

November—December, 1927

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

*An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901*

What Henry George Proposed

Louis F. Post

Henry George and His Friends

Poultney Bigelow

Theory and Its Importance

C. LeBaron Goeller

Sex and Economics

Grace Isabel Colbron

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# LAND AND FREEDOM

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JOSEPH DANA MILLER, Editor

WILLIAM J. WALLACE, Pres., 491 Mt. Prospect Ave., Newark, N. J.

OSCAR H. GEIGER, Treas., 150 Nassau St., N. Y. City

GEORGE R. MACEY, Sec., 165 Broadway, N. Y. City

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### SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

ENGLAND: J. W. Graham Peace.

GERMANY: Adolph Damaschke, Lessingstrasse II, Berlin.

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

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

URUGUAY: Dr. Felix Vitale, Montevideo.

SPAIN: Antonio Albendin, Cadiz.

DENMARK: Abel Brink, Copenhagen.

BULGARIA: Lasar Karaivanove, Plovdiv.

HUNGARY, Prof. Robt. Braun, Budapest.

MEXICO: Prof. R. B. Brinsmade, Calle del Apartado 27, Mexico City.

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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.

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

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## Comment and Reflection

THE following is an extract from a letter by Prof. John R. Turner, Dean of the Washington College of the New York University in the *Christian Advocate* of October:

Much has been written and said about the right of the community to the increase in land values which attends the growth of a community. We simply wish to point out that any scheme which may look toward appropriating values created by social growth should in all justice look toward some plan for compensating the individual who suffers from decreasing values in property—the decrement that not infrequently enters into the picture. The point is that any plan which attempts to appropriate excesses over a "normal" is in justice forced to make returns to those who secure returns below that normal.

In fact, many of the gains and achievements which we accept in society are in one sense unearned. Elihu Root, for example, could never have secured big fees for legal service if he had remained in a small town, and the inventor of the latest refinement in radio reception in a sense appropriates the accumulated improvements of preceding inventors. Moreover, civilization itself appropriates all the accumulated knowledge and technique which the preceding centuries created. In other words, unearned increment is not a rare but a rather an everyday experience.

WE would compensate the landlords who "suffer" from decreased land values by taking less of the economic rent. There is no reason why society should make returns to those who are disappointed at the results of their investments in "values created by social growth." The admission is unfortunate for the Professor's argument. Values created by social growth should belong to society—the phrase carries with it its own connotation. The only justification for compensating landlords for unfortunate investments would be that land values belong to them and are not the "result of social growth." The Professor's argument is bad ethics and bad law.

ELIHU ROOT'S big fees for legal service are in "one sense" unearned. But not in the sense that Professor Turner indicates. In a plutocratic state of society those who serve plutocracy are certain to receive big fees. But after all these are the result of Root's ability, which must be conceded, and the exercise of certain faculties—not all admirable. But they were at least all his own. And he served. In a society founded on equity he would have served the cause of justice maybe—at somewhat smaller

fees, no doubt, for there would have been less of the value "created by social growth" in private hands to reward Mr. Root for his questionable services to monopoly.

THE last point made by Prof. Turner is a stupid fallacy. But as it seems an obsession with certain minds it is only necessary to point out that the body of knowledge and achievement which constitutes civilization is a universal inheritance. It is not a monopoly. Nor can advantage be taken of this accumulated knowledge without the exercise of labor. In other words, whatever profit or income results from the application of any part of this knowledge and technique to production is most emphatically earned and wholly unlike the income that flows spontaneously into the pockets of idle landowners and land speculators. It takes a professor to argue that because the generations have left us their garnered store of knowledge therefore landlords should be permitted to gather the economic rent of land due to the present activities of all the people now living and working!

THE trouble with our "prosperity" is that it establishes a condition in which no one wants to suggest anything that might interfere with it. It is so delicate a plant that even to breathe upon it might wither its branches. It opposes a wall of negation against every proposal for change or improvement. It serves to perpetuate and make static age-old legislation; to keep administrations in power; to encourage superficial thinking on problems of "business" and government.

HALF of the people think business is a matter of politics, not economics. Less than one per cent. of the people know anything of the "laws" of economics. The "patter" of the newspapers further tends to confuse the minds of their readers; meaningless volumes of statistics and learned essays on the business "cycle" add to the mass of inconsequential thinking, or no thinking at all, on the really simple problems of production and distribution. While men engaged in most of the professions know something of the laws underlying them, medicine, architecture, engineering, etc., those engaged in business know nothing of the laws which make good or bad business.

THEY do not even stop to inquire if there be any such laws. Prosperity emanates either from God Almighty or the Republican party—to them be the praise! Yet they do not look for the long continuance of prosperity—some time God perhaps will fail them, or the “party of prosperity” will be defeated in some presidential election. They do not know why they look for periods of depression to succeed good times, for they know no more of the reasons for depressions than they know of reasons for prosperity.

IT is curious that where business prosperity is elevated in the minds of our people to a position in which so much else is superceded, ignorance is confessedly of the profoundest kind. Densely stupid as is your business man in his attitude toward the laws underlying the getting of a living, he is a very arrogantly superior person. He has a supreme contempt for socialism and bolshevism, though he couldn't define a single phase of either teaching. Engaged as he is in the making of an honest living, he is quite unable to discriminate between his fellow competitor in legitimate business, and his real enemy, the land speculator and rent receiver. So he cultivates a delightfully conservative frame of mind toward every proposition for social reform or economic change.

IF he were not such an egregious ass he might some time look out upon the world and watch men growing rich on what he and his fellowmen are doing. He sees land values rise in his community, and even when he has no share in it whoops it up for the prosperity of his township or city. He sometimes talks about the land speculators' “foresight” and it is not unnatural that he admires it, having so little of his own. He sees lots going up in value while his potatoes, or flour or carpets, or hardware, or whatever it is that he sells, remaining at the same price or receding. He does not know that if some men grow rich without work men who do work must grow poorer. Profits from land holding and land speculation are, for all he seems to know, just manna fallen from heaven instead of a deduction from his own income.

AND in the meantime he is taxed to provide improvements that redound to the profits of land owner and land speculator. For there are bridges built, subways constructed, roads projected and equipped, to swell the landlord's profits that he, the business man, pays for. His is the earned wealth that flows into the pockets of the men who as landlords contribute nothing to the community's stock of worldly goods.

TO return to the thought in our first paragraph. Knowing not why we are prosperous, or why such prosperity is sure to be short-lived, a fact which he is compelled to

accept from experience, the average man pursues his daily vocation with eyes shut to the phenomena that passes on around him. He is violently opposed to change—he would have protested against the scheme of cosmos had he lived when it was created out of chaos. He would have been a stanch friend of all things chaotic, believing that as chaos had been long established it must be the correct thing. It is true he complains of his landlord as a greedy and grasping person, but he never complains of landlordism. The system that robs him is part of the established order and he is a great stickler for law and order. And because he is a fool and blind is why progress takes a thousand years.

WE hear complaints constantly of the multiplicity of statute regulations, of legislative interference with business and matters of private concern. Everywhere the governmental busybodies are at work. Who knows if in the appalling number and excess of such legislative enactments may not lie the seeds of their own undoing? Who knows if out of the general contempt for laws may not spring a new respect for *law*?

WE have grown careless of authority. The young especially are demanding their own credos, are setting up new standards of conduct, are in revolt against the old teachings. The world can never be the same again to those who have broken away from the old restraints. If with these have gone something of value, something of the old moralities, some also of the household gods, we need not despair. Indeed there is something in it to hearten us. For all the pretentious humbuggery of popular leadership that once had power to sway the masses, is dying out. The young laugh, for they scent its insincerity. The old shibboleths have lost their power with the jazz-loving, pleasure-seeking youth of our generation.

THERE is something healthy in their contempt and thoughtlessness. They are glorious in their reliance in their own strength and the joy with which they flaunt authority. They condemn the old learning—and indeed has it made the world any better? The old scholarship was selfish and self-seeking. They distrust the wisdom of kings and presidents, senators and congressmen, the old men who drove the young men into the wars, who may do it again but not so easily, for the spell of their influence is not so potent, nor ever will be again.

THE fact of which we hear complaint that we have no popular leaders today is part of the general outlook upon life. There is no popular following to trail behind the leaders because there is a general indifference regarding them. Half of the people do not even trouble

themselves to vote. "Al" Smith comes nearer to being a popular leader than any man in public life, but how different he is from the idols of the past! The magic of his appeal is so unlike that of the old leaders, the mere mention of whose names was the occasion for public hysterics which in retrospect seem absurdly silly. The age of buncombe is passing.

IT is true that the young do not yet know where to turn, nor do they greatly care in what direction their faces are set. They are not even thinking about it. But the point is that they are at least free to receive the new truth. If the old standards have failed to satisfy them they are at least ready for the new. They are not very curious about it—they are, it must be confessed, very indifferent. But they are getting rid of much that stood in their way—old creeds, old standards of conduct, old "knowledges"—to use a word of Bacon's, and the old corrupted and outworn uses to which these "knowledges" were put.

THE young have learned to live. They face the future with enthusiasm, if, albeit, with thoughtless unconcern. They have attained a standard of living which they will not yield without a struggle. If compelled to yield they will demand the reason why. They will no longer be overawed by authority; no professorial obiter dicta, nor solemn utterance of statesmen tottering toward the grave, nor threats of churchmen, will still their questioning when the time comes to question. They will deal summarily with all such oburgation; if they have learned to dismiss merrily, if not always discreetly, all the old injunctions, where these concern their habits and standards, they are not likely to listen with awe-inspired reverence to the voice of "authority".

## A Gold Mine

WHY, in Cleveland, should any man or woman fail? Cleveland today is the "gold mine" of the United States. . . . In the next twenty years Cleveland will have passed the 2,000,000 population mark. The ratio of land values in proportion for the last twenty years is five to one, that means twenty years from today Greater Cleveland will show for every 1 per cent. increase in population 5 per cent. increase in land value, or at the present writing better than 20 per cent. a year. This means millions of dollars in profits to the land owner.—W. R. ORR, in *Cleveland Plain-Dealer*.

A COUNTRY belongs to the inhabitants . . . the moment a fragment of the people set up rights inherent in themselves, and not founded on the public good, plain absurdities follow.—LORD CHIEF JUSTICE COLERIDGE, "LAWS OF PROPERTY."

## The Queer Intellectual Processes of Massachusetts

WE append the following letter from a subscriber: "LAND AND FREEDOM for Sept.-Oct. has come to hand and opening it sympathetically, I am irritated beyond measure to find you have lugged in the Sacco-Vanzetti case on the very front page. What earthly connection is there between that and our efforts to secure the Single Tax I fail to see. Your statement that "it is impossible now for any unprejudiced mind on a review of the case to believe anything else than that a barbarous miscarriage of justice has resulted." is a lie, pure and simple. It is also an insult to me personally and to thousands who know quite as much about the case as you do.

"You have no first-hand knowledge of the case and it is preposterous that you should assume to have better ground for your views than Governor Fuller has for his. I do not pretend to know anything first-hand about the case, but I do have absolute confidence in Governor Fuller, and I am supremely disgusted that you have lugged in your editorial columns your absolutely valueless opinions on this case. If you have no better appreciation of your responsibilities as editor you should resign at once. For you will simply alienate from the Single Tax cause men and women of sane judgment and balanced minds.

HURBERT LYMAN CLARK,  
Cambridge, Mass.

Considered merely as a fiscal reform that concerns only the incidence of taxation, there is, as Mr. Clark states, no connection between our movement and the Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy. But considered in its wider aspects as a struggle for a new earth and a reign of justice there is a very close connection between our cause and what has happened recently in the Bay State. For what has occurred could not have happened in a just state of society. For there could have been no anarchistic protest, no Sacco and Vanzetti, and no antiquated system of judicial procedure which permitted a review of errors presided over by the same trial judge, who in this case at least had demonstrated his unfitness.

As for Governor Fuller we refer Mr. Clark to the statements of the former in Congress as indicating his attitude of mind which sees a bolshevik in every bush. We repeat, too, that we are entirely unconvinced by the report of the Governor's committee, and we say again that we are not favorably impressed by the Massachusetts' attitude of mind, of which Mr. Clark's communication is a very fair sample. And we are more than ever inclined to take our hat off to John S. Codman, in whom the spirit of the Prophet still lives.

Another subscriber in a much more friendly spirit writes us from Boston:

"The great majority of the inmates of the Charlestown prison believe that Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty and got what they deserved. They had many special privileges but they abused the same in a way they would not have done were they the idealists they claimed to be.

The above statement was made to me by a prisoner whom I visited. The men have opportunities for sizing up the motives and character of their fellow prisoners."

We are not at all convinced by this. Among the inmates of prisons will be found men and women not at all unlike those outside—liberals, radicals and conservatives. Their opinions of their fellow prisoners are not likely to be any more valuable than those of persons who survey them from the outside. Nor do we marvel greatly that Sacco and Vanzetti were not able to feel any intense gratitude for special favors accorded them—if such indeed is the fact. If they were innocent and conscious of it, their attitude toward their jailers was naturally influenced by their resentment against the system of which they felt themselves to be the victims. We should hardly expect to find them filled with gratitude for small favors from a society bent upon their destruction.

A communication of a different tenor is from Frank C. Wells, of Brooklyn, N. Y., [an old contributor to the *Public*:

"Congratulations on your editorial remarks on the Sacco-Vanzetti atrocity. I wish you could always see your way to widen the scope of your paper so that the humanitarian and libertarian aspects of the Henry George philosophy would be made more prominent."

## Two Views of Moses

THE following is from S. Parkes Cadman, D.D., LL. D.: "Moses was one of the greatest salesmen and real estate promoters that ever lived." On occasion when the Israelites became discouraged and disillusioned, "metaphorically speaking, they gave Moses the Ha! Ha! and not infrequently gathered behind the main tent and set up various Gods and Golden Calves, all of which were nothing but studied efforts to avoid their responsibilities and cancel their contract. . . . if you are engaged in the business of selling, whether it be ships or shoestrings, bridges or beads, incubators or insurance, spend a little time once in a while thinking about Moses and the Faith and the Courage that made him a Dominant, Fearless and Successful Personality in one of the most magnificent selling campaigns that history ever placed upon its pages."

Henry George wrote of Moses:

To lead into freedom a people long crushed by tyranny; to discipline and order such a mighty host; to harden them into fighting men, before whom warlike tribes quailed and walled cities went down; to repress discontent and jealousy and mutiny; to combat reactions and reversions; to turn the quick, fierce flame of enthusiasm to the service of a steady purpose, require some towering character—a character blending in highest expression the qualities of politician, patriot, philosopher, and statesman.

Such a character in rough but strong outline the tradition shows us—the union of the wisdom of the Egyptians with the unselfish devotion of the meekest of men. From first to last, in every glimpse we get, this character is consistent with itself and with the mighty work which is its monument. It is the character of a great mind, hemmed in by conditions and limitations, and working with such

forces and materials as were at hand—accomplishing yet failing. Behind grand deeds a grander thought. Behind high performance the still nobler ideal.

\* \* \* \* \*

I cannot think that such a soul as his, living such a life as his—feeling the exaltation of great thoughts, feeling the burden of great cares, feeling the bitterness of great disappointments—did not stretch forward to the hope beyond; did not rest and strengthen and ground itself in the confident belief that the death of the body is but the emancipation of the mind; did not feel the assurance that there is power in the universe upon which it might confidently rely, through wreck of matter and crash of worlds. Yet the great concern of Moses was with the duty that lay plainly before him; the effort to lay the foundation of a social state in which deep poverty and degrading want should be unknown—where men released from the meaner struggles that waste human energy should have opportunity for intellectual and moral development.

Here stands out the greatness of the man. What was the wisdom and stretch of the forethought which in the desert sought to guard in advance against the dangers of a settled state, let the present speak.

Somehow we prefer this picture of the Prophet to that of the High Powered Salesman as nearer to the historical truth, and to be preferred, both for its English and its imaginative quality, to the extraordinary portrait of Moses as drawn by Dr. Cadman.

WE venture the suggestion that much of the evil of the world, certainly much of the mental, material and spiritual havoc wrought by war, grows out of too ready use of the overworked "they," or rather the habit of thinking in terms of "they." Some foreigners do objectionable things; therefore "they," meaning foreigners generally, should be subjected to harsher treatment.

In Ireland, "they" used to shoot at landlords' agents and fire property, while another "they" were oppressing the populace. In the Balkans "they" are everywhere threatening the welfare of "us." Not so many years ago the Populists declared that "they" were enslaving the producers, and in the east it was thought that "they" were bent on destroying the right of property. In July, 1914, all the military officers were talking in terms of "they." There have been times when Protestants and Roman Catholics have fought and slaughtered and laid waste because everyone had got into the way of thinking of masses of people as "they."

"Guilt," as Woodrow Wilson said in another connection, "is personal." And guilt is always the act or omission of a him or a her.—MCCREADY SYKES in *Commerce and Finance*.

OF course, whilst another man has no land, my title to mine, your title to yours, is at once vitiated.

—EMERSON "Man the Reformer."

THE territory is a part of the common heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the Universe.

—WM. HENRY SEWARD.

## Henry George and His Friends

ADDRESS WRITTEN BY POULTNEY BIGELOW  
FOR THE HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS.

(As Mr. Bigelow was prevented at the last minute from attending, this address was read at the Luncheon, September 14, by Joseph Dana Miller).

THE greatest of the many great men who embellished the annals of Greece in her golden age was probably Aristides. He looked like Henry George and he acted as Henry George would have acted under like circumstances. Both sacrificed their all for the benefit of their countrymen and each in turn was rewarded by ingratitude and ostracism. In the Athens of Aristides the whole people voted to expell him. A small farmer who could not write his name on the ballot asked for help in the matter from the very man whose fate hung in the balance. Aristides wrote as requested and thus added one more to the hostile ballots. Then he asked the small farmer why he desired to ostracise Aristides? "Oh! no particular reason," was the very human answer, "but I'm so tired of always hearing him called honest!"

And as we look about us on the list of conspicuous leaders in the political—to say nothing of the plutocratical world—it must be some satisfaction, to them, when they reflect on the probability that few, if any, of them are likely to suffer the fate of either Henry George or Aristides.

Honesty was the keynote of Henry George. Honesty in his own speech and acts, and an honesty so complete that he could not conceive how others could be otherwise.

Before he came to New York (1880) he was easily the most popular political figure in California, yet the bosses of that boss-ridden state so dreaded an honest man in office that his name was passed over when he should have been unanimously acclaimed for Congress.

California did not formally call a referendum of the whole state and ostracise him as Athens did Aristides, but they accomplished the same thing by methods invisible though irresistible. California was owned by a ring of shrewd investors who saw in Henry George what the hierarchs of Jerusalem saw in the reformer Jesus.

It would have made much scandal had Henry George been crucified at the Golden Gate, and plutocrats always avoid a scandal when their purpose can be achieved by less obtrusive methods. The California hierarchs owned much of the Press and all of the means by which news feeds a paper. They also could influence a seat of learning by withholding money support. Also they could influence a political party by withholding or doubling the usual contributions. In short Henry George found in California that he could not make a newspaper successful if telegraph rates were made heavier to him than to his competitors. He found also that no University would permit him to discuss political economy *ex cathedra* be-

cause his doctrines were displeasing to one or more generous patrons of learning.

And thus it came about that at the age of one and forty the author of "Progress and Poverty" found himself so poor in purse that he borrowed the price of a third class ticket from San Francisco to New York. He had to leave his dearly be'oved wife and children behind and the only future for him consisted in a vague hope of securing a job of some sort on the New York *Herald*, whose proprietor was James Gordon Bennett.

But he soon learned that it was just as easy to starve on the Atlantic seaboard as in the paradise of gold miners. His hopes of writing for Mr. Bennett's paper were soon dispelled and for a perceptible and very painful period he had to earn a precarious livelihood by contributions of a philosophical character to periodicals that paid little in money, however much they might offer in the way of academical glory.

It is to me an interesting coincidence that Henry George and myself should have been pacing the pavements of San Francisco only a few years before his exodus, each seeking to borrow the price of a railway ride to New York. Henry George was already famous in California, so much so that he had been selected by the Democratic party managers to stump that state for the great Samuel J. Tilden in 1876.

Mr. Tilden was elected, but cheated of the Presidency through technical methods. The Republican party had become desperate at the prospect of a Free Trader in the White House.

The name of Tilden grows like that of George; and the names of their detractors fade away like mosquitos before bracing mountain winds.

The name of Tilden may be read in marble at the front of the great Public Library of New York whilst that of Rutherford B. Hayes is known only as the synonym of one who sends his guests home thirsty after a dinner, chilled by goblets of ice water.

Between the Tilden campaign of 1876 and the next presidential campaign of 1880 for General Hancock, Henry George launched his *magnum opus*, "Progress and Poverty."

Every publisher in the American metropolis was approached and each in turn declined that immortal work. It is not necessarily the mark of a good book that it should have been rejected by one or all publishers, but it should make publishers modest and authors more hopeful when they consider the many great works they rejected when first offered. Nearly every New York publisher has latterly issued a laudatory book that boasts of what each has done towards helping authors to achieve greatness. But as I glance over such pages I rarely see any reference to such blindness on their part. The great work of Admiral Mahan on "The Influence of Sea Power" was ignored by the publishers of New York until William

II had it used as a text book for his naval officers. And even so it was with "Progress and Poverty," no New York house would publish it until at last Henry George had assumed himself the labor cost of setting up the type and making the plates and again it was in Germany that its lessons were first appreciated by the educated public and again credit is due to William II for being the first monarch under whom the lessons of Henry George were put into working practice.

I refer of course to Kiao Chow, the Chinese territory colonized by Germany in 1897.

There's a noble promontory at the entrance of that port, and as I paddled my Rob Roy Canoe about that portion of Shantung it seemed as though I saw on top of that height a monument worthy of him who had here first realized the dream that had cheered him when he wrote the first page of "Progress and Poverty," just twenty years before.

This monument would recall to the passing voyager that although in his own country Henry George was treated with neglect, his doctrines had found congenial soil in the province of China that had given birth to Confucius. And both men held the truth as more important than worldly success.

"Progress and Poverty" had a good sale from the beginning. But those who appreciated George were for the most part of the very small minority who make it their business to read whatever is novel and speculative. George had many friends and admirers amongst New Yorkers of wealth and literary tastes. They brought his book and talked about it in literary clubs. But the author was not mercenary, on the contrary he cut down his copyright in order to help the circulation and even abandoned it altogether for the sake of a very cheap edition that would, he hoped, reach the table of every laboring man throughout the English speaking world, even to the ends of the earth. His rich friends did not add to his own small cash account, on the contrary they often caused him to spend more than he could afford, especially as he had brought his family on from San Francisco shortly after his own arrival here in 1880.

For some important occasion he wore an evening dress suit. I forget the exact date, but recall vividly his remarks to me on the morning following, when the *New York Tribune* had a report that poked fun at the clothes he wore. Now Henry George was incapable of noting such trifles. He may have borrowed or hired the suit for that one evening and was much surprised that a great newspaper could interrupt the discussion of political economy in order to raise a laugh at the overlong trousers of the speaker. "Did you see anything wrong about my clothes?" was his innocent question to me.

In those years I was a law student and at the same time honorary secretary of the New York Free Trade Club. My father had been all his life an advocate of

complete Free Trade and I grew up amongst people who looked upon a Protectionist as one who would rather live on governmental subsidy than earn his living in fair fight against all the world.

Of course I fell in love with "Progress and Poverty" and sought the first opportunity of meeting its author. He was a hero in my sight before ever I set eyes upon him.

All of one forenoon I sat by his side on a fallen log in the woods about Washington Heights, whilst he unfolded to me his plans and his reasons and his philosophy of life.

There was in him no boasting, and least of all was there in his talk any bitterness over his California failures, or those of New York. He knew that he was proclaiming a truth of importance and with his eyes open went forth like Apollonius of Tyana to discuss wisdom with all by the road side.

The love that "Progress and Poverty" inspired was heightened by personal contact and from that first meeting he remained my friend as I remain today his warm admirer and disciple.

Such was his fame in 1880 that the managers of the Democratic party asked him to make speeches on the Tariff, because the Republican party had raised that issue into prominence and the interested manufacturers were creating a panic amongst their ignorant wage earners by insisting that if a Democrat was elected every factory and mill would shut down and every avenue be blocked with starving families.

Henry George also had a starving family, nor did he wait for mills to close. Let me quote Henry George's own words:

"They asked me if I would go out and make some speeches." I said "Certainly I will." And they made a great list of engagements for me that ran close up to the day of election, so that I went out. Well it seems that what they were after was somebody to tell the working man that the Democratic party was as good as the Republican party.

"I went to a crowded meeting.

"The gentleman who spoke before me made that kind of a speech and then I was put on the platform.

"I told them that I had heard of a high tariff Democrat, though I could not conceive how there could be such a thing, and I knew there were men who called themselves Revenue Tariff Democrats. But there was also another kind of Democrat and that was a *No Tariff Democrat*, and that what was wanted was to sweep away the custom houses and custom house officers and have Free Trade.

"Well, the audience applauded, but you ought to have seen the men on the platform there! And I went off without a man to shake my hand.

"I got that night as I was going to my next engagement a telegraphic despatch asking me to go by midnight train to New York.



"The chairman of the committee met me and begged me not to make any more speeches!"

And thus did New York in 1880 seek to smother the truth in Henry George exactly as did California in 1876. And each attempt was followed by failure to place a Democratic President in the White House. Indeed ever since the defeat of such notable men as Hancock and Tilden the Democratic party has been lowered in public esteem to such an extent that it is today looked upon as a species of mule—something with neither pride of ancestry nor hope of posterity.

Henry George regarded Free Trade as a fundamental principle of the Democratic party. He could not understand the mind of a man who could sincerely advocate so selfish a doctrine as begging one's neighbor in order to enrich one's self.

Of course he joined the New York Free Trade Club and entered whole heartedly into our efforts to educate the masses on Tariff matters.

Theodore Roosevelt also joined the Free Trade Club and was an active member on one of our committees. He was of a Free Trade family and believed in it quite as firmly as did George. I recall a big Free Trade banquet at which Roosevelt was to have spoken, but he warned me that he had a drill that night at his National Guard armory and might therefore be detained, or possibly prevented from coming. The dinner proceeded however according to programme and the speeches were in full swing when in burst our strenuous "Teddy" clad in full military dress and glaring joyfully from behind his glasses. He was acclaimed with applause and made a stirring speech in which he denounced Protectionists as un-American and praised the doctrines of Adam Smith and Richard Cobden as alone worthy of a statesman.

Shortly after this however, Theodore Roosevelt made the discovery that Free Trade was wrong in politics however sound it might be in theory. His discovery may have owed something to the Bosses of the Republican party who offered him a tempting vision of legislative power leading to ever higher and richer fields of official activity.

Roosevelt was of such ardent patriotism that he would sacrifice even his soul for the sake of his party. And thus he cast overboard the weighty arguments of his Free Trade period and sailed his bark more swiftly by bracing his yards according to the breezes of party and protectionism.

In those days I held regularly at my rooms back of the Players' Club a sort of Henry George evening when he would come and meet such as were sympathetic with him personally yet dreaded to do anything that society regarded as unorthodox.

Many of these became later notable figures in banking, transportation, and other profitable walks of life, but few of them wished to earn a martyr's crown. They knew that his diagnosis was correct but they dreaded

any operation or treatment that might provoke disorders or possible revolution.

Shortly after the Hancock election in 1880 I was invited onto the staff of the New York *Herald* as assistant city editor by Ballard Smith, and within two years had graduated from nearly every department including literary and dramatic, foreign and the editorial board. Then I was sent as correspondent in Europe and there Henry George and I foregathered once more and planned a grand speech making campaign throughout England and Scotland.

Of course I counted confidently upon Mr. Bennett as a Free Trader and therefore begged permission to accompany Henry George on this remarkable journey. But I had yet much to learn touching Mr. Bennett; for he wrote me a curt note from Paris describing Henry George as a negligible humbug whom he would crush if ever he became dangerous. I had known that the *Herald* was Catholic in so far as Bennett himself was reared in that faith; but I cannot yet be sure as to the exact inducement that made an otherwise great journalist abandon a piece of news that would have rejoiced the heart of every laboring man in America.

Shortly after this, in 1886, three Free Traders were simultaneously candidates for the post of Mayor in New York—all three friends of one another—loosely speaking; Abraham S. Hewitt, a wealthy and public spirited merchant, Theodore Roosevelt and Henry George. Hewitt was elected but Henry George received more votes than Roosevelt!

It was a Henry George triumph—the triumph of a poor man from far away California over the son of a rich New Yorker whose family influence was deservedly great.

The Truth is a mighty force when uttered at the right moment by a Martin Luther, a Galileo or a John Huss, but in the New York of our day the politician who is out for votes must find other sources of inspiration. Henry George was apparently in a fair way of being elected Mayor of New York when at the eleventh hour the Roman Catholic Leaders in the person of a Jesuit Monsignor (Preston) wrote a formal denunciation of Henry George's doctrines as "unsound, unsafe and contrary to the teachings of the church."

The *Republican* managers had this letter printed and handed free gratis at the doors of every Catholic church on the Sunday preceding election day; and between this very clever political trick and the equally vigorous anathemas from orthodox pulpits, every true son of St. Patrick voted as his church commanded.

The Irish vote was an important one because the Land Question was then agitating public opinion in Great Britain and Henry George had been looked upon by leading Irish patriots as a champion of their somewhat irreconcilable aspirations. Little did they dream at the the very last moment the goblet of hope would be snatched

from before their lips and the mayoralty of our metropolis decided by an Irish Archbishop at the behest of an Italian Pope.

And not only did orthodox voters prove traitors to the cause of him whom they had up to then hailed as their "Savior"—the Irish editors and politicians quickly found excellent reasons for avoiding the company of him whom their church had branded as heretical.

One Roman priest remained loyal to Henry George, the noble rector of St. Stephens, the beloved Father McGlynn. But his loyalty cost him, if not his life, something vastly more precious. McGlynn was forbidden to enter his own church or to hear confessions, was ordered to do penance in Rome and when he claimed the right of an American citizen to think politically, he was formally excommunicated.

It was in reference to this noble priest that Henry George wrote in the summer of 1886. "There stands today hard by the Palace of the Holy Inquisition in Rome a statue which has been placed there since Rome became the Capitol of a United Italy. On it is this inscription: *"Galileo Galilei was imprisoned in the neighboring palace for having seen that the earth revolves around the sun."*

"In after years when the true hearted American priest shall have rested from his labors, and what is now being done is history, there will arise by the spot where he shall be excommunicated such a statue and such an inscription.

"And days will come when happy little children, such as now die like flies in tenement houses, shall be held up by their mothers to lay garlands upon it."

Henry George was made for friendship; his heart opened smilingly to anyone approaching him in search of truth. He was never irritable when sceptical interlocutors nagged him with shallow objections. He bore no grudge against those who calumniated him in the press or from political platforms. I never even heard him denounce Patrick Ford, who had professed the warmest faith in him until Archbishop Corrigan ordered him to recant. The *Irish World* had up to that moment been the mouth-piece of George's admirers, both lay and clerical.

It is a great privilege to have known in the flesh one whom the world at large regards as created by God Almighty for a lofty purpose. To me he was the embodiment of heroism, filled with divine ambition to serve his fellow man. Whatever his dress, he had such noble features that when I talked with him I saw only his firm gentle yet penetrating blue eyes and then the sympathetic lips that veiled or made one forget the strong jaw at the back.

Henry George was not a tall man, but eminently dignified and very broad and deep and muscular about the arms and chest. He had nothing of the histrionic self advertiser. Nothing of the Rooseveltian bluster and boasting. I never saw him embarrassed in his manner,

much less was he capable of playing the snob. He met rich and poor; the noblemen of England and the Crofters of Skye, and with all he was the same dignified, yet sympathetic searcher after the truth.

Of course he was a political and social failure; so was Jesus. Had he lived a few centuries earlier he would have died, like Molinos, in the dungeons of the Inquisition or have been roasted alive by pious Christian priests. As it was, his life was prematurely stopped by domestic burdens too heavy for even his broad shoulders. He died before even reaching the early age of sixty, and he died a poor man having known but poverty all his life. He was grossly misunderstood and shunned by those who were easily frightened by the bugaboo of anarchist and socialist. He could not have been elected to any of the older and more conservative clubs or societies of New York. Yet the time is not far off when the cities of the world will be clamoring for monuments to his glory.

Did I say that Henry George lived poor? If I did, it referred merely to the vulgar definition of poverty.

Posterity will call him rich, for what can the sage desire more than what Henry George possessed, a wife whom he loved and honored and who loyally sustained him at every step of his weary tramp. In his children he was equally blessed, for they were a living testimony to the qualities of both father and mother.

And how rich in friends was he, friends throughout the world! He had many secret admirers, people who dared not publish their friendship for fear of social ostracism. In short, I cannot think of Henry George as being the object of any man's hatred save as the cur hates when sicked on by a cruel master.

Blessed be Henry George, for he so loved his fellow man that he sacrificed himself on our account, he died that we might live, he spoke the truth.

## Fairhope As an Object Lesson

ADDRESS OF A. E. SCHALKENBACH AT THE HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS, SEPT. 13, 1927.

I HAVE been asked to substitute for Mr. Gaston, without having any idea of what he intended to say, so I feel obliged to present to you my personal observations of Fairhope, since the text assigned me is "The Success of Enclaves." Fairhope's growth and effect as a Single Tax demonstration seems to me the only proper presentation to make.

My interest in the Single Tax philosophy dates back to 1884, when my brother Charlie arrived from an absence in the west of eight years. On his arrival he handed me a book, saying that in the railroad station in Chicago he bought it to occupy his mind while enroute home, that he was very much impressed with the book and asked me to read it and if possible find fault with it.

I read the book and am glad that I had brains enough not to try to find fault.

I then took the book to dear brother Bob; told him of Charlie's and my opinion and asked him to read it and find fault with it if he could. It is now one of my fondest memories that I had a hand in bringing dear Bob to the acceptance of the philosophy of Henry George.

During these past years I have kept informed of the many methods employed to educate society to a clear understanding of the George philosophy, I have witnessed the many attempts to carry on propaganda through political action, I have seen literature of every variety broadcast over the land. I have seen lecture courses established with brilliant orators, all of which have fallen far short of our fond hopes.

There was but one agency remaining of which I had no knowledge, that of enclaves.

With the passing of dear brother Bob, my interest was further aroused. I determined to give more of my time to the cause he loved so deeply; so in 1924 I visited Fairhope, the first enclave established about 1894, by two families starting from Iowa and being joined by some from other states.

I found Fairhope a beautifully situated community on a high bluff overlooking Mobile Bay, with a population of between 1,500 and 2,000. When I left New York I was possessed with the idea that the great drawback of enclaves lay in the desire of most men to own title to land and that leaseholds would not appeal to the type of man essential to a successful community.

My first impression was the three states of progress. The first showed lack of confidence or poverty, or both, in the type of buildings erected. The second period showed a gain of confidence, through the erection of better types of buildings, while the third, or present stage showed the best of modern construction. My next step was to visit the surrounding country to see if some comparison could be made and if the effect of the economic policy at Fairhope would be discernable.

Investigation further into the value of adjacent lands proved beyond all doubt that Fairhope with its free land policy was the direct cause of retarding the rise of land values in the surrounding country.

We must remember that Fairhope, prior to the aid of Mr. Fels, was a poor man's effort. It was not an industrial undertaking, exploiting natural resources.

During this session we have heard much about training the young. Fairhope has a school, (private, supported by donations and fees) and having a national reputation, with young people coming to it from many states. Here lies an opportunity to provide a teacher in economics who will instruct these young people in the philosophy of Henry George, preparing them as missionaries to go to all points of the compass.

Repeated attempts at land booming have been made

in the surrounding country. During the recent Florida boom attempts were made to awaken land speculation adjacent to Fairhope. The boomers purchased whole page advertising space in the *Fairhope Courier*, published by the pioneer, Mr. Ernest Gaston, who in turn used his editorial page to great advantage in destroying the boom.

With these facts clearly fixed in my mind I became a member of the Colony and established a residence there for seven months of each year.

Here I find an excellent field for missionary work among the visitors and tourists coming from the North and West, attracted by the appearance of the town as compared with most other towns, and who are always interested to learn of the economic principles upon which Fairhope is conducted.

When we consider the great mass of readers who patronize libraries, magazines and newspapers, only a small percentage of whom care to read economic literature, it must follow that there is a very large percentage of intelligent men and women who can only be attracted through a practical demonstration.

It is this type that the enclave propaganda appeals to. Fairhope is no longer an experiment; it is beyond all question of doubt a demonstration. Fairhope's greatest need is additional land to widen out, it being now about 6 miles long and about one mile wide.

Fairhope is not literature that can be thrown in the waste basket nor a book that can become musty lying on the shelf, but it is a living throbbing, thing of life that cannot be laid aside or forgotten. It is therefore in my opinion one of if not the most effective forms of propaganda that we can employ.

It has been said that he is a good man that makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, but he is a better man who makes a happy community grow where none grew before.

## Sex and Economics

ADDRESS OF GRACE ISABEL COLBRON AT THE HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS, SEPT. 13, 1927.

**M**OST of us are fully awake to any opportunity of bearing witness to the Truth as we see it. We disciples of Henry George are willing to step into any discussion and try to swing it our way. Indeed, we have that reputation everywhere. As one worried chairman of a big meeting put it, "O these Single Taxers, . . . no matter where they start they always come around to Single Tax!" I don't know yet whether he meant it as the very high compliment that it was, this remark of his.

But the above holds good of discussions along lines political and economic. And then we ourselves mourn over the fact that these discussions have not the ear of the general public which is more interested in the Tabloids and the movies. Very well then, why not carry

the war into the enemy's camp and show him the base . . . the economic base, of the things he is most interested in? There is a very wide field of discussion, ploughed and harrowed and gone over again and again, ad nauseum wherever "moderns" meet together, which we Single Taxers have altogether neglected. In fact I have heard comrades go seriously into this discussion, for its own sake, apparently with no thought of the connection they might have made between the thing they were discussing and the Faith in which they believe.

These cryptic remarks refer to discussion on that all-absorbing subject, to the modern world, of SEX! It may not be in politics just yet, but it certainly is in the tabloids and the movies . . . they could not exist without it . . . and it has the ear of the public. Many a time, when upbraiding the organizers of various dining clubs for not giving their evenings to more important matters, have I received for answer: "People won't come unless you talk about some phase of the Sex Question." The late William Marion Reedy said: "It is always Sex o'clock in our modern literature." And David Seabury, Consultant-Psychologist, writes in a recent *Century* article:

"The subject of sex has certainly stepped out of the boudoir, thrown off the hushed intimacy of the afternoon knitting, forgotten the privacy of marriage and taken its place at bridge table and club lounge. From three to three score and ten any aspect of it serves for casual reference or minute dissection."

It's a very vague subject, of course, as discussed today. Seven-eighths of the discussers do not know exactly what they mean by sex. And this holds good of the near high-brows who prate solemnly of the Freudian "living libido" as it does of the Jazz Sisters and lounge lizards who sing of what Hollywood calls "It." In fact it's safe to say that these last at least have a very clear idea of what the word means to them!

However, understood or not, the subject is discussed openly everywhere today. And yet there is no subject so little able to stand on its own feet, so absolutely dependent on economic conditions in all its manifestations. Therefore, comrades, please remember. This subject of "Sex" today, is a subject you can be frivolous about if you wish to entertain your listeners. But I, for one, cannot see how any disciple of Henry George can treat the subject seriously, as a subject per se, . . . how he can for one moment forget the splendid opportunity for preaching the straight doctrine in its vast importance, its far-reaching influence in every manifestation of what seems like a most personal matter.

To take up the various phases of the sex question as most discussed today: Marriage, to begin with. Of course no one will deny that in marriage, as in any relation which requires adjustment of two individualities to one another, there are many problems that are purely personal. But then they *are* personal and concern only

the two people themselves and are no fit subject for public discussion. And no one with any power of thought at all will deny that the reason for most marital troubles of today can be found in this matter of money. It's always a case of either too little money, or too much. The old folk-lore proverb, common to every language: "When poverty comes in at the door, love flies out of the window" is deeply true. And the annals of our divorce courts as well as the society columns of our dailies show the effects of too much money among the ranks of those who profit by privilege. Money—the economic question therefore. A condition of society based on a more equal distribution of wealth, brought about by equality of opportunity, will reduce the number of homes where the wolf of poverty can chase love out of the window. And it will reduce the number of homes devastated because of the boredom of too great wealth. And who dare deny that throughout the ages marriage has been intimately connected with the question of "support?" The new era of women's independence, or to be more exact, of women's chance to fight the economic struggle on the same basis as men, has fortunately made it possible for more women to chose at least by inclination rather than by this matter of "support." But again we see it. If a woman gives up her earning power she must consider the earning power of the man she chooses. And the bitter violence of the present day struggle for life renders marriage anything but what it should be.

Then the most fruitful subject for sex discussion, the problem of prostitution. Chastity, . . . what crimes are committed in thy name! How disgusting the spectacle of the circles who profit by the privilege that makes prostitution powerful, banding together solemnly to "destroy the Social Evil!" What do they do? Chase into the unknown depths a few poor creatures, the saddest victims of economic conditions, banish them from one neighborhood, . . . to what result? Merely higher land values in that neighborhood after it is 'cleaned up.'

The question of prostitution today is solely an economic question. There is no woman offering herself on the streets of our towns today who is doing it for any other reason than that of economic need. This I assert and stand by. I do not deny that there are women as little monogamous by nature as are some men. I know that there are quite a number of women absolutely wanton by nature. But unless these women are absolutely poor *they are not on the streets*. The divorce courts see them often. Some are in sanatoriums, every fashionable physician could tell of cases. But I repeat, these women are not on the streets. And the women who are in the streets are there because they are too poorly equipped for the economic struggle. And because the economic struggle prevents some man from giving them a chance to be wives and mothers. All other discussion of this "social evil problem" is beside the point, a red herring

drawn across the trail by those who do not wish the economic aspect emphasized.

And the question of birth control, also widely and virulently discussed today. There, I admit, we Single Taxers are in a bit of a quandary. I believe in birth control from one point of view that is to me important, i.e. a woman's right to herself, body and soul, her right to determine how many children she can bear, her right to refuse to overtax her ability to give a mother's best care. But I refuse to advocate birth control from the point of view most in evidence today, the fact that without it the class of Have Not will vastly outnumber the class of Have and may prove a social peril. This attitude we Single Taxers should never countenance. We must emphasize that the point of view is quite correct as economic conditions stand *today*. With artificial restrictions of natural resources, with a total lack of equality of opportunity, every child borne into the social stratum which is on the wrong side of privilege does present an increasing social problem. But to those of us who do not believe that such conditions are an inevitable concomitant of material progress, it is a cruel and bitter doctrine.

We know that for every mouth to be fed which comes into the world, two hands come, strong to toil for food for that mouth, and a brain which can, if developed, increase ten and an hundred fold the productivity of those hands, . . . were opportunity equal, were natural resources free to all. Therefore, the birth control discussion affords a splendid opportunity to preach the Truth as we know it. Among the birth control advocates as among its opponents. We must differentiate its aspect of personal freedom which brings us in line with its advocates. But we must never accept the theory that conditions of today, which make restriction of population a burning necessity, are inevitable. We know they are not and it is our business to go about helping to change them, so that every human soul that comes into the world shall be welcome, . . . in a free world!

Hunger and love are the two great impulses of all life, all action in the world today. But hunger, the urge to self-preservation, comes first, endures longest. It is the first unconscious impulse of the helpless child, still hardly more than an embryonic cell of human life. And it persists as long as life persists, after sight, hearing, all other senses, and even the motor power is gone.

It is the cause of all progress on the earth today, this urge for self-preservation; all material advance has come from the urge in man's soul to satisfy his desires along the line of least resistance. Love, the other great impelling urge, the sex urge, the instinct for preservation of the race, is strong. It is Nature's own method of carrying on the race. But to the individual it occupies but a comparatively small period in his life. Nature lets him struggle for himself before she forces him to carry on his kind. Both are the driving force of all action. But an over-emphasis on the secondary need would seem, on the sur-

face, to be the keynote of our life in the modern community. To my mind it is oftentimes that red herring drawn across the trail to ward off unpleasant facts concerning right and wrong of the economic struggle. And indeed this economic struggle with its emphasis on the buying and selling of everything, with no human rights left to anything, has caused the over-emphasis of one side of the sex question, when we restrict that question to the problem of the relations of man and woman. Sex lust is the only side of love that can be bought and sold. One cannot buy and sell what love means apart from the physical. Therefore a world which has become a struggle such as the beasts never know, finds its amusement in the practice, and the discussion, of this one side of love which is an economic factor, i.e., something to buy and sell.

A splendid opportunity for us, comrades, this popular subject of discussion. If we can always remember to emphasize how strong the influence of Hunger, the greatest primal urge, on Love, the secondary purpose of human life. If Hunger were only the natural urge to progress, as we would make it, not the cruel taskmaster making humans inhuman to one another, as it is today, then indeed would the secondary urge of Love take its rightful place as the uplifting, ennobling and beautifying element in our lives.

Our concern is with Hunger. Adjust that problem aright, Love will take care of itself.

## Pittsburgh Observes Thirtieth Anniversary of George's Death

THE Henry George Foundation commemorated the thirtieth anniversary of the death of Henry George by holding a Memorial Dinner at the Fort Pitt Hotel, Pittsburgh, on the evening of October 29th. Mrs. Signe Bjorner, of Copenhagen, Denmark, was the principal speaker, coming from Chicago at the invitation of the Foundation for this particular occasion, and contributing much to its success. About fifty of the leading Georgists of Western Pennsylvania were present.

Cornelius D. Scully was toastmaster and made special reference to the restoration of the birthplace of George by the Foundation. He expressed the thought that the birthplace should be regarded as a symbol representing the great ideals for which Single Taxers stand and might later become a great center for the national and international movement.

Mrs. Janet L. Brownlee, of the Pennsylvania College for Women, gave her impressions of the recent Henry George Congress in New York City, which she pronounced a real success. James B. Ellery, of Erie, appealed to all to be loyal to the spirit of the great prophet, and Henry

H. Wilson, of Beaver, presented the programme of Henry George as the only alternative to Bolshevism or the decline of civilization.

President George E. Evans read Henry George's eloquent tribute to Liberty and told something of present activities of the Foundation within the State of Pennsylvania. Carl D. Smith, in telling of some of the high spots of the recent convention, said that he had found every session intensely interesting and the discussions from all the various angles stimulating and helpful.

Among others who responded with impromptu remarks were Harry H. Willock, Charles R. Eckert and John B. Sharpe, three veteran leaders of Western Pennsylvania, who joined in this tribute to the memory of Henry George.

Keen interest was displayed in the address of Mrs. Signe Bjorner dealing with Danish conditions in general and the spread of Georgeism in particular.

Messages conveying felicitations were read from Mrs. Anna George de Mille, Louis F. Post, James F. Morton, Harry W. Olney, Dr. Mark Milliken, and Clayton J. Ewing, President of the Chicago Single Tax Club.

## The Pennsylvania Campaign

RECENT developments in Pennsylvania seem to forecast a widespread campaign for land value taxation in that commonwealth. With Pittsburgh and Scranton as examples of the successful operation of the "graded tax plan," interest is being aroused in a number of the larger cities and the speakers of the Henry George Foundation are making the most of the situation. An address before the Harrisburg Rotary Club by Secretary P. R. Williams last August brought an immediate response in the form of a very favorable editorial in the Harrisburg *Telegraph* and, early in October, the editor, G. M. Steinmetz, came to Pittsburgh to further investigate the merits of the Pittsburgh plan, returning to Harrisburg to launch an aggressive publicity campaign for tax reform in Harrisburg.

During November, Secretary Williams addressed various clubs and civic bodies in Altoona, Johnstown, Harrisburg, Lancaster and York, and the speaking campaign will probably be extended to cover every city in the state. William N. McNair, of Pittsburgh, and other speakers are planning to join in the lecture tours.

In Johnstown, Prof. H. S. Bender, prominent Single Taxer nominated for Mayor on the Democratic ticket, made the Pittsburgh graded tax plan the principal plank in his platform. Though not elected, he made an aggressive campaign and polled a large vote.

The *Johnstown Democrat*, edited by former Congressman Warren Worth Bailey, continues to give strong editorial support and generous publicity to everything that tends to bring the Single Tax idea to public attention or promises progress in that direction, and Johnstown

will be found in the forefront of the movement to extend Pittsburgh's policy to the cities of the third class.

Two prominent members of the Pittsburgh club visited Europe last summer and both Harry H. Willock and Wm. N. McNair entertained the Henry George Club at recent luncheon meetings with very interesting accounts of their observations, particularly bearing upon economics and taxation, in England, Norway, France, Italy and Switzerland. Mr. Willock is leaving this month, via the Panama Canal and San Francisco, for an oriental tour and expects to meet the Single Tax groups in Australia and New Zealand, where there is so much evidence of progress.

## An Interesting Campaign in Harrisburg

MR. G. M. STEINMETZ, of the Harrisburg, Pa., *Telegraph* has started an interesting campaign through the columns of his paper for reform in methods of assessment in that city. Every day in his paper for several months past there have been articles from Mr. Steinmetz's pen which furnish interesting revelations as to conditions in that city.

His object is, while securing drastic reforms in methods of assessment, to get for Harrisburg the Pittsburgh "graded tax." Mr. Steinmetz makes lengthy quotations from Thomas C. McMahan, who is Pittsburgh's assessor, Percy R. Williams, and James R. Brown of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, who has lectured in Harrisburg.

These articles are searching investigations into the tax system of Harrisburg. Mr. Steinmetz reveals the grossest inequalities in assessments. He asks: "Do you know how the assessor reaches his conclusions as to the value of real estate for city and school tax purposes?" He then shows that the small owner is frequently assessed at the full value of his property, while in many cases the large landowner escapes with an assessment of ten to thirty per cent. of the real value of his property.

He points out that the recent "socialist" victory in Reading was caused by the dissatisfaction with the city's methods of assessment, and quotes the recently elected mayor of that city as saying: "We mean to sit down with the best men in and out of our party to work out a system of equitable assessment."

We commend Mr. Steinmetz's very thorough treatment of his subject. It is no small task to submit to so keen an analysis the confusion and worse of Harrisburg's assessments.

HELP TO INCREASE THE CIRCULATION

OF

LAND AND FREEDOM

## Theory and Its Importance

ADDRESS OF C. LEBARON GOELLER AT THE  
HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS, SEPT. 14. 1927

AT this convention you have heard considerable concerning the mechanism of Single Tax, and also a little of the moral side of the movement. I shall therefore treat it from a little different angle, one might say the Huxley side, or the anatomy—the skeleton—of the movement.

The Single Tax is such an eminently practical proposition that there is some danger of us becoming "merely" practical, thus tending to forget the principles on which it is founded. It is because of this danger of "mere practicality" that I have chosen to speak of "Theory" and its relation to science in general, and to the Single Tax movement.

I invite your attention to some extracts from a book well suited to be placed alongside of "Progress and Poverty" on your bookshelf—"An Introduction to Mathematics," by A. N. Whitehead, now of Harvard University. This is a good book on science and philosophy and the thought is very much to the point.

"From the earliest epoch (2634 B. C.) the Chinese had utilized the property of the compass needle, but do not seem to have connected it with any theoretical ideas. The really profound changes in human life all have their ultimate origin in knowledge pursued for its own sake. The use of the compass was not introduced into Europe till the end of the twelfth century A.D., more than 3000 years after its first use in China. The importance which the science of electromagnetism has since assumed in every department of human life is not due to the superior practical bias of Europeans, but to the fact that in the West electrical and magnetic phenomena were studied by men who were dominated by abstract theoretic interests." . . . Michael Faraday was asked: "What is the use of this discovery?" He answered: "What is the use of a child—it grows to be a man."

Mr. Whitehead then goes on to tell how Archimedes discovered what is known as Specific Gravity. He was told to find out whether the king's crown was of pure gold or whether it had been debased with some alloy. He took a bath one day while this problem was in his mind, and in his day-dream he invented mathematical physics. He jumped out of the tub and ran through the streets of Syracuse shouting "Eureka! Eureka!" (I have found it). His genius showed him that "a body when immersed in water is pressed upward by the surrounding water with a resultant force equal to the weight of the water it displaces." Then we read further:

"The death of Archimedes by the hands of a Roman soldier is symbolical of a world-change of the first magnitude: The theoretical Greeks, with their love of abstract science, were superseded in the leadership of the European

world by the practical Romans. Lord Beaconsfield, in one of his novels, has defined a practical man as a man who practices the errors of his forefathers. The Romans were a great race, but they were cursed with the sterility that waits upon practicality. They did not improve upon the knowledge of their forefathers, and all their advances were confined to the minor technical details of engineering. They were not dreamers to arrive at new points of view, which could give a more fundamental control over the forces of nature. No Roman lost his life because he was absorbed in the contemplation of a mathematical diagram."

Also:

"No more impressive warning can be given to those who would confine knowledge and research to what is apparently useful, than the reflection that conic sections were studied for eighteen hundred years merely as an abstract science without a thought of any utility other than to satisfy the craving for knowledge on the part of mathematicians, and that then at the end of that long period of abstract study, they were found to be the necessary key with which to attain the knowledge of one of the the most important laws of nature,—namely the law of gravity."

And:

"It is no paradox to say that in our most theoretical moods we may be nearest to our most practical applications."

Now just a short extract from a book on chemistry to show something of the methods of working in science—and I use this largely because of its poetic and dreamland nature:

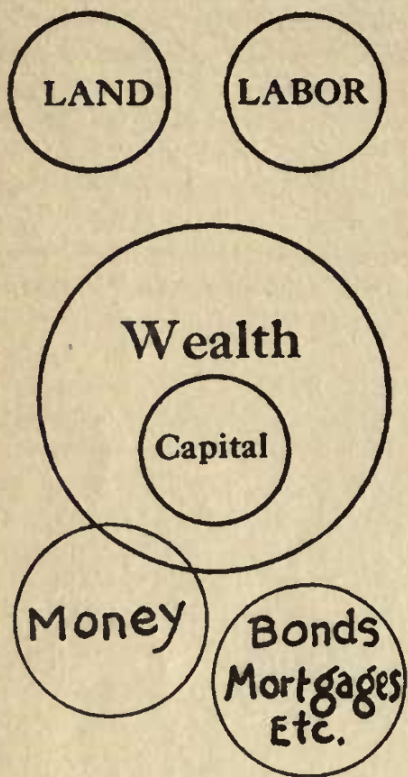
"The chemist can work better if he has a picture of what he is working with . . . . Now one of the men who worried over this benzol puzzle was the German chemist, Kekulé. One evening after working over the problem all day he was sitting by the fire trying to rest, but he could not throw it off his mind. The carbon and the hydrogen atoms danced like imps on the carpet and as he watched them through his half closed eyes he suddenly saw that the chain of six carbon atoms had joined at the ends and formed a ring while six hydrogen atoms were holding on to the outside hands. . . . Professor Kekulé saw at once that the demons of his subconscious self had furnished him with a clue to the labyrinth, and so it proved. We need not suppose that the benzol (or benzene) molecule if we could see it would look anything like the diagram of it, but the theory works and that is all that the scientist asks of any theory."\*

Now the point I want to emphasize is this, that the methods of such sciences as chemistry and mathematics are legitimate methods for us to use in the science of Politi-

\*Creative Chemistry, by Edwin E. Slosson, pp. 65-7. Pub. The Century Co. 1920. See also Sir Oliver Lodge, Reason and Belief, Part 3, Chapter 2.

cal Economy. If the picture method, the use of diagrams, can aid the Chemist and the Mathematician it can also be made to aid us in Single Tax, which is the daughter of Political Economy.

Following this lead I submit these circle diagrams (No. 1.) Here we have in half a dozen words Chapter 2 of Book 1 of "Progress and Poverty." And we can call this the parting of the ways between Socialism and Single Tax. Our first difference with the Socialist is on the meanings of the words employed in the argument, and naturally we differ more and more in the conclusions. As Henry George said: "The swifter a runner who once misses his way the further he leaves it behind."

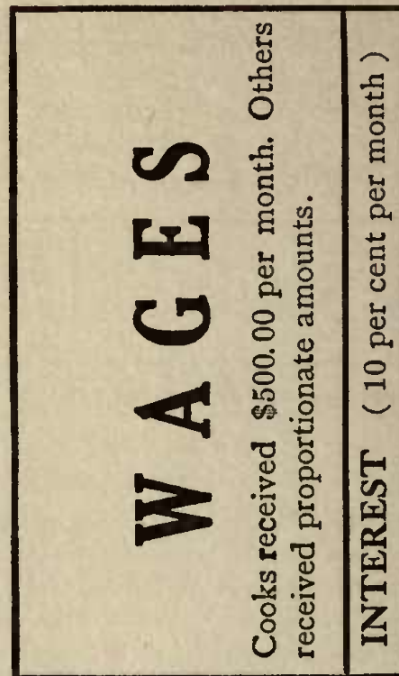


No. 1

One circle includes all land—the natural universe outside of man himself; the next circle includes all human exertion: the larger circle below includes all wealth—all substances that have been modified by human exertion to fit them for the gratification of human desire: the circle wholly included within the circle 'wealth' is capital which is wealth devoted to the production of more wealth: the circle lapping onto the 'wealth' circle is money. This diagram therefore shows us instantly and with absolute certainty that land is not wealth: labor is not wealth; your education is not wealth nor its return interest: all capital is wealth, but all wealth is not capital: no money is capital; paper money is not wealth (except possibly to the value of about 25¢ per hundred pounds as old paper); metal money is wealth, according to its intrinsic value, but as metal, not money.

The rectangle diagrams show the distribution, or better, the division of wealth as produced by labor using capital on land.

The first rectangle marked No. 2 shows the distribution of wealth where land was free from private monopoly. When gold was discovered in California in '49 the miners staked free land and paid no tribute to landlords. Therefore all that they produced was merely wages and interest. There was no rent in those days. There was no exchange value to land since a man could only have



Charles LeBaron Goeller, 1916.

California in '49.

No. 2

a "claim" which he must work. And to quote Henry George: "It is (the) capacity of yielding rent which gives value to land. Until its ownership will confer some advantage, land has no value."\*

Diagram No. 3 shows the distribution or division of wealth under the present economic regime where land is treated as private property (like wealth) and there is an economic value to land, and land is monopolized, and people speculate in prospective increase in the value of land. The main thing I wish to point out with this diagram is the three forms of rent, for here there is considerable confusion. One form of rent, that termed economic rent is true rent, but the other forms of rent are pseudo rent or false rent. Monopoly rent arises through the monopoly of land and may exist where there is no economic or true rent, and speculative rent arises from the speculation in the probable increase in land values in the future.

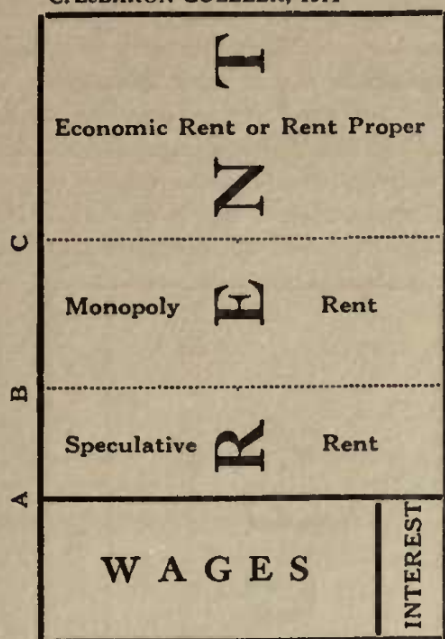
This diagram also shows a fall-down in Socialistic theory. Monopoly rent and speculative rent are a rob-

\*Progress and Poverty, Bk. 3, Chap. 2, par. 3.



The Distribution of Wealth

C. LeBARON GOELLER, 1911

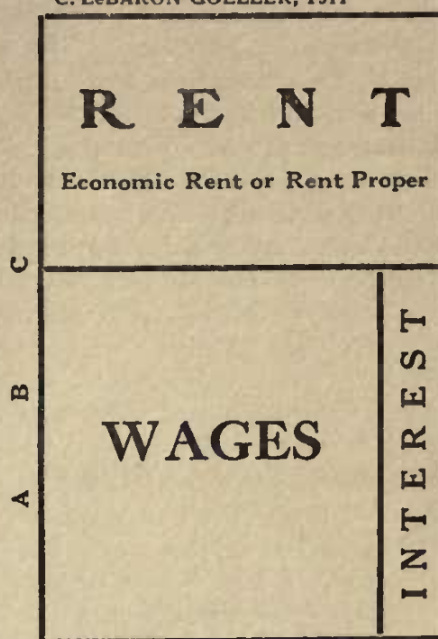


Under present economic regime

No. 3

The Distribution of Wealth

C. LeBARON GOELLER, 1911



Under Single Tax System

No. 4

bery of labor. Under natural conditions, or as we would say, under the Single Tax system, what now goes to land-owners as monopoly and speculative rent would go to the workers as wages (salary, etc., etc.) Karl Marx clearly saw that labor was being robbed. Every socialist sees that. But the place where Marx fell down, intelligent man though he was—we do not discount his intelligence—was that he was not a truly scientific man, and while he saw a plain phenomenon he could not properly place it or classify it. And in science it is not enough to see a thing, or call it by a name—"Surplus produce"—but that phenomenon of nature must be properly classified in order to arrive at the truth. Henry George therefore owes his superiority over Marx to the fact that he, acting with the instinct of the true scientist, properly classified this "Surplus Product," this wealth of which labor is being robbed every minute of the day, as RENT—Monopoly and Speculative rent. And when the land-owner receives any of the economic rent, that constitutes a robbery of the State, or the people as a body. And then we tax labor and the products of labor to run the State.

The last diagram, No. 4, shows the distribution of wealth under the natural order, or more familiarly, under Single Tax. Since there could be no monopoly of land there could be no Monopoly Rent, and necessarily there could be no speculation in rent. Economic rent would be collected from land users to defray the cost of government.

Between the last two diagrams it is worth while to note that as Monopoly and Speculative rent disappeared to reappear as wages, true or Economic rent could rise with

the decrease of rent as a whole, making the strange anomaly of a rise and fall of rent at the same time—the answer being that the rent that fell and disappeared was a pseudo rent and was the wages of which the workers had been defrauded.

Here is the place where Thomas G. Shearman fell down and considerably weakened our argument. And if such a writer fell, who of us may not stumble? But Mr. Shearman was a lawyer and not a scientist—explanation enough. Mr. Shearman said that rent (meaning the total rent of diagram 3) was so enormous that it would be vastly more than the State could use. He estimated that approximately only half of this (total) rent would be needed to run the government. Therefore he concluded that the other half would remain in the hands of the land owners and the latter would not be so hard hit as is ordinarily expressed by Single Taxers. But since the ultimate goal of the Single Tax system is to raise wages to the full earnings of the workers no such argument to the workers could be very effective. How, under his argument could we promise the worker that we would double, or treble, or quadruple his wages?\* Here is merely an illustration of the fact that "The chemist (or other scientist) can work better if he has a picture of what he is working with." I maintain that every last cent of ground rent should be taken by the community because the community made it and it belongs to the community. But we say that we will leave a percentage in the landlord's hands so that he will in truth be the ground-rent tax collector. There-

\*Progress and Poverty Bk. 3, Chap. 3, Par. 3.

fore, it will readily be seen that what is left in his hands immediately becomes wages for collecting the ground-rent along with the house-rent which is truly only interest. The category is changed instantly and all of the ground rent is collected by the community.

No wonder the chemist and the mathematician, and the architect and the astronomer like diagrams.

I shall briefly recount a little story that vividly illustrates the relation that theory bears to practice. I read the story while I was quite young partly because I was intensely interested in astronomy, and later because it well illustrated "useless study." The story is "Thornton's Useless Study."\*

Thornton Seabury was a lad of about eighteen years who had become a very competent astronomer and mathematician simply because he had a great liking for the subjects. His father suddenly lost his job in the village where they lived on the seashore in the State of Maine. The father finally secured a job in New York City but the cost of moving would have been a staggering blow to his finances. It happened that a friend, the captain of a small schooner was about to depart for New York in ballast, so he offered Mr. Seabury the cheapest kind of transportation, charging only for the meals. The first night out the captain came on deck with his sextant when young Thornton asked him if he was going to take Jupiter for latitude. The captain was more than surprised at the boy and asked him what he knew about such things and the boy replied that he knew that Jupiter would be on the meridian at 8.32 that night. The captain had been told of Thornton's useless study but began to think it was not quite so useless as it seemed. Later the next day Thornton told his mother that a storm was coming. His mother replied that the Captain had not said so. Thornton replied that he had been watching the barometer and it had been falling rapidly. The wind had veered from west to south-east. Then the captain shortened sail and changed his course to the eastward to avoid being blown onto a lee shore. The storm came on with great fury and drove the schooner before the wind the rest of the day and all night. That night at the height of the storm a block fell from the rigging severely injuring the captain who was brought to the cabin unconscious. The sailors continued to fight the storm and safely pulled through till the storm broke next morning.

Then the mate approached Mr. Seabury and declared that he didn't know what to do since the captain was out of commission. He said that he could sail the boat all right but he didn't know which way to sail—he could sail but he could not navigate the boat. Then Thornton asked permission to speak and told them that while he could not sail the boat, in fact didn't know one sail from the other, he could navigate the boat into New York harbor. The captain had regained consciousness so the

problem was taken to him. He asked the boy what he proposed to do. He replied that he would find the schooner's position by astronomical cross-bearings,—Sumner's method,—and the captain declared that the boy knew more about navigation than he did. Thornton ordered the boat hove to for two hours and took his sightings with the sextant. Then he worked out his problem which was merely applied astronomy. The captain agreed that his reckoning was likely right and then pointed out the dangerous reef and shoals and indicated the course on the chart. Then Thornton went on deck and told the mate which way to steer. The sailors couldn't figure out how a boy who was not even a sailor could navigate a ship but the reckoning proved true and the boat entered New York Harbor after three days.

The analogy here given is, I think, fairly clear. The schooner is the Ship of State. The sailors are the politicians. The boy astronomer is the political economist. The navigator is the Single Taxer.

The Ship of State is managed by politicians. They are fairly efficient as far as manipulation of men and money goes. The men of both the Republican and Democratic parties are shrewd in getting votes and mere management of mundane affairs. But the politicians don't know the first thing about navigating the Ship of State, and we are safe in saying that if these shrewd politicians don't soon learn something about navigating the various Ships, in Europe as well as America, there are going to be some wrecks piled up. Several of the Ships went through a hurricane from 1914 to 1918 and all history testifies that there wasn't a competent navigator (statesman) among them. People may wonder how a boy, as the story went, could dictate to the sailors how to navigate and save the ship. People may wonder how a Political Economist like Henry George can dictate to politicians like McKinley, or Roosevelt, Wilson, Harding or Coolidge. People have failed to realize that the politicians don't know the first thing about navigating the Ship of State—they only know how to sail her.

Political Economy is to the social life of mankind what Astronomy is to the maritime world. What we call Single Tax is but applied Political Economy and is by analogy, the art of navigation for the Ship of State.

As the hope of the ocean greyhound lies in the knowledge gained first in astronomy and then applied in navigation, so the hope of the Ship of State lies in the knowledge of the science of Political Economy applied in the manner termed Single Tax.

Truly may it be said that "in our most theoretical moods we may be nearest to our most practical applications."

READ ADVERTISEMENTS OF PAMPHLETS

ON LAST PAGE OF COVER

\*Harper's Round Table, 1895, p. 572.

## The Single Tax as a Moral Question

ADDRESS OF REV. A. W. LITTLEFIELD AT THE HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS, SEPT. 14, 1927

MY first interest in Land Reform was aroused during a summer spent in England, 1906. Immediately, I began the reading of "Progress and Poverty." The profoundest appeal of Henry George to me was his intense spirituality and moral fervor. The studies of many years convince me that no reform can succeed unless spirituality and morality be at the heart of it. Certain it is that Mr. George's spirit, together with his engaging personality and ethical insight, drew to him devoted friends and disciples. Since his death these qualities have been somewhat obscured by the necessary development, in detail, of his ideals. Is it not time to re-emphasize his spirit among us? We know his message; we are faithfully active in giving increasing dissemination of that message. But why not reinvigorate and reawake in us, today, his spirit and moral qualities? I believe we need to do so. More love and reverence and fidelity to the "power greater than ourselves that makes for righteousness," a sterner insistence upon the application of the moral law is needed, to bring to fuller fruition the gospel of Henry George! However highly evolved the mechanism for promulgating the principles and practise of Land Reform, the primary motive power to keep the engine in operation must never be neglected.

For myself, after twenty-four years of effort in this reform along the pathway pointed out by Henry George, I have come to lay chief emphasis upon the eighth commandment: "Thou shalt not steal!" For it is well nigh the crux of all the commandments; covetousness, false witness, adultery, murder, trampling upon the sanctities of home and sacred institutions, as well as disrespect for Divine Authority, are all species of theft.

Specifically in the matter of taxation, under our present laws, robbery by "process of law" is prevalent. We commit double robbery:—the community robs the private individual of his labor-values; the private individual robs the community of its economic rent of land. Wealth belongs to its creator,—labor values to the laborer, economic rent to the community. Economic rent should be used to meet the public expenses, without levying upon private earnings to meet governmental expenses, as is now the practice. Let us say to the community, with all the moral emphasis of Henry George, Thou shalt not steal private wealth by "process of law" (taxation); to the land speculator, Thou shalt not steal by permission of law (permission to absorb economic rent) the economic rent of the community! When these principles are put into practice, land reform will no longer be necessary.

The time has arrived, I believe, when another great principle must be established: namely, create a Liturgy of Land Reform.

No great and vital truth has ever yet been given creative power unless embodied,—incarnated,—in tangible form, i.e. truth set forth in forms of beauty, looking to righteousness in action. "The good, the true, the beautiful," was the thought of the Greek; or, reversing it, "The True, The Beautiful, The Good." For our purposes, the truths taught by Henry George, the liturgical beauty of those truths, and the moral goodness derived therefrom.

These principles are eternal law, necessary for the full manifestation of the powers of the human soul,—"The Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth." "The spirit without a body is a ghost; the body without a soul is a corpse." "All good things are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul."

Thus far, the message of Henry George, as disseminated by the majority of his disciples, has not been fully incarnated; when it shall have been embodied as truth incarnated in beauty inspiring to righteousness of action, then it will shine among men, filled with grace, persuasiveness, and divine loveliness, irresistibly drawing most men unto it! Through the heart to the head out into the hand,—this is the immutable order. Such would the Liturgy of Land Reform accomplish, in my judgment. Time and again, in human history, such a marvel has been wrought! Luther declared, "The Reformation was far more sung into the hearts of the German people than preached into them." The Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth consolidated the reformation in England; the Liturgy of Lutheranism had its mighty effect; the Missal of Roman Catholicism gathered, and now holds, the devotees of that great church as nothing other could; after the death of Jesus, the little free communions,—which, by the way, as Renan says, "presented faultless models,"—gathered in his name, established liturgies embodying the teaching and visions of their master, especially that group of liturgies known as the Liturgies of St. John, giving form and tangible content to the spirit of their beloved Friend; in Palestine, in Egypt, Babylon, and the Far East, great truths all had liturgical incarnation. It is the law of the soul, underlying all Art, that gives rise to vital expression of truth, in all Ages. Most collective movements of our day have established liturgies embodying their ideals and purposes as the chief means of disseminating them. It is worthy of note, as an impressive instance, that the only agricultural organization, since the Civil War, that has survived is the Grange,—Patrons of Husbandry,—established to "educate and elevate the American farmer." Its ideals are elaborately set forth in its ritual, without which the order would have become extinct long ago. All of us know that the many fraternal orders cohere and live because of their rituals, especially,

the Masonic Order; probably it would have vanished long since but for the fact that it embodied its principles in enduring form, devotedly revered, the world over, by all Masons.

I recommend, therefore, that all of us who are working for Land Reform, under the inspiration and leadership of Henry George,—especially, since the formation of the "Henry George Foundation of America,"—gather our ideals and aspirations and missionary spirit into a Liturgy to be known as the "Henry George Memorial Mission." Peace through Justice based upon Land Reform, to be its object. The universal and the particular,—Peace and Land Reform,—thus become logically and vitally correlated, giving noble purpose to Land Reform, eventuating in Peace; this was precisely Henry George's vision, "Peace on earth among men of good-will." Also, it was that of the Christ and his disciples.

This Liturgy should consist of Biblical and other ancient passages bearing upon the endeavor, with corresponding readings from "Progress and Poverty," associated with beautiful hymns and other sublime utterances,—poetry and noble prose,—accompanied by an address upon the progressive development of the great Cause of Peace on earth through Justice based on Land Reform. "Pax vobiscum," the early Christians saluted each other; so may we, also! I further suggest that the "Henry George Foundation" take steps toward the official formation of such a Liturgy.

Speaking for myself, only, I intend to make a draft of such a plan; and, if opportunity offers, to take it, sometime, to the nearest city, and hold just such a service, using the liturgy prepared, with local Single Taxers, or more appropriately, Georgists of my acquaintance. In any event, I hope to submit a draft to the authorities of the Foundation for their consideration.

This liturgical incarnation of the spirit and teachings of Henry George I conceive to be the best available "next step" in organized dissemination of our ideals; and I believe that we should make it a lasting memorial to our prophet. In time, we should come to love such a form, and find ourselves at home wherever such meetings might be held. There would be little of the confusion of controversy connected with it, but a tremendous emphasis upon mighty, universal truths. In my judgment, it would accomplish just what such methods have always effected, the world over. Even singing together some great hymn would attract thousands, where "literature" necessarily only reaches hundreds; for, after the *inspiration* would come the *desire* for reading and information. To conduct such services would not require ordained clergymen; we know men and women among us gifted in such possibilities. "Wherever two or three are gathered together," in Henry George's name, there would be his spirit and message for human welfare among them; as of old it has

always been and always will be among those who seek the liberation of their fellow beings!

Shall we not try this suggestion? And go forth to the "Father's Work" with the same proclamation as animated prophets and the Christ and all Missioners of the Word of Life and Light in all Ages:—"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord!"

Then may come to pass the still more ancient, yet ever living vision of Micah:—"In the last days it shall come to pass that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and people shall flow unto it."

And many nations shall come and say, Come let us go up to the mountains of the Lord, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths. And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid.

For the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it."

The "bold creators of the ancient Ages" wrought mightily in their day. Shall we not likewise build anew the foundations and the temple of Peace and Justice in our time?

## A Puzzled Editor

SOME kind but anonymous friend has sent this column an article from a publication called LAND AND FREEDOM. The composition is entitled *Natural Law in the Economic World*, and it tells how happy all of us would be if we had free access to the land. It so happened that *State Press* owns a small piece of land to which he has free access, as he understands it, but he doesn't care to utilize his privilege. And if it would make anybody happy, he will give the unhappy one free access to said land. All the accessee would have to do to be joyful would be to clear the timber off the ground, plant crops and be happy. The actual owner would require nothing of him but remuneration to an amount equal to the taxes the occupant would have to pay if land alone were taxed. That is what is demanded by those who insist that free access to the land could be had by taking the taxes off everything else and putting the whole burden on "ground values." In that case S. P.'s land ought to fetch him ten or fifteen dollars an acre annually, instead of nothing. Nothing is what he now gets, and if there are as many land-hungry people as the Single Taxers assert, some land hungerer can get an awfully good trade out of this proprietor.—*State Press in Dallas Morning News.*

## The Land Question in Politics

ADDRESS OF GEORGE L. RECORD AT HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS, SEPTEMBER 12, 1927.

THE ultimate triumph of the Single Tax must come about through a change in the law. A change in the law requires political action, and political action requires a certain measure of public education upon the merits of policies.

Propaganda on behalf of the principle, is therefore always in order, and in educating the public by the methods of propaganda it is wise to put forward the full Single Tax but when our cause reaches the political stage other methods must be adopted.

Political action in the beginning is always in the nature of a compromise. But a compromise measure is always worth supporting provided it arouses discussion, and embodies a partial application of the principle.

In the case of slavery the abolitionists were the pioneers in educating the public mind to the immorality of the institution. Their efforts finally brought the subject into the arena of politics. At this stage the pioneer agitators like Garrison and Phillips, whose labors had created the public opinion which forced the question into politics, were unable to afford the kind of leadership that is necessary when the cause passes from the propaganda to the political stage.

Lincoln and the early leaders of the Republican party made no attempt to commit the party to the immediate abolition of slavery, but contented themselves with a declaration that slavery should be confined to the states where it then existed, and should be prohibited from being extended into any other states, or into territories out of which the new states were to be carved.

This course utterly disgusted the anti-slavery leaders, who attributed the modified platform to political cowardice and indulged in some very violent vituperative language about Mr. Lincoln. Lincoln saw that the discussion of restricting slavery to the South must necessarily educate the public upon the immorality of slavery itself, and that in due time when the people were so educated conditions would be ripe for the next political step towards the ultimate abolition of slavery in the South. By this political strategy the Republican leaders attracted a very much larger following than they could have obtained if in the beginning they had stood for the immediate abolition of slavery in the South.

It is probable that we are on the eve of a breakup in the party politics of this country. There are no major issues on which the great parties are divided. The Republican party represents privilege, and the Democratic party would like to do so. The recent attempts to start a new party failed because no fundamental programme was offered.

We should strive to formulate a programme which has political possibilities, and at the same time will carry enough of our idea to insure its discussion.

Such a political programme should have for its central principle the abolition of special privilege, enjoyed by the so-called trusts, especially those enjoying access to raw materials denied to competitors. The Anthracite Coal Trust built up and maintains its control of that trade by two special privileges denied to competitors. It controls all the railroads leading into the coal fields, and discriminates in rates and service against its competitors.

It has also acquired practically all the land containing anthracite coal. The most of this land is not used, and will not be needed for at least a generation to come. It was acquired for the sole purpose of preventing its development by competitors of the trust.

This is the cleanest and most easily understood example of monopoly based in part upon ownership of land that we have in America. Nobody dares defend it. The Interstate Commerce Commission and the United States Supreme Court have denounced it as illegal and immoral.

The same condition exists in the case of the United States Steel Corporation, which maintains its control of the market in large part by the ownership or control of large quantities of the best coal and iron deposits suitable for steel making, which have been acquired for the sole purpose of preventing competition.

The Standard Oil Company controls the oil market, mainly by the ownership of the main oil pipe lines.

Regulation having failed for forty years to control or curb the trusts, it is probable that the next great political issue will turn upon some new method of solving this trust or monopoly problem. The obvious and only remedy apart from socialism is to restore competition in these markets. This requires that all competitors should be afforded equality of opportunity in access to raw materials and equality of service in transportation. This result can only be obtained in the field of transportation by the government ownership and operation of the railroads and oil pipe lines.

The Single Tax would secure equality of opportunity in access to raw materials. But the introduction of the Single Tax confuses the issue because it embraces more than the immediate trust question, and it is very difficult to get the public mind focused upon taxation.

A much simpler plan is an act of Congress providing for the condemnation by the government of a quantity of anthracite coal lands now held out of use, and leasing the same to competitors of the coal trust, upon moderate royalties conditioned upon forfeiture for non-users.

If it is advisable to include the trusts which are based upon patents, which I think ought not to be done from motives of expediency; the plain remedy is an act of Congress providing that all patents be open to public use upon

paying to the patentee a moderate royalty fixed by the government.

This makes a simple, feasible and easily understood plan of fighting those trusts, which is admirably adapted to political action.

Henry George compared the trust problem to a lot of little robbers, in a row, each taking his toll, with the land owner as the big robber at the end of the line, who took all that the little robbers left, and therefore recommended that we first attack the big robber, the private ownership of land. This is sound advice for propaganda, but it is unwise politically. Our politics are controlled by the trusts, the little robbers, who have perfected a powerful organization to that end. The land robbers have no organization, no lobbies, and no political power. But as long as the powerful organization of the little robbers control our politics we will be represented in Congress and state legislatures and in executive offices by men who will not allow the land question, or any other similar question, to be acted upon, or even discussed.

Our job then is to get into public life men who will be willing to at least consider and discuss the land question. The easiest way to do this is not to run a Single Tax party, or to try to publicly commit candidates to the Single Tax; but rather to induce an existing party, or a new party, and its candidates, to adopt the plan of attacking the principal trusts of the country by the measures to restore competition which I have suggested. Any candidate elected to office upon that platform would be entirely beyond the control of the trusts, and would at least be open minded, and probably sympathetic towards our ultimate remedy. In the meantime the proposition that a trust must not be allowed to own all the raw material necessary to supply a market, brings the whole land question into discussion, exactly as the political proposition to limit slavery to the slave states compelled the discussion of the question of the morality and expediency of slavery everywhere.

## In An Inspired Moment

THE burden of municipal taxation should be so shifted as to put the weight of land taxation upon the unearned rise in the value of land itself rather than upon the improvements.

—THEODORE ROOSEVELT in the *Century* for October, 1913.

ALL the country needs is a new and sincere thought in politics, coherently, distinctly, and boldly uttered by men who are sure of their ground. *The power of men like Henry George seems to me to mean that*; and why should not men who have sane purposes avail themselves of this thirst and enthusiasm for better, higher, more hopeful purposes in politics than either of the moribund parties can give."

—WOODROW WILSON.

## What Henry George Proposed

HAVING found the economic answer to the riddle of the Sphinx—"Why does poverty persist with progress?"—having found it rooted in land monopoly (whether feudalistic, or capitalistic in form would make no essential difference), Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" proposes the obvious remedy. It is to abolish land monopoly.

But as a practical proposal, abolition of land monopoly would have been altogether too vague. Few there are who would not assent cordially to it in the abstract, yet assail it uncompromisingly in almost any particular application. So "Progress and Poverty" stated the remedy in particular form. Whenever society has advanced very far beyond primitive conditions the institution of private ownership of land gives advantages to land-*owning* interests and imposes corresponding disadvantages upon land-*using* interests. Therefore whenever advanced social conditions exist, as in our civilization they do, private monopoly of land and private ownership of land are virtually the same. "Land monopoly" is the indefinite abstract term for what "land ownership" definitely expresses. Accordingly "Progress and Poverty" proposed to make land common property.

There was nothing novel in this proposal. From the day of Roman Cornelia's "jewels" down to Henry George's time, from the revolt of Moses in Egypt to the experiments of Owen in the United States, the doctrine of communism in land had been advocated in varied settings and practiced in numerous utopian ways. But this ancient remedy for involuntary poverty, this fundamental suggestion for an orderly social state, is discussed and defended in "Progress and Poverty" with unexampled thoroughness. Its expediency, its efficacy, its conformity to the natural laws of social life, its harmony with the moral law of justice, are there disclosed with a brilliancy of rhetoric, a richness of diction, a novelty and charm of style, a power of popular appeal, a cogency of argument, an abundance of apt illustration, and a resistless marshalling of the facts that count, which surpass every effort ever before brought to the service of the old doctrine that society must in some way make land common property.

But the way? Secondary though this problem is, the long history of disappointing colony experiments in land communism prove it to be vital. So the secondary problem too is discussed in "Progress and Poverty," and its solution demonstrated.

The result is a practical method for making land common property in effect, without assumption of titles, or revolutionary disturbance, or a risk of reaction, or any extension of the functions of government, or any dubious and dangerous experimentation. To quote from the volume itself,\*

\*"Progress and Poverty," book viii, chapter ii.

it seemed to its author that "we should satisfy the law of justice, we should meet all economic requirements, by at one stroke abolishing all private titles, declaring all land public property, and letting it out to the highest bidders in lots to suit, under such conditions as would sacredly guard the private right to improvements." Henry George thought that we should thereby "secure, in a more complex state of society, the same equality of rights that in a ruder state were secured by equal partitions of the soil." He believed that by thus "giving the use of the land to whoever could procure the most from it, we should secure the greatest production." And he held this leasing method to be "perfectly feasible."

But he did not think it in all respects as good a method as the one he had to propose. To him it seemed that the restoration of the land itself "would involve a needless shock to present customs and habits of thought, which is to be avoided;" and "would involve a needless extension of governmental machinery, which is to be avoided." For "it is an axiom of statesmanship," he wrote, "which the successful founders of tyranny have understood and acted upon, that great changes can best be brought about under old forms;" and "we, who would free men, should heed the same truth."

He therefore proposed, not to confiscate land but "to confiscate\*rent."

Inasmuch as we already take some land rent in taxation, he proposed the slight administrative changes in our taxing methods that would be necessary to take it all in that way—thus leaving land-owning interests in possession, but taxed approximately the full amount of the ground rent they get or might get from land-using interests.

Yet the immediate practical proposal of "Progress and Poverty" fell short of that; it was merely to "abolish all taxation save that upon land values."

This, however, was a proposal to begin with, not to end with. To abolish all taxation save that upon land values is just, as a mere fiscal measure, and as a fiscal measure it is also sound scientifically. A just and expedient reform in taxation, it can be advocated and adopted simply as such without reference to its effect on land monopoly; and to the full extent of the formula, or in lesser degree, according to political opportunity and other circumstances. The rest would be only a matter of keeping on. In that character, then, "Progress and Poverty" puts the fiscal formula forth, and expounds and defends it.

\*This use of the word "confiscate" has afforded opportunity for some superficial criticism. Since the word has disagreeable connotations in common use, a better one for the purpose might possibly have been chosen. But it is doubtful if any other would have been as appropriate in denotation. This word comes from the same root as "fiscal," and alludes to public revenues. Its unpleasant significance is due to historical seizures of private property for public revenues unjustly, or by way of penalty. But Henry George's proposal is to turn ground rent regularly into the public treasury, not as a penalty nor an aggression, but because that is where ground rent justly belongs.

But in itself this formula, though so fully carried out as to take public revenues from land values alone, might in the long run be of no effect in abolishing involuntary poverty with social progress. Precisely as increase of population, industrial inventions, governmental efficiency and economy, and other modes of social progress tend to increase the wealth of land-owning interests without increasing that of land-using interests, so would land value taxation, if levied so lightly as to leave a large and widening margin between land value taxes and land values. Not at first, indeed, might it do so in fact; but the tendency would become manifest increasingly if land tax exactions were to remain far below ground rent possibilities.

While, then, "Progress and Poverty" proposes the substitution for all other taxation of a single tax on land values, advocating it on its merits as a tax reform, the author did not allow the book to stop with that proposal. His practical plan was designed to be progressive. It contemplates any step, however timid, for the reduction of taxes on industrial processes, and increasing them on land monopoly. But only as a beginning. This is but a means to an end, the end being the extreme of abolishing approximately all profit in land-owning as distinguished from land-using.

Since the taxation of land values "must necessarily be increased just as we abolish other taxes," says "Progress and Poverty," we set out practically with the proposal to "abolish all taxation save that upon land values," leaving the extension of the system to the future. For, the argument continues, "when the common right to land is so far appreciated that all taxes are abolished save those which fall upon rent, there is no danger of much more than is necessary to induce them to collect the public revenues, being left to individual landholders."

It was with reference to this initial proposal in practical statesmanship for recovery of "the land for the people," this proposal that "all taxation save that upon land values" be abolished, that the words Single Tax grew into use in the English-speaking world. In Great Britain the name is now nearly superseded by Taxation of Land Values. Neither name may bear a very rigid logical test, or close etymological inspection. The former came into vogue without design, and the latter gained strength from the quite peculiar relations of the British taxes to British land values. But names of social movements, like names of persons, are seldom very accurate in description. Nor need they be. Their function is not so much to describe, as conveniently to identify. Whatever be the name of a cause, it will be cherished affectionately by friends of the cause and be scorned by its enemies; and substitutions of names will not weaken the affection of the one nor turn the scorn of the other aside.

Be the name "Single Tax," then, or "Taxation of Land Values," it will serve well enough, as long as it "sticks" (which is the sole test of appropriateness in a name), just as other names have served and others may hereafter, to

distinguish that forward movement, "back to the land," for which "Progress and Poverty" maps out the way.

September, 1927

LOUIS F. POST.

## Carl Marfels

A RECENT visitor to this country is Carl Marfels who lives in a suburb of Heidelberg and is noted in Germany first as a famous maker and collector of watches. A book recently published in Germany incidentally describes him as a man of letters and an ardent social reformer. He was for many years vice president of the German Land Reform League.

He brings with him what the *Frankfurter Zeitung* describes as "a fairy-like collection of precious watches; old specimens in odd shapes, some of them of highly decorative charm, enamelled watches of Louis III period, some of them of highly decorative charm."

Mr. Marfels' greatest treasure is a famous Gothic clock which was owned by Duke Philip the Good, of Burgundy, made in 1430, and perhaps the oldest clock in the world. The timepiece is said to be a glorious specimen of Gothic art. A whole literature has been written around it. It is rated by connoisseurs as second only to the so-called Golden Horse of Old Oetting in Bavaria, a work of the same period which was established before the War, to be worth more than a million dollars.

There lies before us a little pamphlet of 16 pages by Carl Marfels published in Germany, *Die wahre Ursache der Arbeitslosigkeit und der Wirtschaftskrisen*. The True Cause of Unemployment and the Business Crisis.

Here is a translation of parts of this pamphlet. Mr. Marfels begins:

In the manifold discussions, in the press and in industrial society meetings, anent the current industrial crisis, I constantly miss any references to the paradoxical condition, that we have millions of part workers and unemployed, i.e. millions of people who wish to produce goods (subsistence products and other values), but who find no opportunities for employment, although they themselves and many others suffer poverty and destitution, for the want of just these products of labor. This fact is the more incomprehensible because labor means directly the production of wealth. This is true not only of those whose labor directly produces goods (materials, wealth) but also of the tradesmen and their employes, etc.

\* \* \* \* \*

I am also continually surprised by the argument that because stocks do not sell readily that the existing stagnation is due to overproduction. As if ever too much could be produced! Truly if all the necessities of life, clothing, underwear, shoes, watches and other objects of daily use could be produced by those who need them, there would be no overfilled stocks, but only empty shelves.

\* \* \* \* \*

The primary question, pushing aside all other problems, is therefore this: Why is it that millions of people anxious to work, cannot find employment, therefore no opportunity to produce the necessities of subsistence,

although they themselves and other millions of people suffer for want of these products, and although this latter class do not want these necessities gratis, but are willing to exchange the products of their own labor for them. In other words, why cannot demand and supply meet each other? And why is it that labor, which produces these values—and although its yield through technical progress has grown enormously—must be satisfied with remuneration which, compared with wheat (cereals) and other food stuffs, is much less than in the 15th century, and hardly suffices to keep alive.

All answers to the problem of the cause of industrial crises, that do not take this fundamental condition into consideration, cannot be accepted as a solution of the great economic problem under which all civilized countries suffer; and if the problem is not solved these countries will be driven to bolshevism and to chaos.

I will endeavor to give an answer to the suggested questions:

If we assume, for example, that a hundred people through shipwreck are stranded on an uninhabited but fruitful island, we will not for a moment doubt that they, although they saved nothing but their bare lives, will find means to subsist. Why would these helpless people, deprived of all the convenience of modern civilization, succeed in providing for their material wants, while their fellowmen in the midst of civilization fail in the same endeavor and often perish from want and woe?

The answer of necessity must be: Because on their island they have access to the fountain of life, mother earth, but lack this in cultivated lands. And why? Because the land has all been apportioned, because everywhere there is an owner who demands more from the willing worker than the land can produce.

Returning to the assumed island, it will afford us in camera a true picture of the progress which mankind at large has covered. When the shipwrecked recognize the advantage of labor division, one will hunt, another fish, a third will till the soil, the fourth produce the nets for the fisherman, the fifth will make clothing, etc., and each of them will participate equally in the products of the island. If a hare is harder to catch than a fish, then perhaps in trade three fishes must be given for a hare; or if the making of a piece of clothing take as much time and effort as the slaying of five wild ducks, that would be the rate of exchange.

If after a time one of the colonists realizes that by joint work of a number of the workers more production results can be obtained, and offers them the opportunity he will be able to engage them only if the remuneration exceeds what each individually has earned before. This will prove clearly that the worker, under natural conditions, cannot be exploited.

We will now go a step further. An ingenious individual constructs a machine which employing ten men produces a hundred-fold what the ten could produce individually. Can anyone believe that any one of these ten men would yield his independence unless he was offered more for his machine work than he could earn by his own endeavor? This proves also, that the workman under natural conditions, with access to the land, cannot be exploited by machinery, but that the machine must benefit him also, so that increased remuneration on the one hand, and reduced cost of machine made products on the other, will make increased purchase power possible.



All this will change at once, however, if one or more of the colonists assume ownership of the island, and have the power to maintain themselves as owners. Then the worker will have to buy the right to work the land, just by yielding a part of his produce, and then this rental would soon increase through competition continuously and finally only a bare living would remain.

The ownership of the land would mean a complete upheaval of all logic and reason. Labor, which alone produces all value, and which should be crowned with a diadem, would sink to the level of a beggar; it would be obliged to sue with good words for employment, and to accept all conditions demanded by the owner.

\* \* \* \* \*

We frequently have people, who finally realize the importance of the land question, ask "All very good and right, but how shall we change it. You cannot divide (re-apportion) the land." If the solution could be only thus, it would be hopeless. But fortunately there is a simpler solution: The accomplished wrong could be rectified without depriving any owner of his land, simply by abandoning all other taxes and tariffs, and exacting only a *ground rent*, based on the bare land value, for the benefit of the whole community.

## The Late James H. Barry of San Francisco

ONE of the very few remaining friends of Henry George to cross the threshold of the year 1927 has passed over the line of earthly life. His name was James Henry Barry. To the country at large and even in his own city of San Francisco he was best known and most appreciated as the owner and editor of *The San Francisco Star*.

Barry was born at New York in the year 1856, about the time that Henry George was sailing the seas as "a common sailor." When the Barry boy was about three years old his family moved to San Francisco, where Henry George, then a young man of twenty, had already settled down as a printer, the identical trade that Barry was himself to learn, and of which he made a commercial business in 1879—the very year in which Henry George first published "Progress and Poverty." At about this time, when George was somewhat more than forty and Barry about twenty-five, the two progressive typesetters came into personal contact.

Barry's *Star* was one of the first periodicals to advocate public ownership and operation of public service franchises; also equal rights for women, the initiative and referendum, and Henry George's economic principles and policies. In its editorial policy the *Star* was always frank and courageous.

That policy often brought Barry into uncomfortable situations. On one occasion, after he had denounced a well-known local editor for blackmailing schemes, two henchmen of the newspaper met him in the street—probably by design—and one deliberately spat in his face, with the intention undoubtedly of making Barry invol-

untarily reach for his handkerchief—a gesture which could be wilfully misconstrued as reaching for a pistol, and be made an excuse for immediately shooting him down. But Barry, with lightning grasp of the situation and extraordinary self-control, walked calmly forward until beyond his assailant's reach.

Such hostility took another turn in 1890 when Barry's exposure in the *Star* of the corruption of a local judge subjected him to one-sided contempt proceedings. Barry was commanded to apologize. He refused on the ground that he could not conscientiously apologize for telling the truth, whereupon he was sentenced to a five-days' term in jail. He served the sentence, but on the night of his release the largest mass meeting ever held in San Francisco, and attended by all classes of people, demanded a radical amendment of the law regarding contempt of court, a demand which resulted in the adoption of "the Barry law" which deprives California judges of their old power to punish their critics without a jury trial.

Among other services incidental to Barry's journalistic and business activities was his leadership in introducing the eight-hour workday in the printing trade along the Pacific Coast.

In politics Barry was a democratic-Democrat. This was his reason for supporting Bryan for the Presidency, and Wilson as Bryan's choice. Under Wilson he served for eight years as Naval Officer at the Port of San Francisco, resigning in 1921. At about that time he withdrew from his printing establishment and terminated the career of the *San Francisco Star*, which for many years he had edited and for many years had financed out of the earnings of his printing establishment rather than swap its economic and political principles for deceptive advertising.

James H. Barry was a straight man from the ground up. He was devoted to the principles of natural and moral law and to policies in so far as they were hand-maidens of principle. He was a friend of Henry George to the heart's core and Henry George of him. They were Democrats of the same variety, Christians of the same type, and men of like mould.

—LOUIS F. POST.

## Death of Dr. Mary D. Hussey

WE regret to learn of the death of Dr. Mary D. Hussey on October 26 at the age of 74. She had been ill for a long time.

Her work for woman suffrage made her nationally known and her labors in behalf of the Single Tax endeared her to the followers of Henry George everywhere. She was a generous contributor to all Single Tax activities and was a familiar figure at Single Tax gatherings.

For many years she had invited Single Taxers from far and wide to meet at her home, and to them she distributed iris bulbs. Here in her garden, brilliant in colors, she

entertained her visitors, and these gatherings will be long remembered.

She leaves two brothers, Frederick Hussey of East Orange, N. J. and Dr. George Hussey, of Maryville, Tenn. Funeral services were held at the home of her brother at East Orange.

Dr. Hussey left in her will \$5,000 for Single Tax work and appointed as executors of that fund Charlotte O. Schetter, Ami Mali Hicks and Jane E. Marcellus.

## Texas Single Taxers Honor William A. Black

THE seventieth birthday of William A. Black, veteran Single Taxer, former member of the Texas Legislature, and well-known lecturer on taxation and other social and political questions, was made the occasion for a dinner attended by some sixty of his friends and admirers at the Y. M. C. A. building.

E. Guy LeSturgeon, also a former member of the Legislature from Bexar County, presided as toastmaster. Letters were read from Hon. Warren Worth Bailey, former congressman from Pennsylvania; Dana Miller, publisher of LAND AND FREEDOM, New York; Harry H. Willock, Pennsylvania manufacturer; Waldo Wernicke, Los Angeles; Chas. H. Ingersoll, New York; Bolton Hall; Grover B. Foster, Dallas; Roy Bedicheck, Austin, Texas; John Charles Harris, Houston, and 80 others.

Felicitous speeches were delivered by a number of those present, and the climax of the evening came with the presentation to the guest of honor of a well-filled purse as an evidence of the appreciation in which he is held, responses and contributions coming from nearly every State in the Union. The presentation was made by John Fuchs, of New Braunfels, a long time personal and political friend of Mr. Black's.

Mr. Black responded feelingly and urged the reorganization of a club of which he was a leader some years ago for the free discussion of economic, social and political problems. He reviewed the work for Single Tax in Texas, and related a number of instances indicating the growing interest in the science of taxation as it affects business prosperity shown by leaders of what is known as Big Business. He expressed the conviction that the good health and mental vigor he enjoyed would permit his continuing the work of his lifetime for many years.

G. E. Melliff, chairman of the committee calling the meeting, requested that action be taken looking to the organization of an economic club for the study of the "science of making a living," which, as stated by Mr. Black, is all there is to economics. Expressions were heard from all those present showing unanimous sentiment in favor of an organization that would back up the work of Mr. Black and assist in spreading the gospel of social and economic truth.

A committee consisting of Messrs. Melliff, A. W. Hartman, Chas. Trimble and E. G. LeSturgeon was appointed to make arrangements for holding an organization meeting. A. W. Hartman was appointed publicity manager.

## Chicago Single Taxers Welcome Mrs. Bjorner

THE Chicago Single Tax Club held a dinner on October 13th in honor of Mrs. Signe Bjorner attended by about eighty of the faithful. The toastmaster was Joseph I. Murray.

Mr. S. N. Tideman, who has recently returned from a European tour, spoke of "Some Observations of a Single Taxer in Europe," and Mr. C. J. Ewing gave a report of the Henry George Foundation Congress in New York. Chicago Single Taxers are looking forward with pleasant anticipations to the next Congress to be held in their city.

Mrs. Bjorner spoke interestingly on Adult Education and Political Progress with special reference to Denmark and the advance of our cause in that country. The discussion that followed included remarks by Henry H. Hardinge, Henry L. Tideman, Otto Cullman, Emil Jorgenson, Mr. Olcott and others.

Mrs. Tideman reported the organization of a reading club which had been meeting in her home, the club having just completed the reading of "Progress and Poverty," chapter by chapter. This club has already attracted a number of young people.

On October 21 was held the first meeting of the Single Tax Discussion Club—this being formed for the young people, college students, teachers, etc., so that they might develop into speakers for the cause.

Meetings will be held twice a month and it is interesting to report that quite a number of young people have been enrolled, and show increasing interest.

## Speaking Tour of Mrs. Signe Bjorner

SINCE her appearance in New York in September at the Henry George Congress, Mrs. Signe Bjorner, of Copenhagen, Denmark, leader in the Danish League of Justice and editor of a Danish weekly Single Tax paper, has spoken at Single Tax dinners in Chicago and Pittsburgh, being the guest of honor at the recent meeting of the Chicago Single Tax Club and principal speaker at the Memorial Dinner given by the Henry George Foundation in Pittsburgh. While in Pittsburgh she spoke at the Pennsylvania College for Women, and has addressed the students of a number of colleges in the Middle West.

Being in hearty sympathy with the work of the Henry George Foundation, Mrs. Bjorner has consented to fill a number of speaking engagements being arranged by

the Secretary on her western tour. Leaving Chicago on November 20th, Mrs. Bjorner spoke on the 21st before the Kansas City Open Forum, directed by Secretary John L. Jones, and on the 23rd addressed the Woman's Club of Wichita, Kansas, and another audience at the home of Henry Ware Allen, who entertained her on Thanksgiving Day.

Mrs. Bjorner will spend some time on the Pacific Coast, where she will arrive early in December. Friends in western states desiring to make engagements for the popular Danish woman leader are invited to communicate with the Pittsburgh office of the Henry George Foundation, 1306 Berger Building.

## Mark M. Dintenfass Lectures in Hackensack

THE *Bergen* (N. J.) *Evening Record* contains a two column report of an address on Single Tax by Mark M. Dintenfass before the Order of the Round Table at the American Legion Home in Hackensack, N. J. Mr. Dintenfass spoke in part as follows, after which Oscar H. Geiger answered questions:

"Now, ladies and gentlemen, what is the philosophy of Henry George? Its basic principle is to take the full rent of land for public purposes; by this I mean that millions, yes, billions of dollars which are now collected by private individuals (landlords) for the privilege of permitting human beings to live on God's earth, should be collected by the government. In other words, the earth is the birth-right of all men, the rent of the land belongs to the people, and the first duty of the government should be to collect it and use it for public purposes to maintain the government.

"Since it is a fact that the earth was made by God, and that no human being has ever made the earth, and that God created us, and we are creatures of the earth, and that we must live on the earth, and all things come from the earth, and all things go back to the earth, and that God has made no deeds or titles, and that deeds and titles have been made by force, by fraud, by theft, by murder, and by virtue of our family laws, and as the earth is our common heritage, and all have an equal and unalienable right to its use, we want to restore the earth to the people.

"Under the present system approximately 9 per cent. of the people in the United States own and control all the land and the natural resources in our country, and the balance of 91 per cent. are disinherited and virtually are social slaves. Just think of it. Seventy-five per cent. of men who become sixty years of age are dependent for support from others and from charity. Ninety million dollars, fifteen dollars per person, or seventy-five dollars per family per annum is expended annually on charitable relief by public and private agencies in the great and prosperous city of New York.

"It may interest you to know that less than 20 per cent. of the coal mines are being worked, and that 80 per cent. of the anthracite coal mines are held arbitrarily out of use. I am informed that some of these coal lands are assessed as low as \$5 per acre, for taxation purposes, and I doubt whether it can be bought at \$50,000 per acre.

"To solve this problem and end the exorbitant price placed on coal, we must destroy this monopoly; we can do this only by the Government collecting the full annual rent of land for public revenue.

"Henry George's philosophy proposes to free from taxation all buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land; all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes, and every product of labor and intellect, and to collect the economic rent to defray the expense of the Government. This will insure the fullest and best use of all land.

"In cities this would mean more homes, and more places to do business, and lower rents; in rural communities, it would mean the freedom of the farmer from mortgages, and would guarantee him full possession of his entire product at a small land rental. It would prevent the holding of mines idle for the purpose of monopoly, and would immensely increase production, and therefore greatly lower the price of mine products."

## Followers of Henry George

UNDER the above title the *New York Times* reports an interview with Wang Ching Wei, one of the new and younger leaders of the movement for a new China. The correspondent writes:

In the Chinese Nationalist movement he occupies a centrist position, being resolutely opposed to the military control of such leaders as Chiang Kai-shek—now retired—and also to the Communist program. I saw him in the critical days of mid-July when the question was being hotly debated whether the Communists should be allowed to cooperate further with the Kuomintang. Wang was decidedly pro-labor in his utterances and did not hesitate to denounce the unequal treaties, but he indignantly denied that this had anything to do with Communism.

"We are not Communist," he declared. "Look at our program and you can see for yourself. It is true that we have cooperated with Russia, because Russia has helped us. Sun Yat-sen favored cooperation with the Communists provided that the Kuomintang and not the Communists should decide the program of common action. We allowed the Communists to join us; we never joined the Communists.

"I want to assure the American public that the Kuomintang and the Communist Party have come to a parting of the ways."

It was about a week after this statement that the Hankow Government split off from the Communists and the Left Wing Ministers of Labor and Agriculture resigned.

"How does your economic program differ from that of the Communists?" I asked.

"The Communists," he replied, "favor a general nationalization of the land, but the Kuomintang does not wish to go that far. We recognize the abuses of peasant tenantry and propose to remedy the abuses through a compulsory, legal reduction in the rent of land and through Government land-banks, which will lend money to the peasants at a small fraction of the outrageous interest they now pay.

"Sun Yat-sen, as you know, was greatly influenced by your American radical, Henry George, but he was never a Communist. His economic program, *which is ours*, means three things: Henry George's method of assessing land, definite laws against monopoly under private ownership, and Governmental ownership of large public utilities. We propose to realize this program without violence and without confiscation."

As he talked, it was not hard to believe that Wang Ching-wei's power over Chinese audiences is almost hypnotic. His personality is bound to play a large part in the future of the Chinese revolution.

## A Single Tax Colony

UNDER the above title Mr. R. F. Powell gives an interesting account of Fairhope in the August number of the *Review of Reviews*. Mention of this notable article was unavoidably omitted from our Sept.-Oct. issue. The contribution is profusely illustrated. Our readers may profitably consult this article, for Mr. Powell has done his work exceedingly well.

Mr. Powell says: "At Fairhope they teach that the earth is the source of life—the storehouse from which all wealth is drawn; that it is the gift of the Creator to all living beings, and is, therefore, the rightful inheritance of all His children. All men have an equal right to it, without having to buy a piece of it from some fellow creature. The idea is based upon fundamental principles, universally admitted by men of all beliefs, one of which is that "all men have an equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which means that all men have an equal right to the use of land. Fairhope is simply putting these principles into every-day practice."

## Not Quite Brave Enough

SENATOR NORRIS knows, we shall at least credit him with knowing, that as a means to increase and promote international trade a protective tariff is the biggest hoax ever perpetrated in an enlightened age. He knows further, or should know, that at the bottom of every domestic and international ill lies a faulty system of taxation and that the tariff is only one symptom of the tax malady. He knows that the underlying causes of

war are economic and not political and that the land question, which is only another term for the taxation question, is at the bottom of every first class war the last four hundred years.

He knows that there is a radical, fundamental, far-reaching remedy for all these vital troubles and yet in all his long and useful life he has not had the courage to take the stand his conscience we hope has dictated. Instead he has chosen, like Don Quixote, to fence with imaginary foes and in his declining years to admit that he has been able really to do nothing to stem the relentless march of empire in a land which started under the most favorable democratic auspices. He has even chosen to flirt with government ownership knowing that as a remedy for the evils which he has so often warned his countrymen against, the remedy would be infinitely worse than the disease.

We make this criticism of the life work of George W. Norris more in sorrow than in anger. He has been brave, but not quite brave enough. He has convictions, we feel sure he has sound convictions, on the fundamental issue of taxation, but he has never permitted them to impress him deeply enough to move him to the highest manifestations of courage and disinterested service to his country. His life, we gladly admit, has been an inspiration, but it has fallen short of that quality of inspired devotion to a cause which will inscribe men's names among the immortals. And this criticism which applies to him equally applies to other public leaders like Roosevelt and Wilson and La Follette who doubtless saw the light but refused to be guided by its clear, directing rays.

Coshocton (Ohio) *Tribune*.

NO absolute ownership of land is recognized by our law books, except in the Crown. All lands are supposed to be held immediately or mediately of the Crown, though no rent or service may be payable and no grant from the Crown on record.—Sir F. Pollock, "English Land Laws."

## BOOK REVIEW

THE WORLD OF WILLIAM CLISSOLD

By H. G. WELLS

In "A Note Preceding the Title Page," Wells complains that the Public, the Press and the Reviewers persist in the view that the characters in his novels are taken from real life and that the ideas held by them on social questions, etc., are in fact Wells's own opinions. He says that William Clissold is not fashioned after any real person, living or dead, and that his opinions are not the opinions of the author; that William Clissold is a purely fictitious character and that his opinions are those which the author imagines would naturally be the opinions of a man of the heredity, environment and experience attributed to William Clissold.

In form, the book is an autobiography by a "big business" man nearing the end of his days. He outlines his parentage and heredity, his youthful education, takes a very brief survey of the history of the

terrestrial Sphere and the evolution of society from the time the first living cell came into being on the surface of the earth, reviews his glorious, social and industrial experiences, and then sums up his opinions of the world and of the probable trend of social development in the future. He gives his opinions of everything under the sun: religion, sex, industry, finance, politics, war, et al. Despite Wells' protestations to the contrary the reader will inevitably think that Wells is exploiting his own opinions.

These opinions are in all cases interesting, suggestive and stimulating to thought; so far as they involve destructive criticism, most Single Taxers and other radicals will approve them; when he becomes constructive, the case is different.

He seems to contemplate a socialistic organization of society imposed, not by majority rule, nor by government of the proletariat, but imposed, managed and controlled by "Big Business;" and that the impelling motive of "Big Business" will be essentially aesthetic, viz: the pleasure and satisfaction they would get out of seeing social affairs organized and conducted with the same efficiency and elimination of waste which they are inaugurating in their own industries and factories. Such aesthetic impulses are by no means impotent in social affairs; it is conceivable that here and there a Napoleon of Industry may be moved by such impulses—possibly Henry Ford, for instance. But if we contemplate the history of human leadership during some thirty centuries, the conclusion seems inevitable that if hope of further social progress must be based on *general* amenability to such impulses, the prognosis is appalling.

The astonishing thing is that this man, whose creator reviews the most fundamental concepts of life, individual and social, material and spiritual, absolutely fails to advert to the relation of man to the physical universe in which and from which he must live. In view of other ideas put forward, it seems difficult to think that Wells either fears or lacks the capacity to think off the beaten track and bluntly announce his conclusions; nor is it possible to think that he fails to note the land question because it has never come to his attention. No plausible hypothesis suggests itself. Nevertheless, the book is well worth reading as entertainment, or, by the serious student, as a fillip to thought.

—HENRY B. TAWRESEY.

## COMMUNICATIONS

FROM A BRITISH FELLOW WORKER

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:—

I want to say what great pleasure I derived from reading the latest issue of LAND AND FREEDOM. Please accept my hearty compliments and congratulations on this excellent production. You have given us a splendid picture of the Henry George Memorial Congress. To read your accounts is almost to be on the spot and to feel uplifted by the proceedings on that occasion.

London, England.

A. W. MADSEN.

THE ASHEFIELD CAMPAIGN IN NEW SOUTH WALES

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Under separate cover I am posting you copies of the five leaflets which we issued in connection with the recent Ashefield election in N. S. W. These leaflets were supplied at intervals to every house in the electorate, all by volunteers. We had the best meetings and the best team of speakers. All our motor cars were volunteers. We worked very hard on Polling Day, workers hardly taking time to get refreshments. The general popular opinion appeared to be that I would be elected, and yet when the numbers went up I was hopelessly out of it. The result seems strange, and is regarded as a mystery by a large number of people. It seems strange that so many people

should have been so hopelessly at fault. However, we have to take the result as it is.

Sydney, N. S. W.

A. G. HUIE.

MR. POST APPLIES CERTAIN DISTINCTIONS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

So much confusion of thought has arisen among Single Taxers from our use of the phrase "taxation of land values" (ad valorem land values), that a more precise understanding of the essentials of that convenient but incomplete phrase seems desirable. I suggest the following, not as a substitute, but as an explanatory enlargement: The Single Tax is a name for the proposal of Henry George to abolish, as rapidly as possible, though as gradually as necessary, all kinds of taxation of producers and owners of products, and to substitute therefor increasing taxes upon monopolizers of locations on the land according to the annual value of those locations respectively, and approximately up to their value limit.

This means that whoever would derive public incomes from land values is a Single Taxer; but if he would leave land values to land owners if they exceeded the necessities of government he is, as Henry George declared, "a Single Taxer limited." But between "Single Taxers limited" and "Single Taxers unlimited," Henry George declared that there is no important difference so long as public revenues are derived from land values, whether this does or does not leave a surplus for land monopolizers. When that time comes the two types of Single Taxers can separate, one refusing to take virtually all land values for common use, and the other refusing to leave any considerable proportion of land value to land owners for private use.

Washington, D. C.

LOUIS F. POST.

THINKS THE RESOLUTIONS ERR

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In a resolution adopted by the Henry George Congress the following paragraph stands out: "The greatest problem now confronting American industry and commerce is that of so called over-production. In reality it is under-consumption that threatens a return of the industrial depression that only seven years ago closed down the mills and factories and threw millions of workers out of employment."

This is not in line with the teachings of Henry George. He clearly showed that land speculation, which prevents the normal development of the world's resources, keeps workers unemployed and consequently makes for UNDER-PRODUCTION. This is the cause of business depressions and what is known as "Hard Times."

Allow me to congratulate you upon your part in the congress. With best wishes for yourself and our cause I am, yours sincerely,

Los Angeles, Calif.

THOMAS A. MEYER.

There is no contradiction between the two statements. The Resolutions allude to the fact that depression is threatened by under-consumption and not by any real over-production, and by this statement seek to point out a current fallacy. Henry George, going further, shows that this under-consumption results from depriving workers of normal access to land. Such access would enable them to increase their production and so consume goods produced by others. The Resolutions say that the consuming power of the people should be increased and point the way to do it.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

THE PRINCIPLES THAT WILL SAVE CIVILIZATION

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Wishing you every success in your earnest efforts to produce a sane and sensible brand of Civilization. The forces tending in the direction of the utter abandonment of all law and order are indeed "Hydra-headed Monsters" and the longer I live and observe life the more I see that the principles of truth and justice as enunciated by "America's Greatest Son, Henry George," are the chief ones that will tend to keep sanity and freedom uppermost in the present maelstrom of deceit,

chicanery and wickedness, caused by the denial of the right of all to "God's Earth."

Toronto, Canada.

—WM. R. WILLIAMS.

### SURVEYS THE WORK OF A LIFE TIME

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

It occurs to me that I have been a firm believer in the full doctrine of the earth for all as outlined by Henry George since reading an address of his in the *New York World* nearly fifty years ago. During these years I have distributed much literature and have written a number of articles in *Elmira papers* and the *North American* and have given addresses before granges. Have had incorporated straight Single Tax resolutions in Pomona and subordinate granges and at Democratic county conventions. In concluding my talk I have said: "You are the sovereign voters, you are responsible for legislation, you are the government. Of this you may be sure—that all laws which in operation are just as between man and man are also in harmony with the Divine Law. The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein."

Am pleased to recall the past now when almost through with work or service here. But will add that it seems to me absolutely certain that in the not far distant future, this earth will be treated as the common heritage, a storehouse in which each man, woman and child will have an equal and inalienable share.

Mansfield, Pa.

—ROBERT E. URELL.

## NOTES AND PERSONALS

We are indebted to Harry H. Willock, of Pittsburgh, Pa., for the opportunity to print a large edition of the editor's pamphlet, "Has the Single Tax Made Progress." These will be sent free to all those who will pay the necessary postage. We are also indebted to Bolton Hall who paid for two thousand copies of the same pamphlet for distribution at the Henry George Congress.

HON. GEORGE H. DUNCAN will take up the trans-continental tours hitherto made by John Z. White for the Henry George Lecture Association, of Chicago. Mr. White will continue to fill lecture engagements in and around that city.

WILLIAM A. CARTER, of Columbia, Mo., is writing a thesis for a Master's degree on the taxation of land values, and will appreciate any literature on the subject. His address is 808 Hillcrest, Columbia, Mo. Mr. Carter is a student of the Department of Economics conducted by Prof. Harry Gunnison Brown, at the Columbia University, Columbia, Mo.

SINGLE TAXERS in touring the United States should remember the Henry George Hotel, of San Francisco, The Krahmer Hotel, of St. Paul, and the Hotel Snyderhoff, of Kansas City, Mo.

CHARLES LISCHER, one of our most active workers in St. Louis, was converted to the Single Tax by Dr. Boyd Cornick, of San Angelo, Texas.

IN 1911 the Kansas City Public Library (Purd B. Wright, Librarian) had 265,000 books in circulation. In 1927 the circulation has reached 1,700,000.

MRS. ANNA GEORGE DEMILLE writes: "Was tremendously pleased with the Conference and the fine spirit that prevailed."

R. B. WILSON, of Emmett, Idaho, writes: "I like your address at the Henry George Congress printed in the Sept-Oct. number of LAND AND FREEDOM. We should preach the earth for all rather than reforms in taxation."

As an illustration of "progress" in Omaha, Nebraska, it is interesting to note that there still exists a toll bridge between Omaha and Council Bluffs which nets the owner about \$500,000 per year at an operating expense of \$60. The toll is ten cents for a Ford car and five cents for each occupant so the Omaha merchants are quite well protected from annoyance by visits from the Iowa farmers. A strong contingent of Omaha newspapers and the Chamber of Commerce oppose a Free Bridge.

As an illustration of the fairness of the Omaha daily papers it is interesting to note that United States Senator Howell, of Nebraska, addressed the Bar Association of Omaha on the desirability of a Free Bridge across the Missouri River between Omaha and Council Bluffs, and not a reference to this address appeared in the Omaha papers.

JUDGE BURT FESLER, presiding judge of the District Court of Duluth, Minn., has displayed on the walls of his Chambers the portraits of Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Henry George.

DR. JAMES TILTON YOUNG, of Fremont, Nebraska, one of the key men of the Single Tax movement in that State, was brought into the movement by reading a copy of "Progress and Poverty" presented to him by E. E. Soderstrom, now of Wichita, Kansas.

PAUL K. HARLAN, of Omaha, for many years active in the Single Tax movement, credits his interest in the cause to Rev. Herbert Bigelow, of Cincinnati.

A BRIEF notice of the death of Elfried Meybohm appeared in our last issue. To this we wish now to add to our scant note that our old friend was in the 64th year of his age. About three years ago occurred the death of his wife from which blow Mr. Meybohm never quite recovered, and when his daughter Mary died in August of this year it was followed by his own death six days later. He is survived by six sons and one daughter.

OUR old friend, J. R. Herman, of Portland, Oregon, has started on a lecture tour under the auspices of the Labor College. His subject will be the Unemployed. Mr. Hermann believes this will be a very live subject before Spring, as the unemployed are nearly as great in number as before the war. He will attend a labor convention as a delegate in San Francisco this Winter and hopes to stir things up. Our readers will wish him all the luck in the world.

THE Sheffield (England) *Telegraph* gives a column report of a meeting of the Finance Committee of the Sheffield City Council on Land Value Rating. The Committee considered a report presented by Councillor Barton in advocacy of the taxation of land values. This was the result of a resolution passed by the Council last April. The *Sheffield Telegraph* says: . . . "the object is to ascertain if there are reasons for a reform of the rating system on the lines of the taxation of the unearned values of land, especially in large cities." The City Council adjourned the matter for further consideration.

A COMMUNICATION from Antonio Bastida expresses his gratification with the proceedings of the Henry George Congress, saying if he could have been there he would have been happy. Speaking of the report as contained in LAND AND FREEDOM our old friend says, "Your Sept.-Oct. number should be bound in leather."

WALDO J. WERNICKE has an eloquent tribute to the late James H. Ryckman in the Los Angeles *Record* beginning "The whole world has lost a Man." The Open Forum of Los Angeles also prints an appreciation of his life and services with a letter from Upton Sinclair

Mrs. Ryckman. We who knew "Judge" Ryckman, as he was affectionately named, can echo all the fine things said of the departed leader. He was a gentle man but a brave fighter; a lovable personality but with a fierce intensity of conviction that would not permit him to regard with complacency any invasion of liberty. His was a fine spirit and we shall miss him.

WE regret the omission from the names of the members of the Press committee of the Henry George Congress in our Sept.-Oct. issue of Herman B. Walker, of the Associated Publicity Service. Mr. Walker is a well known newspaper correspondent and performed real service on the committee.

WILL ATKINSON has printed ten thousand copies of his Outline of Progress and Poverty." An edition of ten thousand more without advertisements will follow and he hopes to increase the number printed to a million before very long.

A COMMUNICATION from B. M. Machello informs us of the organization of a Geogist Club in Buenos Aires which occupies the first floor of the same building as the Argentine Single Tax League. Every Friday there are debates and entertainments.

MRS. MARY DANA HICKS PRANG, widow of Louis Prang, died Monday, Nov. 7th, at the New England Sanitarium, in her ninety-second year. She was the daughter of Major Dana and was thus distantly related to the editor of LAND AND FREEDOM. Louis Prang died in 1909. Mrs. Prang was associated with him in his various activities, was director of the Prang Normal Art Classes in Boston, and, like her famous husband, who was a leader in developing color printing by chromo-lithography, was a devoted disciple of Henry George. She was a member of the Henry George Foundation and only a few days before her death had written to LAND AND FREEDOM requesting that the paper be not sent "until further notice." This was on the eve of her removal to the sanitarium.

A TWO column review of the poems in Joseph Dana Miller's "Thirty Years of Verse Making" appears in the *Irish News* of Belfast, Ireland, from the pen of J. O'Donnell Derrick.

THE Canadian government is following the example set by Australia when that country established the federal capital of Canberra and took over all the land, so as to preserve the future values for the nation. Canada has been constructing a railroad to Hudson Bay as an outlet for western grain. Now the government has taken over the whole townsite of the new port Churchill on the bay. While details are still lacking, the press comments assume that this has been done to prevent land speculation, and that some form of leasing will be adopted as in Canberra.

THE *New York Herald Tribune* of October 16, contains a half page article on the Henry George collection at the New York Public Library illustrated with a portrait of Mr. George.

A. C. SITTIG writes from Baltimore, Md., on receipt of Sept.-Oct. LAND AND FREEDOM; "Hurrah! We are surely going some, and the evidence, though not all of it, is great in current issue of LAND AND FREEDOM."

DR. McDONALD, of Yorkton, Saskatchewan, delivered recently an admirable address on Taxation before the Economics Club of that city.

THE Fort Lee, N. J., *Sentinel* gave a three column report of the very excellent address of Mark M. Dintenfuss delivered at Hackensack, N. J.

WE acknowledge receipt of "A Study of Assessment Methods in Cook County," by George C. Olcott, of Chicago, illustrating the loose methods of assessment in force and showing the importance of equitable valuation of real estate. Mr. Olcott writes us: "Yours is a splendid account of the doings at the Henry George Congress. Allow me to congratulate you."

At the Henry George celebration in San Diego, California, in September, Charles Rodd, veteran Single Taxer, and well known to our New York friends, "spoke with the spirit of an inspired apostle," writes C. R. Colburn.

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 October, 1927, 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. Macey, Sec., 150 Nassau Street, New York City. None but Joseph Dana Miller own one per cent. or more of stock.

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

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's 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 20th day of September, 1927.

[Seal] LOUIS D. SCHWARTZ, Notary Public  
New York County.