all other industries owing to lack of fuel. Mr. Churchill stated the cost of the strike, to the nation, that is, to be only £750,000 (now, however, the cost is put at £500,000,000), and said it would not be necessary for him to impose fresh taxation to meet it. He is equal to saying anything! He told us when introducing his Budget last April that the silk tax had not raised the price of the articles to the consumer. There is a word of three letters which will occur immediately to the mind of any wearer of silk stockings, for example, on hearing such a statement. As Mr. Churchill is not going to provide the £750,000 from his own pocket it follows that he will have to take it from the taxpayers, and only the other day he intimated the certainty of increased taxation in his next Budget.

STILL TALKING NONSENSE.

The most important effect will be on the minds of the workers themselves. The General Strike is shown to be an impossibility. The hopes (and fears) aroused before it had been tried out are now seen to have been equally groundless. Labor must come to realize that the Rt. Hon. John Wheatley, M. P., Labor ex-Minister of Health, talked sheer nonsense when he said that the subsidy "was the only intelligent way out." By this time it is clear that that method was neither intelligent nor a way out, for, today, we are faced with the situation of July, 1925, over again, accentuated by the events of the past six months. The coal trouble still calls for settlement, and the taxpayers (and the whole community) are poorer by many millions more than the 23 millions to which the subsidy amounted, and these millions they have to find in increased taxation, leading inevitably to higher cost of living with a consequent reduction in the value of their real wages.

As we write, the returns of the vote upon the latest suggested terms of "settlement" are coming in from the various mine fields. They show a heavy majority against, and in favor of continuing the fight. At the same

time, however, the numbers of men returning to the pits show a steady increase, indicating a break-away that will quickly develop into a rout. Still the leaders talk in terms of "wages" and "hours;" never a suggestion that the real root cause of the trouble is known to them. But there is a ray of hope for the future of Labor in the fact and the writer knows it to be so—that millions of individual workers are now asking the old, old question: "What must I do to be saved?" To that question there is but one possible answer: "Seek ye *first* the kingdom of God—and *His* righteousness."

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND HAS PART IN THE PLUNDER.

It is the right of every worker to retain as his wage the *whole of his product*. The miners of Great Britain are robbed of an increasing portion of their product. The Church of England, for instance, is concerned in this plunder to the tune of 10s. per head of the million workers in the coal fields. This is the yearly royalty tax taken by the Church, but it does not include the sum taken by the same authority as rent for use of surface land. So long as the crime of private property in the raw material of man's life and labor is tolerated, so long will some men rob other men of part of their earnings. Governments cannot stop it; they cannot do more than change the form of the robbery. Strikes for more wages do not affect the position, for these are not directed at the robbers. Wages are paid out of the total wealth produced by Labor. To go on strike and cease producing wealth cannot possibly increase wages; that can only diminish the fund from which these are drawn. The solution lies, as ever, in Freedom. Men must be free to please themselves how and when and at what they will work. When this obtains, wages will adjust themselves naturally; each worker will determine for himself. The tragedy of Labor is that it will listen to leaders who have not the necessary knowledge. One member of the Trade Union Council declared to the writer in public debate that it was "not the function of the trade union to eliminate the unemployed man." Perhaps he now sees the futility of attempting a General Strike in face of a million registered unemployed! It is to be hoped so.

THE PARTY OF JUSTICE.

We of the Commonwealth Land Party are concerned to help Labor to get Justice. We seek to point the only way out. Just as the chattel-slaves of old were the "property" of their masters, so the wage-slaves of today are owned and controlled by the Land Lords. A General Strike over wages is a quarrel about the distribution of wealth and must always fail since it is not an attack upon the monopoly at the root of the trouble. A General Strike against the Land Lords would raise the fundamental issue and, for this reason, would succeed.

London, England.

J. W. GRAHAM PEACE.

Dinner to Charlotte O. Schetter and Grace Isabel Colbron

ON Monday, November 15, a dinner was tendered by the Commonwealth Land Party of this city to Miss Charlotte Schetter and Miss Grace Colbron at the Town Hall Club in this city. It was a notable occasion graced by the presence of Mrs. Anna George deMille, Hon. Charles O'Connor Hennessy, Frederic Cyrus Leubuscher and Mrs. Robert Schalkenbach.

Miss Schetter and Miss Colbron were delegates to the Third International Single Tax Conference at Copenhagen, and the dinner was called for the purpose of hearing them recount their experiences. The dinner was largely attended, and it was gratifying to see among those present so many who are not members of the party but have chosen other ways of popularizing the great truth. It is well that those who differ as to methods should meet and confer in this way, and so learn from one another the important lesson of toleration for opposing views.

Mr. Lawrence W. Tracy acted as toastmaster.

SPEECH OF MR. TRACY

Mr. Tracy began his address by explaining what the Commonwealth Land Party stands for, and why, and in that connection called attention to the fact that the problem of man's relation to the source of his physical existence, which is the earth, has been a factor in the world's thought for several thousand years. There are records showing that in China in the 23rd century before Jesus was born, there was at least an elementary appreciation that the rent of land was a public value and should be used for public purposes, but whatever method was used at that time in the effort to give effect to that principle must have been, as all other efforts since have been, partial and unwise, and so nothing was accomplished.

In the 14th and 15th centuries some Spanish monks made statements of economic truth that were fine as far as they went, and in the latter part of the 18th century there was a group of French philosophers known as the Physiocrats, who further developed that earlier thought.

In connection with the work of the Physiocrats, it now seems safe to say that if their recommendations to the French King had been adopted, there would probably have been no French Revolution, and the whole course of world history from that time would have been very different.

In 1850, a Scotchman, Patrick Edward Dove, published simultaneously in London and Edinburgh, a book entitled, "The Theory of Human Progression," which marshalled the sciences in their rational sequence and gave prominence to the science of economics with clear and incisive comment on its prime importance in human affairs. That

was a scholastic treatment of the subject, however, and it remained for Henry George, with his fine mind, great heart and indomitable courage, to state this matter more fully, and to present it in simple, convincing and interesting form to all who could be reached by printed matter.

Some of those whose first impetus was received from Henry George and his associates, and who had worked for many years in various ways, finally became convinced of the superior opportunities open to those who would organize for political action, and in 1910 they organized the "Single Tax Party," which at its National Convention in New York City in February, 1923, changed its name to The Commonwealth Land Party, because of the growing appreciation of the inconsistency and confusion of thought resulting from the use of the word "Tax" in the title of an organization which strives to interest people in the study of economic science so that they may come to realize that all taxation is robbery. The fact that our co-workers in England had already adopted the name "Commonwealth Land Party" was an added incentive for using that name here in America.

Mr. Tracy emphasized the fact that the Party's work is educational and that political activity enables the Party to carry on this work of education much more extensively than it can be done by any other method.

Stating his own conception of the Party's purpose, Mr. Tracy said that it stands for the full measure of JUSTICE which can only be attained by the collection of all the people's rent for the people's use and by the abolition of all taxes; that this should be done all at once and as soon as possible; that the step by step method will not work in any aspect except the development of the public understanding of economic facts and the growth of sufficient political influence to make the necessary changes in our laws in a perfectly orderly and constitutional manner.

And so the Party should be forever true to that fine exhortation of Henry George, "The advocates of a great principle should have no thought of Compromise. They should proclaim it in all its fullness and should point to its complete attainment as their goal." This purpose is expressed in the Party's slogan, which is "The earth is the birthright of all mankind. The rent of land belongs to the people. The first duty of government is to collect it for public expenses and to abolish all taxes."

In the physical realm there is no right way to possess physical wealth except it be produced by one's own labor. The same law applies in the mental realm. There is no way to possess mental wealth, which is wisdom, except by doing our own mental labor. This is an old, old thought

and one of the forms in which it is best known to all of us is the saying that "there is no royal road to knowledge."

As long as rent remains private property by law, every increase in rent makes life harder and more barren for every one, rich and poor alike; but as soon as our laws recognize that rent is the social value created by all of us together in spite of anything that we can do, and therefore is our natural automatic public revenue (since it is the only social value there is) and as soon as our laws require that every exclusive occupant of any portion of the earth shall compensate all others who have relinquished their equal right, by paying into the public treasury the value of his exclusive privilege, which is rent, a greater fund for the common use becomes available, and so under these circumstances, the inevitable increase of rent benefits everyone.

He maintained that economic science is the most important subject and its study is, next to keeping ourselves alive somehow, as honestly as our present laws permit, the first duty of us all because everything that would normally improve human conditions tends to raise rent, the use value of bare land. This fact is true whether the improvement is in personal qualities such as knowledge, skill, industry, endurance, responsibility, or whether the improvement is in the equipment and methods involved in production and transportation of wealth, or in communication.

Concluding, Mr. Tracy said that the present gathering was for the purpose of hearing from some who had been in personal attendance at two important events in the progress of organized effort to stimulate public interest in economic thought. The first of these events was the Third International Conference to Promote the Taxation of Land Values and Free Trade at Copenhagen, Denmark, last July. The second was the Henry George Congress, in Philadelphia, last September.

SPEECH OF MISS SCHETTER

It gives me great pleasure to be here this evening, to meet old friends, to welcome strangers to the Commonwealth Land Party, and to tell you of my experiences at Copenhagen.

I shall speak only of a few aspects of the Conference, and advise all who have not already done so to read the full accounts in *LAND AND FREEDOM*, *Land and Liberty* and *The Commonweal*. It was delightful to travel by sea and land to Denmark, to which Single Taxers have looked hopefully in recent years as the country most advanced toward economic justice. Certainly it is the country where the name and philosophy of Henry George are most widely known and appreciated.

It was inspiring to meet in the Joint Sessions Hall of the beautiful Parliament House the delegates from seventeen different countries. Every preparation for their reception and comfort had been carefully planned, a work in-

volving weeks and months of labor on the part of the English and Danish conveners of the conference. The Danish authorities as well as the people gave us the warmest welcome and we were delightfully entertained in some of the Danish homes.

It was gratifying to have an American chosen as chairman of the conference, an office Mr. Hennessy filled with ability and unflinching tact.

Having been in Europe for ten months, I rejoiced to meet American friends, and felt very proud to be remembered and greeted by Mr. Hennessy whom I had rarely met since the years when we labored for legislature tax reform at Trenton.

The Danish Parliament has shown itself in sympathy with progressive economic measures, and the remarkable teacher Grundvig in founding the Folks High Schools (where people of all ages are able to study in the intervals of their work) prepared the whole peasant and working class for the acceptance of progressive action.

As Miss Colbron knows intimately the Danish land and people, she can give you a better account of the economic situation there than I can; therefore although I could talk at length of the impressive outdoor meetings in Copenhagen as well as the interesting trips to Elsinore and other places, I will turn to a matter very near my heart.

In Europe, as elsewhere, Single Taxers were true to form, absolutely agreed as to their goal, but differing widely as to the best method of converting the world to this truth. The bond which unites all followers of Henry George seems to me so strong and precious, I can never feel that differences in methods to attain our goal can weaken this bond of fellowship.

Before going to Denmark I spent six weeks in England and was delighted to find in both countries sympathizers with the Commonwealth Land Party of which I have been a member for some years. I also visited the headquarters of the United Committee in London. Mr. Paul gave me a very kind reception and I conceived a great admiration and liking for him, although he strove in vain to draw me away from the Commonwealth Land Party.

It seemed to me that the conveners of the conference feared that any discussion of the different methods of working for our cause would give an impression of disunion to the outside world; and I believe that the effort to ignore our group in the sessions, which seemed to us unfair, was really the result of conscientious convictions.

Great changes have taken place since I was present at the yearly meetings of the United Committee in London in 1903 and 1904. Leading democratic governments, as England and the United States, are adopting ever more and more socialistic methods to remedy the results of injustice; while countries that had had liberal representative institutions are now ruled by dictators. While Europeans really believe that all Americans are prosperous and many of our own fellow citizens have abandoned welfare work

on account of the general prosperity, we know that the powers of monopoly wield a greater power here than ever before, and that if political democracy is to endure we must achieve economic democracy as well.

The present situation seems to me to call for a new crusade which will boldly raise the banner of economic justice at the polls, where it will receive wider attention than by any other method.

Therefore, although I am interested in and sympathetic with all sincere efforts for our cause, I returned home more in favor of the Commonwealth Land Party than ever.

SPEECH OF JOSEPH DANA MILLER

Mr. Miller reviewed his impressions of the three inspiring days at the Henry George Congress in Philadelphia. He spoke of the fine spirit of harmony that prevailed there and the many admirable speeches delivered. He paid a high tribute to the men who had called the Congress together.

He said, "Of course we will continue to differ as to methods. Individuals will prefer to work in their own way, and groups will amalgamate for the work which seems to them the most practicable or the most important at the minute. That is inevitable. But it may be done without discord and with that personal affection that should exist between men and women animated by a common aim in so great a cause."

Mr. Miller pointed out that Robert Schalkenbach, with the cooperation of Frederic Lebuscher, selected as the board of trustees to administer the fund for Single Tax work men of various shades of Single Tax opinion. "And," said Mr. Miller, "I violate no confidence in saying that despite differences of opinion we are getting along very nicely. We are working out our agreements."

Mr. Miller paid a tribute to the late Robert Schalkenbach and asked that his spirit of love and gentleness continue to animate our labors. In conclusion he said, "I plead for the broadest spirit of toleration in the work that lies before us."

SPEECH OF ROBERT C. MACAULEY

Mr. Macauley made a vigorous presentation of the Single Tax. He reiterated his faith in independent political party activity but spoke tolerantly of those who differed with him. He said this might seem strange coming from Bob Macauley, for he had inherited a fighting instinct from his Irish ancestry. But he was going to do his own work in his own way, and not bother about the other fellow and the work he was doing.

Few men have the ability to present our cause more forcibly than Robert C. Macauley, and his speech on this occasion was well received. It was not thrown away, for there were a number of non-Single Taxers in the audience, some of whom heard the militant expression of our principles for the first time.

SPEECH OF GRACE ISABEL COLBRON

Miss Colbron said that she would tell little of the Conference itself as that had been taken care of by others. But she would prefer to take the time to tell of important developments along economic lines which made Denmark a peculiarly fitting place for this Conference. Denmark, Miss Colbron said (and she speaks from thorough knowledge of that country) takes its Henry George straight. There has been no dallying with the idea of land nationalization or communalization, a pet theory of some Single Taxers in England and Germany for instance. Even when Denmark got the land back to the farmer and set him on his feet by making farming pay, there was no talk of land nationalization. It was a business proposition entirely. The Government bought land (landlord compensation, of course, but that was some years ago) and sold it to the farmers on easy terms.

Now that the Danish farmer, in the overwhelming majority, is a free man on his own land, he knows that if he still has some economic troubles "land nationalization" isn't going to help. He looks about for another cause and another remedy. And the Danish "small-holders," farmers working anywhere from five to fifteen acres of land, form the great majority of "Georgists" in Denmark. He is an individualist, this Danish farmer. He comes of a race of sea-rovers, and the sea-rover, the pioneer, is the man who goes it alone. His splendid team-work in the Co-operatives has not been handed out to him by a paternalistic government. He found the idea himself, as the best way to run his business. So that, with such a people back of them, even the half-way measures now going through the legislature in the matter of taking land value taxes for local needs, can be of importance as the opening wedge to better things.

The Georgist movement in Denmark, from the composition of its adherents, and from the nature of the people, is of the greatest possible value to the movement everywhere. Miss Colbron said that, to her mind, Denmark would be the ideal center of any movement for an International Union, as the Danes are the only really internationally-minded people she knows. They have no imperialistic ambitions and they are setting the whole world an example of sane nationalism which means merely setting one's own house in order while keeping an open mind for whatever the rest of the world has to offer.

SPEECH OF LE BARON GOELLER.

"I like the idea of taking a text for my talk, and I find that the ministers have an excellent reason for selecting a text for a sermon, as it concentrates the attention on the one thought to be put forward.

"I take my text from the Gospel of Single Tax, according to Croasdale, 'A Single Taxer is one who does something for the Single Tax.'

"Notice carefully what this says;—it says to 'do something.' And that something may be much or little, the main thing being that we should do all we can.

"Sometimes we may be a little doubtful as to the value of what we are doing so I will read a few lines from Browning:—'There is no first nor last'—there is no great or small.

"All service ranks the same with God:
If now, as formerly, He trod
Paradise, His presence fills
Our earth, each only as God wills
Can work—God's puppets, best and worst,
Are we; there is no last nor first.

"Say not a small event. Why "small"?
Costs it more pain, this, ye call
A "great event," should come to pass,
Than that? Untwine me from the mass
Of deeds which make up life, nor deed
Power shall fall short in or exceed!"

"From my earliest youth I seem to have been something of a Hero worshipper, and, perhaps am in danger of having too much veneration for certain people.

"My first hero was my father. I thought he knew everything. And whenever I asked him a question I received an intelligent answer. He never deceived me, and his fellow workmen called him the walking encyclopedia. And the final proof to me of his intelligence was that he was a Henry George man.

"My second hero was Henry George, the greatest philosopher in the world. 'Progress and Poverty' was the greatest book and I read it through twice before I was 20 years old.

"I was present in April 1910 at a meeting of men, called together in a hotel in Manhattan, to send out a call to establish a Single Tax Party. A person might ask what benefit I, or the cause had received from party activity.

"I ran for Treasurer of New York State in 1914 but didn't get much publicity. But in 1924 when I ran for Lieutenant Governor I obtained many columns of space and got in long articles that were pure propaganda. Most of all, personally, it gave me a prestige that no other form of propaganda had ever done. Before a person can get speaking dates he must have attained to considerable eminence. And the party backing surely looks big. So partly on account of this, and offering services free, I secured a date at Syracuse University, to speak before the Department of Economics. I had about 50 minutes for presentation and was allowed 20 minutes for questions, had the very closest attention from all, and expect to go back again some time.

"The only startling thing that occurred there was that the Professor of Political Science attacked my definition of science when I based it on natural law. He declared that natural law was a mere figment of the imagination and was not a fact. He declared that we believe simply

what we want to believe. This seems to be a modification of the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, brought up to date. It is evidently based on the modern conception of matter, molecular, atomic, electron theory, which resolves the universe into some kind of an unreal mental conception of human beings. Natural law, they say, is subjective, that is it exists only in the mind of the speaker. But anyone can clearly see that natural law (that is, the orderly regular processes or sequences of nature) is objective, and has nothing to do with the creature that observes the phenomena. This is clearly shown by Sir Oliver Lodge in his recent book on 'Relativity.'

"The philosophy that natural law is subjective is a very convenient attitude of mind because you do not have to really understand a subject, for you believe what you desire to believe. And it is very convenient morally because you cannot say that Single Tax is right or wrong; you are a 'Single Taxer because you want to be.' It looks as if it were the outcome of a system of cramming in the colleges where the students are rushed through much faster than they can thoughtfully master their subjects, thus forcing them to use their memory (without thought) in order to remember what the professor said, and get through the examination. The students graduate in a bewildered state of mind rather than with convictions of any kind. They become agnostic on all subjects. In fact a superintendent of schools of Endicott once said to the scholars that all that we can know 'is the last say of the last professor.' Such minds, as Mark Twain put it, 'have been reduced to an ineffectual mush through idiotic training.' "

Mr. Goeller closed with the reading of the following parody on Kipling's "Vampire" by Bert Leach. So well was this delivered, for Mr. Goeller is a finished elocutionist, that it was a treat to hear him.

A fool there was, and he cast his vote
(Even as you and I.)
For ragged pants and a ragged coat
And some grub on which he didn't dote;
He voted for G. O. P., you'll note.
(Even as you and I.)

Oh, the work we do for the favored few,
And the miserable wage we get!
We crack the nuts, and they take the meat,
They hand us the chaff, and they take the wheat,
And to make our bondage more complete
We vote for this system yet.

A fool there was, and he goods had none.
(Even as you and I.)
He worked all day, from sun to sun,
He had no cash, so he worked for fun,
And he voted as his dad had done.
(Even as you and I.)

Oh, he worked like fun from sun to sun,
 And he plotted and schemed and planned.
 But he just could not make both ends meet.
 If his head kept warm, then he froze his feet,
 And his kids hadn't enough to eat.
 But he couldn't understand.

The fool was stripped to his foolish hide.
 (Even as you and I.)
 They couldn't use that, though they may have tried,
 And his legs lived on, though his head had died.
 (Even as you and I.)

It isn't the shame and it isn't the blame
 That stings like a white-hot brand;
 It's the cussed foolishness of a jay
 Who'll work ten hours for two hours pay
 And vote for the thing on election day
 And will not understand.

The hour was growing late at the conclusion of Mr. Goeller's remarks, but Chairman Tracy called on George E. Evans, president of the Henry George Foundation, to say a few words on the new national organization. It had been the chairman's intention to call on Mrs. deMille and Mr. Hennessy for a few words but the length of the programme precluded this, much to the disappointment of many present. But it can be said that this dinner was one of the most successful ever held under the auspices of the Commonwealth Land Party of New York.

The following cablegram was received from the Commonwealth Land Party of England.

"Join heartily in appreciation of your honored guest, Miss. Schetter, hoping her vigorous uncompromising faith in Georgism may inspire us until complete economic emancipation is the only live issue everywhere."

LIST OF DINERS

Bejarano, Mr. José	
Caffall, Miss Gertrude M.	Colbron, Miss Grace Isabel
Cornman, Mr. O.	Dintenfass, Mr. Mark
Daggett, Mrs. Alex. S.	Dintenfass, Mrs. Mark
deMille, Mrs. Anna George	DuBois, Mr. William B.
Evans, Mr. George E.	
Fodershom, Mr. Wm. A.	
Geiger, Mr. Oscar	Goeller, Mr. Chas. LeB.
Hennessy, Mr. Chas. O'Connor	Hollingshead, Mr. W. J.
Hicks, Miss Amy Mali	Hollingshead, Mrs. W. J.
Hinrichs, Mr. Frederic W.	
Kohler, Mr. J. P.	
Leubuscher, Mr. Frederic C.	Loew, Mr. Herman G.
Lloyd, Mr. George	
Macauley, Mr. Robert C.	Macgregor, Mr. James G.
Macey, Mr. George R.	McKay, Dr. Frederick S.

Miller, Mr. Joseph Dana

Pleydell, Mr. Arthur C.

Rogers, Miss Jennie
 Rosenbaum, Mr. Nelson
 Ryan, Mr. Thomas P.

Schalkenbach, Mrs. Robert
 Schetter, Miss Charlotte O.

Tracy, Mrs. D. Carlton
 Tracy, Mr. Lawrence
 Tracy, Mr. William Dwight

Van Veen, Mr. Morris

Wallace, Mr. William J.

Pratt, Mrs. Harriet E.

Ryan, Mr. William
 Ryan, Mrs. William

Scully, Mr. John
 Similkjar, Mr. H. E.

Tracy, Mrs. William Dwight
 Tracy, Mr. W. Ward
 Tuttle, Mr. Leonard

Weir, Mr. Francis Scott

NO wonder corporations raise great slush funds; in nearly every state there are two bureaus—one to tax them, the other to regulate them. Get rid of the multiple tax system and commissions and we will also get rid of corrupt politics.
 Lorain, Ohio,—*Journal*

THE Earth is our Mother; The Great Spirit teaches me that it is not to be bought and sold like other things.

BLACK HAWK.

The Henry George Foundation Begins Work

IT has not taken long for the Henry George Foundation to get down to real work. The officers have let no grass grow under their feet since the organization meeting in Philadelphia on September 2, 3 and 4. They have begun with an intensive movement for as complete an enrollment of the Single Taxers of the nation as is possible to secure.

Here are a few of the specific activities outlined in a circular recently sent out:

Organization of local Henry George Clubs on a national scale.

Establishment of a national lecture service that will reinforce the good work now being done in this line.

Printing and distribution of pamphlets.

Extending the circulation of Single Tax periodicals.

Development of an Economic Research Bureau to gather and furnish information on the production and distribution of wealth.

Furnish expert service on taxation and assessments; inviting the submission of local problems.

Establishment of a central clearing house for Single Tax information and societies with a view to greater co-ordination of efforts for the advancement of the movement.

Hundreds of letters have been received endorsing the Foundation and promising support from such men as Frederic C. Howe, Darwin D. Martin, Whidden Graham, Frederick H. Monroe, Emil O. Jorgensen, John F. Dalrymple, F. B. Hamlin, James H. Barry, James Malcolm,

Dr. T. E. Bullard, and many others. Some of these letters were printed in the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

The Foundation announces that it is its purpose to advocate the appropriation of the full economic rent of land and to stress not merely the fiscal but also the deeper economic and social significance of the Single Tax.

At a recent meeting of the Board of Trustees Anna George deMille, of Hollywood, California, daughter of Henry George, was unanimously elected as Honorary Vice-President of the Foundation. Mrs. deMille has graciously accepted this place and has expressed a keen interest in the Foundation programme and particularly in the restoration of the old George homestead in Philadelphia, which is soon to be acquired and made a permanent memorial to her illustrious father.

A number of additions were made to the National Advisory Commission of the Foundation, which is now constituted as follows:

Henry Ware Allen, Kansas; Will Atkinson, West Virginia; Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, Ohio; William A. Black, Texas; Henry P. Boyton, Ohio; Miss Janet L. Brownlee, Pennsylvania; Benjamin W. Burger, New York; Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, Connecticut; A. C. Campbell, Ottawa, Canada; Otto Cullman, Illinois; Samuel Danziger, Maryland; George H. Duncan, New Hampshire; H. B. Emigh, Pennsylvania; Frank W. Garrison, Maine; Charles LeBaron Goeller, New York; Judson Grenell, Michigan; Bolton Hall, New York; Carman Cover Johnson, New York; Fenton Lawson, Ohio; Fay Lewis, Illinois; Herman G. Loew, New York; Francis W. Maguire, Pennsylvania; Frederick H. Monroe, Illinois; Dr. Thomas S. K. Morton, Pennsylvania; Harry W. Olney, District of Columbia; Lawson Purdy, New York; Louis F. Post, Washington, D. C.; Jackson H. Ralston, California; Miss Jennie A. Rogers, New York; Vernon J. Rose, Missouri; Miss Charlotte Schetter, New York; Alex. Y. Scott, Mississippi; Bolton Smith, Tennessee; Rev. Charles E. Snyder, Iowa; Mrs. Elizabeth Stewart, Pennsylvania; S. A. Stockwell, Minnesota; Alan C. Thompson, Toronto, Canada; Robert D. Towne, Pennsylvania; W. S. U'Ren, Oregon; and Peter Witt, Ohio.

Francis W. Maguire, Director of the Foundation booth at the Sesqui-centennial Exposition, has distributed 65,000 pieces of educational literature and continues to register many visitors from various states of the Union, and some from abroad, who have expressed a desire for further information concerning the Georgan economic philosophy.

Secretary P. R. Williams reports that many new members are being enrolled in all sections of the country. The financial campaign is making splendid progress and a heavy correspondence coming into the Pittsburgh headquarters indicates a widespread interest in the revival of nation-wide activity.

The actual purchase of the Henry George birthplace is expected to be accomplished within the next month.

Additional funds, however, are needed to cover the purchase, remodeling and equipment of the old homestead, which is to be made into a fitting memorial, attractive both in its exterior and its furnishings. It is the desire of the trustees to give the rank and file of the Single Taxers of America an opportunity to participate in this permanent memorial to the great founder of our movement, and every contribution, however large or small, will be gratefully received.

WE levy taxes in proportion to ability to pay, which means that the harder a man works the more we tax him; the more thrifty he becomes, the more we soak him; the more efficient he grows, the more we shake him down.

If I save money and buy a house I am taxed; if I waste my money in extravagant living, I am not taxed.

None of our taxes is designed to encourage production by the simple process of discouraging idleness, shiftlessness, inefficiency.

The devil himself could not do a neater job of hobbling the human race.

—*Buffalo Times.*

The Bankers' Free Trade Manifesto

“WHAT is this that is come unto the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the Prophets?

And one of the same place answered and said: But who is their father? Therefore it became a proverb, IS SAUL ALSO AMONG THE PROPHETS?” *Samuel X, 11.*

Saul was looking for his father's asses and found a kingdom. May it not be that the great financiers looking toward the recovery of their debts have launched a movement which will bring them much more than what they sought for?

No happening of recent years has so fluttered the “hawkeries” of predatory “big business” as has the financiers and industrialists' manifesto condemning intensive protectionism, now the chief characteristic of post-war policy of all the world. It needed no prophetic vision to see that it would become so, taking into account the calibre of the men to whom most nations seem to have entrusted their governments in the last decade. To call them shallow would be a compliment because it suggests that there is some water in the river bed.

When faced with the problem of maintaining their establishments, the inevitable resort of such persons is protection, not seeing that restriction invariably impoverishes rather than enriches. So long as this procedure merely affected the poor it was not seriously challenged, but it has gone beyond this point and now threatens the crop of golden eggs, by endangering the lives and welfare of the geese that lay them. That such an issue would arise

between international financiers and American industrialists has been foreseen ever since the problem of the payment of the war debts has been found to be inconsistent with our tariff policy.

Of course the spokesmen of the various national groups who signed the manifesto were directing their admonitions toward Europe, but it is absurd to believe that it will not have its repercussions in the United States. A glance at the map printed in the *New York Times* on October 31, showing the boundary lines and tariff walls which separate European nations, reveals a condition of affairs which would be ludicrous if it were not ominous. As shown on this map, which was reproduced from the *Illustrated London News*, Russia, in addition to having a tariff wall higher than any other country except Spain, has in addition a barbed wire fence on top of the wall. Perhaps this was merely a humorous quip by which the author of the map wished to suggest that, in addition to ordinary difficulties, which the tariff places in the way of commerce, there was an additional embargo in the opposition of most of the nations to permitting any exchanges between their nationals and the "unspeakable Bolshevik," whose politics are as incomprehensible to us as his intractable language. But every nation, especially the newly created, seems to have devoted a large part of its governmental powers to shutting out the other fellow's manufactured goods. How asinine a policy, as though one could jump a fence by pulling on one's bootstraps! And when the expected prosperity does not arrive, the builders of these tariff walls have only one thought to remedy the situation, how can the barriers be made higher.

For this general state of mind in the rest of the world the United States must bear the largest share of responsibility. However our pre-eminence in matters of art, science or spirit may be contested, no one disputes our agglomerated wealth. Foreigners reason that if the tariff were the hideous evil that its enemies say it is, clearly it would have prevented our being the richest country in the world. They go farther and argue that by following our general fiscal policy they may come to attain our state of beatitude.

Alas! that this state of mind should exist, for our example thus lets loose upon the world that pernicious doctrine which has done more to corrupt and debauch governments, democratic and monarchical alike, than any other device which mankind has yet perfected, with the one exception of landlordism. Instead of seeing in the United States the greatest Free Trade area ever known in the world and recognizing that the absence of barriers between the States is one of the powerful contributors to our well-being, they see the source of our prosperity in our exclusion of foreign commerce. As if a merely negative policy could be productive of great results. Our great agricultural and mineral wealth, our inventive genius, our comparatively free institutions, all these elements count for

nothing to their purblind eyes in the building up of national wealth.

As might be anticipated this appeal from those ordinarily counted as its friends, finds no response except a protest from the high tariff hosts who now man the battlements in Washington. Owing their elevation to the seats of the mighty to the subsidies, which the beneficiaries of the protective tariff rain alike upon the just and the unjust every four years, with President Coolidge at their head, they rush to the defence of their masters. Secretary Mellon points out how different are European and American conditions and that the spokesmen of the manifesto being from the wealthy and therefore the good and wise, could not possibly have referred to conditions on this side of the water.

And it is worth while noticing that in this point of view they are sustained by a paper which though occasionally sustaining Democratic candidates seems to have long since lost all perception of democratic policies with the sole exception of prohibition, *The New York World*.

What an opportunity this manifesto would have afforded to the bright intellects of forty years ago, George, Garrison, Shearman and a host of others to pour their indignation and ridicule on a policy which never had a logical leg to stand upon since Henry George wrote "Protection or Free Trade" and showed why many honest but stupid minds clung to the protectionist delusion because they saw that of itself Free Trade accomplished no miracles and that under the tariff for revenue, which was miscalled Free Trade in Great Britain, there was grinding poverty. He showed that unless Free Exchange was supplemented by the Free Production, which the abolition of private ownership of land value would entail, it could accomplish little toward the general welfare of the race. It is a pity that, at this juncture, copies of "Protection or Free Trade" can not be had in the United States in quantities. Every effort should be made to give the book the widest circulation.

The chances are large that the press which is so powerfully influenced by the aggregate wealth of the protected interests, will try to give the whole question the minimum of ventilation. But every one who cherishes a glimmer of hope that any advance toward economic freedom can be made in our day should work, might and main, to widen the rift in the cloud sufficiently to let a few beams of justice shine upon the economic darkness.

Our One-Legged Civilization

Lona Ingham Robinson in *Des Moines Register*

IN the good old days when the earth was flat and the sun sailed merrily around it all day long, our primitive ancestors invented many things. They made the spear, the bow and the battle ax with which to hunt and fight and likewise the God of war to control the fate of battles.

In two-wheeled chariots they drove to battle and in galleys they navigated the sea. They made crude implements with which to till the soil and women and slaves did the work. They invented the spindle, the loom, the art of building, and made tombs and pyramids to commemorate their dead.

Wrestling at first hand with the Great Unknown, they evolved those near-sciences, astrology, alchemy and surgery, and out of their primeval souls they evoked sorcery—evil enchantment. Their magi studied the stars and cast horoscopes of kings and nations. Their surgeons practiced barbering and phlebotomy. Their alchemists toiled over crucibles in hopes of transmuting baser metals into gold. Their sorcerers (kings and conquerors) learned the secret of transmuting the energy of their (so-called) baser brethren into gold, and founded land-tenure and tax systems by which enchantment they enslaved their fellow mortals. To safeguard their magic, they made cuniform inscriptions on brick recording their titles and mortgages. One of these tablets is still extant in the museum of Pennsylvania University.

Dim ages have passed into oblivion and where are we now? Though spear and battle ax have gone out, alas! powder, nitroglycerine, tanks and deadly gasses have come in. The crooked-stick plow has given way to steel and horse power, to traction and gasoline; the crude caves and huts are superseded by marvels of beautiful architecture and conveniences, by pillared palaces and marble banks; yet the majority of our people are nomadic tenants or dwellers in mortgaged homes. Ancient chariots long ago yielded to various betterments on wheels; to steam cars, trolley and motor vehicles of many kinds, but the pyramids and ancient land-tenure system are with us still!

Ancient water-craft progressed from galleys through triremes, full-sail vessels, steamboats, Lusitanias, till at last men have done the impossible and sail the air! But the tax system already old when Herod farmed out his taxing of the Israelites to rapacious tax-gatherers, is virtually the same we use today!

Cuniform inscriptions on bricks changed to writing on papyrus, on parchment, to printing on paper; thought and then speech flew on wire till finally the miraculous wireless and radio! But landlords are still recording their titles and mortgages as safely as those on the Assyrian tablets of 430 B. C.

As centuries rolled by, astrology merged into astronomy, alchemy grew into chemistry, surgery was cut over into surgery, but their evil contemporary, sorcery, is still respectable and in command. Plying her black art, she grinds out as with an invisible cream-separator, millions of weary toilers impoverished by their own industry, and a select number of billionaires growing richer in their own idleness.

Now we would not think of using such tools or boats or chariots as our remote progenitors made; or of wearing

such clothes as they wore; we would not submit to being bled by their chirurgeons; we smile at their cosmology. Yet those simple minded-old parties at the dawn of history, who could not make a decent plow or wagon or watch or steam engine, who never dreamed of daily papers or movie pictures, who did not know unearned increment from the nebular hypothesis, rank today as authority on the fundamentals of political economy and have transmitted to us their unswerving faith in war. Only we are fighting in the air before we have legally established our rightful relation to the soil!

We ruthlessly scrap our antiquated stage-coaches, sea-craft and handlooms to make room for better; we revise or wholly reconstruct our therapeutics and our faulty machines without governmental authority. Yet it takes ages to abolish whipping-posts, prisons, capital punishment, slavery and war.

The world can go forward in only two ways. Individually with freedom, and collectively by permission of established government. Such things as can be originated by one man and copied and improved by others, as a pump or a bridge, are revised with ever increasing momentum. But advance in laws, constitutions and governments which involves the welfare and happiness of all humanity must proceed through the machinery of governments moving at the rate of a glacial formation.

Civilization, to be able to walk—not to say march—should be fairly balanced with both feet on the ground. But as we see the leg of statecraft involving the conduct of states and nations, stopped growth in its infancy ages ago and now hangs a superfluous deformity; while the leg of mancraft, ingenuity and skill applied to material things, has kept right on growing. So civilization has to hop on one leg making almost no progress at all. No wonder it is nearly overwhelmed by predatory hordes of enemies, parasites bred of its own weakness. This lurching, hopping, falling cripple can never go ahead while one leg keeps outgrowing the other. The recent crowning result of this horrible complex is one of the nightmares of the world. To restore equilibrium and start our poor cripple going again is man's tremendous job.

The dazzling deeds of our scientists, discoverers and inventors in many lines have so long held our attention that we forget to demand that governmental and institutional progress keep pace with it.

For instance, note our ancient land-tenure system with all titles vested in any old king or conqueror forever; with first and second mortgages, interest and foreclosures, tax deeds and penalties. It is the most perfect dollar-trap that could be devised. All preserved intact by its equally antiquated running mate, our tax system. He who owns the land upon which others must live and work, fixes wages. When in desperation men flock to the cities and stand at the factory gates for jobs, their average wages here are fixed by what they could earn back on the land.

We hear much about "efficiency" and "scientific methods." Why not modernize our land-tenure system by overhauling our tax system? Every one admits with Hearst that it is a "bundle of inconsistencies." Henry George in "Progress and Poverty" analyzed all these various kinds of taxation, showing the results of each.

His book "Progress and Poverty" shows what is the real scientific taxation. It has been translated in all the principal languages of Europe and into Japanese and Chinese. In his life he had the labor unions with him, but they soon forgot. So this singular fact remains: that those who would have been benefited most by his teachings put into operation, never, as a class, adopted his great idea. Labor leaders ignored it. But the class who live by interest and profits understand it and they know it will work. They know it is not merely a little fiscal reform. They know it would call back into our public treasuries a fund now lost to us. They know that a fund created by the community collectively is allowed to be sluiced off by private parties as profits in land deals which if it were taxed into the public treasury would pay all our taxes, with never any need of bonds. In short, they know that if we taxed the price all out of land, instead of being a lifetime paying up for a piece as now, we would only pay the annual rental into the public treasury in which all have an equal share.

In the several Single Tax campaigns in California the dollar-trapping class formed a solid phalanx of opposition. Listeners-in on an anti-Single Tax dinner given to one hundred leading club women of Los Angeles in 1918, got the gist of the opposition. In three speeches each throwing a special scare we gleaned the following:

1. If the Single Tax should prevail how could we float our bonds?
 2. With the Single Tax in operation what would we secure mortgages on?
 3. Why if the Single Tax should come to pass nobody would want any land except for use.(!)
- Our friends the enemy have said it for us.

SOMEBODY some day will write a book about the romances of castaway print. John Burns in his youth was drifting in Africa. He found in an out-of-the-way spot beside a jungle river a copy of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." He read it from cover to cover. He never learned how it got in such an unlikely place for an English book to be, but anyhow it fixed his destiny. He was converted to its theories, returned to England, became a leader such as Ramsay Macdonald is today and a great member of Parliament. This was told me by a business associate who was ciceroned through Westminster by the genial Burns himself and heard the tale from his lips.

—The *Ambassador*, published by the Niagara Paper Mills, Lockport, N. Y.

Wealth and Want

PROFESSOR MARSHALL'S REFLECTION AS A YOUNG MAN

"**A**S invention after invention has been made, hope after hope has been formed that poverty and extreme hard work would pass away—but hope after hope has been disappointed. The yarn that in old times it would have taken a man ten years to spin is now spun in a day by the machines which one man can manage, and yet there are people who have no clothing but rags. Each pound of coal that goes into the furnace of a steam engine does as much work as the weary muscles of a man in a day; and yet even in England and in other Western countries there are workers whose physical toil is so hard that they have no strength left for the higher life of man. This state of things must appal every person who thinks; and from time immemorial protests have been raised against a state of society in which such things can be. There are two great questions which we cannot think too much about. The first is, Is it necessary that while there is so much wealth, there should be so much want? The second is, Is there not a great fund of conscientiousness and unselfishness latent in the breasts of men, both rich and poor which could be called out if the problems of life were set before them in the right way, and which would cause misery and poverty rapidly to diminish?"

—Quoted by the *Spectator* in review of A. C. Pigou's recently published "Memorials of Alfred Marshall."

DENMARK has a population of 3,500,000. There are in Denmark nearly 1,200 book shops selling books exclusively. New York City, with 5,000,000 population concentrated, has according to the classified directories, 264 shops where books are sold, but the majority carry books as a side line."

—GRACE ISABEL COLBRON in *Publishers' Weekly*.

Progressive Steps in Japan

FINANCE MINISTER HAMAGUCHI has been outlining the government's taxation programme in a number of public addresses in which he has been declaring the necessity of economy in government and lower taxes upon the people in general.

He proposes doing away with stamp taxes upon drugs and patent medicines, the tax heretofore collected on railway, steam ship and street car tickets, the tax upon shoyu, the sauce used every day by every Japanese, the income tax on small incomes and a lowering of the tax rate upon small land holdings, with a revision of the land assessments that will provide a long-needed equity between the small property owner and the owners of the large feudal estates.

Through these eliminations and revisions downward he estimates a shrinkage of some \$40,000,000 in federal revenue.—Cable Dispatch in Los Angeles (Calif.) *Times*.

Extracts From Contemporaries

ECONOMIC BARRIERS

Germany's desire to regain her colonies is one of the problems perplexing the League of Nations. It is not seen that the need of nations for colonies is but a reflex of the world's need for commercial freedom, which would open to all nations the resources of the earth through the channels of mutually profitable trade. Europe is threatened with a coal shortage because of the British strike. Her shackled and feeble markets cannot pay living wages for the mining of British coal, hence the strike. The efficiency of American industrial methods is held up for European emulation in vain while Europe cuts up her "home market" into about 30 compartments. Economic barriers account for France's restless quest for security, Italy's aims at expansion, and a possible coalition between them to further the desires of both.

—*Commerce and Finance.*

SINGLE TAXERS WHO ARE SUBSTANTIAL BUSINESS MEN

Because I have known many of the kind, I find H. L. Mencken very much at fault when he sweeps all Single Taxers into the discard, condemning them as fanatics who have a side line of vagrant fancies. I think of Tom L. Johnson, surely an executive if ever there was one; masterful, holding true to his polaris, doing things for Cleveland and for Ohio which have stood. I think of Joseph Fels, manufacturer, master of men, man of definite procedure. Of William Feather who has built up a business, who is efficient, who has no nonsense about him, about whose book another executive said: "It is the sanest thing by the sanest mind of which I know. I want all my hands to read it." I remember half a dozen expert accountants who examined the theory of the Single Tax to pronounce it sound. I think of that man of systematic personal effort who has built up a great business, Otto Cullman, of the Cullman Works. I remember Fenton Lawson of the company of that name, whose successful guidance has brought his Cincinnati firm to a high pitch of efficiency. I think of one of the DuPonts I met in a business way, also an adherent of the Single Tax theory. Then there is Harry H. Willock, vice-president of the Waverly Oil Works; and McGill, of Valparaiso, Indiana; and J. A. Whitfield, the president of the Old Dutch Market in Washington. Not one of them has ulterior motive easily discoverable, unless you choose to call that an ulterior motive which is furtherance of business. And it is a furtherance of business to relieve production from taxation, as an application of a tax on land values would seem to do.

So, I set my experience against Mr. Mencken's, having found the advocates of the Single Tax among my acquaintances to be men of efficiency in business, men not holding the requirements of logic too cheap, men not of lax mental habit, and men who seem to aim at shaping their intellectual activities into a consistent whole. And it is significant that so many expert accountants are Henry George men—significant because they are exactly the men to whom I would go for sane advice on a fiscal or an economic problem. Not all of them are of that economic faith, but all of them I have approached admit the practicability of it.

—CHARLES J. FINGER in *All's Well.*

DECEIVING THE PEOPLE

What observer of representative government in action expects a tax law to bear no marks of politics? Everybody concerned in the making of such laws plays politics. In the income tax law politics accounts for the exemptions, most of which are plain bids for political support. Politics accounts for the whole scheme of indirect taxation, which is successfully designed to tax the people, more heavily than is necessary, in such a way that they will not know it or at least not fully realize it. Our tariff laws are framed in the interest of the big campaign contributors, who collect, with interest, from the unconscious consumer. Our gasoline tax is a sop to the rural vote, which deceives itself into thinking that it falls chiefly on other classes, though it raises the cost of living for everybody. Politics is the father of our whole tax system. If it were not so, the system would be vastly simplified, all taxes would be direct and the citizen's annual tax bill would amount to half, perhaps, of what it is now. But, as Barnum said, the people love to be humbugged and the politicians know it.

—*Ohio State Journal.*

ADVICE TO RELIGIOUS TEACHERS

Our institutions of learning teach the doctrine that surplus men and women are brought into the world; people for whom nature makes no provision; that poverty vice and crime are the necessary outcome of the operations of a natural law. This theory, popularly known as Malthusian because it was first stated in somewhat scientific form by a clergyman named Malthus, makes it seem foolish to suppose that there is beneficence in nature. It weakens the idea of immortality, and raises a presumption against it, for it degrades mankind and renders the

individual as of not much more importance than the grass of the field.

Learned professors teach a natural law of human progress which also makes the individual seem insignificant. According to this theory, nature takes little or no thought for any one man, but is concerned in perfecting the race. If true, why should nature concern herself about continued existence after death?

The best discussion of this subject we have seen is in Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." Our friendly suggestion to clergymen is to lay aside their copy of Darwin and take up George's book. Here they will find a thinker who does raise a strong presumption, by scientific reasoning, in favor of immortality.

—*Lorain (Ohio) Journal.*

CIVILIZING SAMOA ?

The Administrator of Samoa, former German territory now governed by New Zealand under mandate of the League of Nations, is making a proposal to individualize land titles. Up to the present the lands have been owned in common. This was the reason that indentured Chinese had to be brought in because of the so-called labor shortage. On account of the prolific nature and having his own land to go to, the Samoan worked only when he wanted. If this suggestion is carried into effect within a generation or so the Samoans will become like the Maori, a landless people.

The British authorities in Kenya (East Africa) have so far turned down the persistent requests of the European farmers to allow the natives to sell their land and impose a poll tax so that they will have to go to work. Once a race is detached from its native patrimony they are no longer free men. When the iniquitous Acts were passed in England permitting the enclosure of the common lands, the people were driven to the cities and became industrial slaves.

The land speculators of Samoa, New Zealand, and Australia will applaud the action of the authorities of Samoa in making it easy for the Samoans to be dispossessed of their heritage to become a medium of profiteering against both white and brown settlers.

—*Liberator, Auckland, New Zealand.*

LANDLORD'S STRIKE

The ability and willingness to reason accurately and logically from premise to conclusion, let the chips fall where they may, is rare indeed. We prefer to think and draw conclusions along the lines of our own inclinations or interests. But it is only as we gain the ability to look matters squarely in the face and shape our conduct in accordance with the principle of justice that underlies all human relations, that we shall ever establish conditions

of permanent prosperity and peace. The following extract from *The Christian Science Monitor*, showing that there is more than one variety of "strikes", is a kind of thinking and writing that should be encouraged.

"There is another kind of strike, purely a passive one, that has been generally ignored, and has evoked little or no hostile criticism by the press. This is the strike of owners of idle valuable lands, who withhold them from use in the expectation that they will be able to obtain a higher price than their present values. Most owners of this sort of property will indignantly deny that they are "on strike," yet the situation is essentially the same as that of the striking coal miners. They have something that others need, but they prefer to let the land lie idle, as the coal miners prefer to go idle, rather than agree to the terms offered."

—*Leighton's Magazine, San Francisco.*

THE PITTSBURGH TAX PLAN

Pittsburgh is so well pleased with the system of taxing land at a higher rate than the buildings on it, authorized by the law in 1913, that the executive organizations of the Allied Boards of Trade of Allegheny County have resolved to prepare a bill for introduction in the Legislature next winter authorizing the reduction of the tax on buildings to 1 per cent of the amount levied on the site.

According to a circular issued by the Allied Boards of Trade, the rate on land in 1925 was 19.5 mills, while the rate on the improvements was 9.75 mills. These two rates produced the revenue that would be raised by a flat rate of 15.2 mills, but the distribution of the tax was such that the total bill paid by apartment houses, office buildings, manufacturing plants and residences was less than it would have been with the flat rate.

The effect of the law has been to encourage building in the city. Consequently, it is approved by the Real Estate Board. The building and loan associations approve it because it encourages home owning, and the managers of the great corporations favor it because it relieves them of burdensome taxes on the structures that they rear for carrying on their business.

It is an interesting application of the theory that values created by the community should be taxed at a higher rate than values created by the exertion of the individual. The value of land in the heart of Pittsburgh has been created by the growth of a large city around it. It is continually increasing in value as the city grows. The buildings on it have been paid for out of the earnings of the men who own them. As soon as they are finished they begin to decrease in value, and in fifty years or thereabouts they will be worthless, as fifty years is said to be the average life of a building in a large city. When an old building in Pittsburgh is torn down to make way for a new one, there is so little salvage that it is virtually an absolute

les. The man who buys the site takes no account of the building on it. Indeed, in many cases it is a liability, for the cost of tearing it down is greater than the value of the old material in it.

As already said, the Allied Boards of Trade are planning to ask the Legislature to permit the taxation of improvements at only 1 per cent. of the amount levied on the land. They are also planning to ask the Legislature to permit the counties and school districts to adopt a similar plan if the voters approve. There is bound to be a lively discussion of the subject in Harrisburg before the winter is over.

—*Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, Nov. 23, 1926.

A REDUCTION of the numbers and forms of taxes will do more to bring factories into town than sign boards down at the depot.—*Lorain*, Ohio, *Journal*.

BOOK NOTICE

YEARNEY'S JUSTICE.

If this little book does not tell a story according to the Prophet of our faith, Henry George, then nothing does. In the starkness of the tale there are whole volumes of economic implications. Everywhere in its 99 pages the appeal of the disinherited sounds somberly through them all. It is the grim tragedy of a man out of work told to go in his old age after nearly half a century in which he has worked to produce and conserve wealth for another.

And with what strange questions of another sort of justice he reasons with those he meets in terms that stamps him as a crazy man to his listeners. But these reasons we know as the immutable decrees of God's justice ignored in human relations, though to his hearers they sound like the ramblings of old age grown senile. Yearney is typical of the blind, groping soul of the seeker for justice, conscious of the forces of oppression but unable to trace them to their origin.

The author of this tragic tale is Ivan Caukar, greatest of the writers of Jugoslavia. The book is one of the volumes issued by the Vanguard Press, 70 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. City, and is published at fifty cents.—J. D. M.

COMMUNICATIONS

A DEAD WEIGHT ON THE FARMING INDUSTRY

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In our efforts to enlighten the farmer I believe we should call special attention to his particular position as a land owner as distinct from land owners that are not farmers. As an owner of natural resources his situation in the economic field is different.

Taking the price of land, or of a farm, as the accumulated economic Rent which the farmer must pay in order to get possession, the sum paid is the purchase price of an opportunity to work and upon which no interest can be collected and as far as his business is concerned remains dead capital. It can be recovered when he sells, and probably with an increase, but the burden is simply transferred to another farmer and therefore never leaves the farming class. It is a dead weight on the industry of farming.

The farmer is not now nor never can be in a position to fix the selling price of his products on the basis of capital invested, plus labor, insurance, taxes, superintendence and other items that enter into cost, while the goods for which his product is exchanged comes to him with all these charges plus Rent.

The condition of the farmer is hopeless under the present feudal system.

Oceano, California.

T. O. THOMPSON.

THE IOWA FARMER AGAIN.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The middle west has had its troubles, and it should make students dig deep to find the causes and the remedies. In the East you have prosperity and in the West adversity. We are marketing our oats at 28 to 30 cents a bushel—hundreds of thousands of bushels and no profit to the grower. We have high taxes, high transportation rates and high cost of building material, shoes, clothing and all things we must buy come high while our produce sells low. No wonder some of the farmers see red.

Ruthven, Iowa.

P. H. DONLON.

TAX THE POSITION ON THE MAP.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I find in talking to farmers that "land value" seems synonymous with "farm value;" and they make the farm valuable. The only words that I find are adequate to express our idea of site value or land value is "position-on-the-map." It is comical to see the light of understanding touch the face when one explains that we will not tax anything they are thinking about; we will tax only the position-on-the-map. This is a stunner.

Union, N. Y.

CHAS. LE BARON GOELLER.

FROM THE EDITOR OF THE STOCKTON FORUM.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

That vote on that amendment to our Declaration of Independence at the meeting of the Foundation and your opening of the columns of LAND AND FREEDOM to those of us who have (however unconsciously), been drifting into a position of isolation because of lack of faith in a *partial* recovery of the unearned increment and of our demand that it be ALL recovered that none of our OWN EARNED stipend be taken from us, is very encouraging.

For the first time since I came into this state, thirteen years ago, the state ballot for the November election has NO Georgist proposition on it. For the first time in about fifteen years there is no discussion of the Georgist philosophy in a state election. This is undoubtedly a direct result of the split here and of the almost complete elimination of men like myself from the publicity of the movement. We have a little sheet in this state which passes as the official organ of the California movement, yet it never gives any recognition to the fact that California has a paper of general circulation that preaches the Georgist philosophy in every column, every week and puts more columns of matter in support of it every week than the official paper does in a year. I do not wish to be understood as complaining. I am amused. But, if the announcement in our NATIONAL ORGAN—means that the rest of us are now to be recognized, it marks a new day,—whether or not a better one.

Stockton, California.

L. D. BECKWITH.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

S. S. TABER, of San Diego, delivered an address before the Economic Club of that city on the Preservation of Liberty, which is reported in the *San Diego Labor Leader*. In this address Mr. Taber gave an explanation of the newspaper venture of L. D. Beckwith, of Stockton, California, which is known to our readers. The paper is the pioneer in independent journalism, is in a sense everybody's paper, since by paying merely the mechanical expense of type setting and press work any one may say just what he has to say through its columns. Mr.

Beckwith plays no favorites, and so his paper is a debating ground that furnishes a splendid demonstration of independent journalism.

WALDO J. WERNICKE quoted from LAND AND FREEDOM in a communication to the Los Angeles *Daily News* an account of the success of the Single Tax experiment in Sydney, N. S. Wales. Mr. Wernicke gets many communications in the papers of California, the San Francisco *News*, the Los Angeles *News*, the Santa Monica *Outlook*, the Los Angeles *Daily Record*, and many others. He seizes on salient points that have a news interest.

ON October 8, the Henry George Club of Pittsburgh listened to Miss Eleanor Evans tell of the Copenhagen Conference which she attended. Miss Evans is the daughter of George Evans, president of the Henry George Foundation. Miss Janet L. Brownlee, of the Pittsburgh College for Women, who also attended the Copenhagen Conference, acted as Chairman. On October 1, Mr. Evans spoke on the inspiring three days convention at Philadelphia.

IN a recent number of *Farm and Fireside* (the National Farm Magazine) J. D. Black mentions as inimical to the farming industry the tariff on imports, "which has always hurt the farmer more than it has helped him as a producer, and our taxation system which takes a larger proportion of the farmers' income than that of any other group." Mr. Black is chief of division of Agricultural Economics in the University of Minnesota.

THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE, Single Taxer, but better known for his work for prison reform, dropped dead of heart disease in the city of Auburn, N. Y. He had been twice elected Democratic mayor of Auburn, which was a tribute to his personal popularity, for the city is normally Republican. He had been for many years a subscriber to this paper.

THE September issue of *Freeland*, edited and published by A. J. Samis, at Los Angeles, is, as usual, full of immensely interesting paragraphs on current happenings.

HENRY D. NUNN, assistant counsel of the First Church of Christ, Scientist, and long an active member of the Massachusetts' Single Tax League, died at his home in Jamaica Plain, Mass., on November 13, aged 58 years, leaving a widow and son. He was born in Falmouth, Ky., and when a young man went to Denver and engaged in newspaper work there. Later he came to New York. He went to Boston in 1899 and entered on the practise of law.

MELBOURNE Single Taxers fittingly celebrated Henry George Commemoration Day at Independent Hall in that city. Dr. Paul Dane made the principal address. Adelaide, Australia, also held a Henry George Commemoration Social in September. The principal address was made by Mr. Alfred Chappel, president of the Single Tax League of South Australia. Musical recitals and readings were part of the entertainment.

FRANK H. HOWE, of Columbus, Ohio, who is a frequent contributor to the papers of Ohio, has an excellent letter in the *Ohio State Journal* of November 5, under the title "The Uncarned Increment."

FRANK STEPHENS in a recent communication to this paper writes: "Whenever I read your writings I thank heaven for a Single Taxer who is not a State Socialist without knowing it."

WITH the November-December issue the *Square Deal*, Single Tax organ of Toronto, attains its twenty-fourth year. It is a journal which reflects credit upon its editors, Allan C. Thompson and Ernest J. Farmer. The current issue is especially noteworthy.

The Root Cause of the Coal Trouble, by Sir Edgar Harper, is a pamphlet issued by the English League for the Taxation of Land Values, 11 Tothill Street, London, England. Sir Edgar was Chief Valuer of the Board of Inland Revenue, and for thirty years previously was in the service of the London County Council. It is a valuable pamphlet.

THE English League also announces that it has now a stock of the Land Game. This game was very popular during the war in many of the soldiers' huts, and is an amusing method of getting people, young and old, interested in the Land Question. Full particulars will be supplied on application to the English League.

RAY ROBSON, of Lansing, Michigan, is one of the faithful who is constantly on the job. During the past year he has contributed many articles to the papers and made numerous addresses before Men's Clubs, Granges, etc.

FREDERICK H. MONROE reports a considerable increase in sales of economic works to public libraries. These include the books of Henry George, Prof. Harry Gunnison Brown, Frederick C. Howe and Herbert Quick.

JUDSON GRENELL, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, author of telling pamphlets on the Georgian principles, is well and happy despite his eighty years and impaired eyesight.

JOSEPH H. TYNDAL, of Cedar Springs, Michigan, was raised a high tariff Republican and became a Single Taxer by accidentally coming across a discarded copy of Protection or Free Trade. Since which time for nearly thirty years he has been an active advocate of our cause.

HON. F. F. INGRAM, of Detroit, Michigan, will spend the coming six months at National City, California.

DR. GEORGE J. SCHNEIDER, of Elgin, Illinois, was converted to the Henry George doctrine through reading the Lovell edition of "Progress and Poverty."

DR. GEORGE H. SHERMAN, of Detroit, has departed for Palm Beach, Florida. Dr. Sherman has practically retired from his manufacturing business, his son Arthur assuming charge. Dr. Sherman has been for a number of years one of the leading men in the Public Ownership movement as well as a strong supporter, financially and otherwise, of the Single Tax cause.

PETER KREITER, of Hillsdale, Michigan, has been a Single Taxer since 1880. He was a member of the New York Anti-Poverty Society.

EMIL KNIPS writing from Fairhope and renewing his subscription, says: "You will always find me as one of the many that delight in the regular visits of your splendid publication, LAND AND FREEDOM, in our home."

OUR old friend and perhaps too generous admirer, J. H. Kauffman, of Columbus, Ohio, writes: "Your address at the Philadelphia Congress, on what Henry George taught, is particularly fine."

WE regret to learn of the death of an old subscriber to this paper, G. M. Willard, State Game Warden of Arizona.

DR. VICTOR ORZECZOWSKI, formerly a practicing physician of Detroit, has returned to Warsaw, Poland, to devote his life mainly to interpreting the works of Henry George and other Single Tax literature in Polish. He will also lecture and use his best efforts to incorporate the proposals of Mr. George into the fundamental laws of Poland.

PROF. JAMES A. WOODBURN, formerly of Bloomington, Michigan, is retired from his position in the department of economics in the school in that place and is now residing in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

CHARLES WEIDLER, Attorney of South Bend, Indiana, made a strong case as democratic candidate for Congress, but was defeated.

DR. FRANK JARVIS, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, was another democratic candidate for Congress, but was also defeated.

CHESTER C. PLATT is writing a column for the *Union News* of St. Petersburg, Florida. One of the readers of this column made clippings from it and sent them to H. L. Mencken. He received a letter from Mr. Mencken in which that gentleman says: "The Platt stuff is very interesting. But the fact is not surprising. Some of the best newspaper writing in America is done on the little papers."

In the issue of the *Union News* for November 11, Mr. Platt comments on the speech of Frederic C. Howe at the recent dinner in New York to Charles O'Connor Hennessy and Anna George deMille.

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA, also celebrated the Henry George anniversary with an address by the president of the Single Tax League, C. R. Swan, Walter Finch and others. Our Australian friends seem to make these affairs social as well as intellectual successes. And our thought is that if LAND AND FREEDOM contained twice the number of pages it could do nothing better than print some of these admirable addresses.

At a meeting on September 10 at St. Ermin's Restaurant in London, held under the auspices of the United Committee, the suggestion was made that Mrs. Anna George deMille should come to Great Britain and conduct a campaign for land value taxation and free trade as her father did a generation ago. This proposal was enthusiastically received. Herbert Berens, son of the late Lewis H. Berens, one of the joint authors of "The Story of My Dictatorship," presided.

CANADIAN publishers of magazines appeared recently before the Tariff Advisory Board at Ottawa and pled for a duty on American periodicals. This is said to be in line with recent protests in the House of Commons against the Americanization of Canada. The Canadian legislators must have a rather poor opinion of the intellectual capacity of their constituents if they think they can be influenced by some of the American magazines with which we are acquainted.

THE Education Protective Association has been formed in Chicago with George A. Schilling as president and Emil O. Jorgensen as secretary. The purpose is to stem the rising tide of propaganda in schools, colleges and universities to advance the special interests of the few at the expense of the many. The artillery of the organization will be directed against the "Research" institution of the Northwestern University headed by Richard T. Ely, and its imitators. The Chicago Single Tax Club will help in the work.

JOHN B. MERRELL, of Toledo, Ohio, has recently returned from a trip to California. During his vacation he addressed sixteen Kiwanis Clubs on the Single Tax.

Hon. George H. Duncan, on the staff of the Henry George Lecture Association of Chicago, was re-elected to the New Hampshire legislature for the fourth time, being accorded on November 2 the largest majority he ever received. Mr. Duncan will be able to fill lecture dates in New England on Friday, Saturday, Sunday and Monday of each week during the greater part of the legislative session which opens in January and closes in April.

THOMAS L. MASSON in an "Outline of Best Books" in the *Dearborn Independent* includes Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" and Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations."

STATEMENT of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc. required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of LAND AND FREEDOM published Bi-Monthly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1926. State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Joseph Dana Miller, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of LAND AND FREEDOM and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOSEPH DANA MILLER,

Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of Sept., 1926.

[Seal]

LOUIS D. SCHWARTZ, Notary Public.

New York County

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Honor these whose work is done,
Lincoln, Lovejoy, Garrison—

Name of fadeless splendor, he
Brown of Ossawattomie!

Fames shall die, but these remain,
Who in the world's night of pain

And its darkness, lifted high
Lamps of light against the sky!

Help us, spirits of the past,
When the Nation's feet are cast

In unholy ways, to light
The true pathway out of night—

Torch-bearers in the olden ways,
Be with us in our evil days!

—From "Keepers of the Light."

In from the farm and the cattle-range—
Something in politics new and strange—
Men with their faces bronzed and set,
Common men, who are feeling yet
That old fervor from which arose
Cromwell's deeds and Milton's prose.
Sneer, if you will, but have no doubt
There's a spirit back of that mighty shout.
Ye cannot quiet with specious pens
The sense of wrongs in those loud "Amens,"
And "Bless the Lord"—so the very air
Had less of politics than of prayer!

From "The Cincinnati Convention."

All these I hate—war and its panoply,
The lie that hides its ghastly mockery,
That makes its glories out of women's tears
The toil of peasants through the burdened
years,

The legacy of long disease that preys
On bone and body in the afterdays.

God's curses pour,
Until it shrivel with its votaries
And die away in its own fiery seas,
That nevermore

Its dreadful call of murder may be heard—
A thing accursed in very deed and word
From blood-drenched shore to shore!

—From "The Hymn of Hate"—Selected by
Elbert Hubbard for a place in his famous
Scrap Book."

Strong scholars of an elder age,
Whose spirits burst their sheepskin mould
And parchment shrouds, and stood revealed—
These radiant scribes of old!
Gower and Lydgate, too, were there
As mourners at his funeral bed;
Langhorne and Cotton hovered near,
And the bent form of Holinshed.

—From "The Dead Bibliophile."

He drank of wine that he might gain in wit
As do the fools who have small share of it;
Another with more wit kept simpler fare,
Having enough to know he'd none to spare.

—From "Wit."

No Hun or Vandal horde prevails
O'er land where serfs are not, nor lords,
Though here are playgrounds that were jails,
And plowshares that were swords.
Nor eye their boundary descries
Who flung from them all vulgar fears,
Nor are the slopes of Paradise
Wider than their frontiers!

—From "The Country of the Future."

How shall we judge him—he who nobly fails
At task before which weaker spirit quails;
Fights and succumbs for Truth's sake—who
shall guess

The splendid measure of his ill success?

—From "Success"

Not by the sceptre, nor the ermine robe,
Not by the jewelled tinsel of a throne,
We knew him as a king; the great round globe
Is sepulcher, and claims him as her own,
And yet we know he is not death's alone.

The body dies—who says the mind shall die?
What reck's it if the earth of Greenwood
hold

His mouldering frame under this Autumn sky?
What matter if the hands lie still and cold?
His thought shall live when this grey world
is old.

—From the "Henry George Commemoration
Ode."

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