

September—October, 1929

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

The Henry George Congress

Pittsburgh, September 23, 24, 25

Addresses of Charles O'Connor Hennessey,
Frederic C. Leubuscher, A. C. Campbell,
Benjamin W. Burger and Others

Profits and the "Vice" of Saving

Prof. Robert Bruce Brinsmade

Prize Essay Contest in High Schools

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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Comment and Reflection

WORDS loosely used cause a lot of misunderstanding in the world. To be sure of our words, which are the symbols of thought, is the first essential of coherent reasoning. Take the word "socialist." It must be a curious combination of economic beliefs that makes bedfellows of Al Smith, LaGuardia and Norman Thomas, for all have been called socialists. Take again the word "bolshevist." Does it mean the advocate of a political system, a form of government, or a kind of collective ownership? Or does bolshevism mean certain political or economic opinions to which we are opposed? Or does it mean merely a desire to change the existing order, or that the people have the right to change even by revolution if they choose such order when they make up their minds to do so, which would make Thomas Jefferson a first class bolshevist.

HERE again is the word "anarchist." And of this we are asked to believe that Herr Most—a generation ago the *enfant terrible* of the comfortable and self-satisfied—and the non-resistant Tolstoy, are members. All those representing the intermediate stages are also anarchists—and therefore dangerous to society as now constituted. It is convenient to group them together under one term. It simplifies the problem and makes unnecessary any troublesome thinking about the matter. The upholders of things as they are like to consider all proponents of change under some comprehensive term—it supplies a ready reckoner in place of more careful enumeration of numbers of group beliefs.

THERE is one advantage in this habit. Words are no longer descriptive of anything but become epithets or terms of abuse. Socialist, anarchist, bolshevist, have come to mean nothing any longer, and so the average man is utterly ignorant of anything the names imply. He has shut off every avenue of information by a wall of epithets. He has deprived himself of any knowledge of these schools of economic and political thought by thinking he hates what he does not understand.

A SHORT time ago a series of articles appeared in the *Forum* of this city on the question, "What is Civilization?" These articles have recently appeared in book

form. Hendrick William Van Loon tells us that civilization is a question of the "inner spirit"—a half truth only. Mr. Van Loon says, "It seems to me that the highest civilization is that form of society in which the greatest number show the greatest amount of consideration for the physical and spiritual happiness of the largest number of their neighbors"—a little limping this as a definition of civilization.

RAMSAY TREQUAIR says, "What we need is the possibility of normal poverty," and he naively adds, "it need not be carried too far." Elizabeth Robbins Pennell says, "We rub up against people whose want of manners adds enormously to our discomfort and robs us of the joy in life." Just so. Evidently civilization to this lady is a matter of politeness in subway trains, restaurants, or other public places. Desirable, no doubt, but why speak of it when the query is the very solemn one as to what constitutes civilization?

RALPH ADAMS CRAM declares that it is almost impossible to answer the query, "What is civilization," "because there are so many lines of approach." Maurice Maeterlinck says: "The ideal of material happiness whatever bliss it may lead to has never brought content to man." In their answers all these writers flounder. They discuss the query in terms of material achievement, religious belief, forms of art. But all seem at a loss to define it. None define it as liberty in equality. In one way or another all these writers exhibit a certain confusion. The question seems to be too much for them.

YET after all the term is capable of definition in a few words. None of these writers discuss the economic relations of man; his right to the use of the earth; the individual's inalienable sovereignty. Yet these are what constitute civilization, that men should enjoy an equality of economic and political rights, that they should be free of masters, that they should share in what they jointly produce—the value of land, the measure of product. If there is a "subtile alchemy" by which they are deprived of this, society is rent by an unnatural division of rich and poor. All the attendant evils follow—crime, degradation, class hatreds, poverty, immorality. And this is why civilizations have died and why our own cannot much longer endure.

The Parting of the Economic Ways

ON another page we print extracts from a recent address by Nicholas Murray Butler. Coming from the source it does it is the most significant speech of a decade. If we are not mistaken it heralds a breaking up of the old political alignments. We may go even further than this and declare it as our opinion that it sounds the death knell of the Democratic party.

That party in the last presidential campaign broke loose from its ancient moorings and abandoned nearly all of its old traditions. It became as strongly protectionist as the Republican party. It did so by refusing to make an issue of the tariff and practically conceding all that was claimed for it by the party of protection. In this it was true to its ancient stupidity, which is the only tradition to which the party adheres.

It was President Grant, not a particularly keen observer, who said that the "Republicans could always depend upon the Democrats to do the wrong thing," which meant the right thing for the opposition. And at a time when tariffs are dying a natural death, here and in Europe, when the whole superstition is crumbling, the Democratic party allowed itself to be side-tracked by a spurious religious issue, and the economic problem was completely lost sight of. That the party would have been defeated whatever course it had adopted is probably true, but there is another election three years hence. It is impossible, however, for the Democratic party to look so far ahead.

Now comes a voice out of the Republican party, with a message to the nation and the world. It is not a complete message, but it points the way. It is a call to liberty—a clarion call. In general terms it is an economic credo which implies more than it conveys. It is a free trade message. It matters not if this is qualified by caution and is not for immediate fulfillment. We are nevertheless urged to proceed in the consciousness that it should become a realization in a time to which we shall not be strangers.

If we accept the gospel of liberty which the distinguished president of Columbia advances we are unmistakably on the path along which Henry George directed our steps. Even if not explicit he cannot escape his own implications. It is sufficient to point out that to those who accept President Butler's admonitions there is but one conclusion.

If the world is to be made economically free there must be free trade between the nations. But the larger ideal of liberty at which the distinguished educator and party leader more than hints carries the principle of free trade to its logical conclusion and involves the destruction of every form of privilege. The monopoly of natural resources is unthinkable tested by the philosophy which animates this noble address. He has approached with

no timid steps, and as no other man occupying so distinguished a position has done in this generation, the great question to which the answer is contained, if unconsciously, in the philosophy of this great address.

We ask now, will President Butler take the step inevitably following on what he so well expresses? For there is no intermediate position on the road to freedom—he who starts out on that road must travel to the end.

Henry George

THE followers of Henry George remain as numerous and enthusiastic as ever. Yesterday they gathered in their hundreds at Edinburgh, coming from twenty-three nations and several continents to testify to their undiminished faith in the taxation of land values and in Free Trade. Henry George has been dead more than thirty years, and exactly fifty years have passed since the publication of "Progress and Poverty" in England. While subtler economists and more elegant stylists have been forgotten, Henry George's influence, powerful immediately, seems rather to spread than to decline. Nor is that difficult to explain. For though Henry George was a man of one idea, it was a good idea, and it was founded on a truth he had observed for himself and which everyone else could observe when it was pointed out. Of course there was no novelty in declaring that the land naturally belonged to the people, and that part at least of the rent which it afforded should be paid into the common exchequer. Nor was Henry George alone in arguing that all other taxes should be gradually abolished in favor of a single land tax. But his thesis was put forward at a time when the truth contained in his doctrine was singularly evident, and the process by which men grow rich at the public expense through their good fortune in owning conveniently situated land has become increasingly apparent as industrial development has spread. His doctrine was accepted by many Liberals, and became part of Socialist thought, and much of his argument has become incorporated in the text-books of orthodoxy. He was a man who found a truth, and if he and his followers have tended too much to put forward his remedy as a universal panacea, the remedy possessed real value, and was not a quack nostrum.

—Editorial, *Manchester (Eng.) Guardian*.

THERE are brains enough, there is wealth enough in New York to build the City Beautiful. It cannot be done under a taxation system which permits landlords to pile up the profits of congestion or a government which leaves housing and other vital issues of great masses of the people to the tender mercies of profiteers tempered by fair words for election purposes only.

—NORMAN THOMAS.

The Henry George Congress Sept. 23, 24, 25

THE fourth Annual Congress of the Henry George Foundation held in Pittsburgh on the dates named above was a most successful convention from the opening on Monday morning to the close on Wednesday evening when James F. Morton made a stirring appeal for a continuation of the same harmony and fine toleration that had characterized the proceedings. The addresses, some of which appear in this issue and others which will be printed later, were notable utterances and the discussions following were animated and helpful.

The thanks of those attending are due the management of the William Penn Hotel which accorded every possible courtesy. Outside the hotel a large sign informed the many thousands who passed during the day that the Henry George Congress was in session. A smaller sign was displayed in the main lobby.

The newspapers of Pittsburgh gave the event some notice, printing the picture of Mrs. Anna George deMille and summarizing some of the speeches.

Charles R. Eckert presided at the session of Monday morning and the invocation was given by Rev. W. I. Wisart, President of the Pittsburgh Council of the Church of Christ. Mr. George E. Evans, president of the Henry George Foundation, announced the death of F. H. Monroe and paid a deserved tribute to his work. Mr. Polak, of New York, moved that a committee be appointed to draft a suitable resolution on the death of Mr. Monroe, and Mr. W. H. Sikes, of Kansas, moved that a similar committee be appointed to draft resolutions on the death of V. C. Owen, of the *London Commonwealth*, which motions were carried.

Mr. Evans, addressed the meeting and said that it was the aim of the officers of the Foundation to make it a clearing house for Single Tax activities. Mr. F. W. Maguire, assistant secretary of the Foundation, explained that he was giving all his time to the work, and that literature was being sent out all over the land. Mr. Evans explained that he had been a Single Taxer for only ten years and that his conversion dated from the time he had heard John Z. White. And it was due to F. H. Monroe that he stood where he did on the platform of the Foundation. On the motion of Dr. Mark Millikin, of Ohio, a committee on resolutions was appointed.

At Monday's luncheon, Mr. Ward Bonsall, of Pittsburgh, presided, and Rev. James R. Cox, Ph.D., Rector of St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church, delivered the invocation. Mr. Bonsall said that those communities are most prosperous that take the largest amount of economic rent for their governmental needs. He reviewed the growth of the Pittsburgh Plan, and Mr. McMahan, Pittsburgh's assessor, followed with a description of the half rate tax in that city and its effects in some detail. Hon. Spencer

DeGolier, Mayor of Bradford, Pa., spoke at some length, declaring that the question of taxation was as much an ethical as an economic question.

Monday afternoon there was a symposium on Education in which Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, of Connecticut, Emil Jorgensen, of Chicago; F. C. Leubuscher, of New York; Robert C. Macauley, of Philadelphia; and others took part. It was at this session that Miss Colbron, illustrating her philosophy of individualism, told us that the mother is the proper person to wipe the children's noses and not some woman acting as governmental functionary in Room No. 7 of the Administration Building.

On Monday night Messrs. Leubuscher, Hennessy, Burger and Atkinson of New York spoke. Chairman Eckert presided. One of the high lights of this session was the lecture of Benjamin Burger on the Story of "Progress and Poverty," illustrated by lantern slides, and the eloquent eulogy pronounced by Mr. Burger on the life and work of our leader. Hon. Peter Witt, of Cleveland, closed this session by an interesting account of the British elections of which he had been a close observer while in England. He spoke hopefully of the prospect of getting some real measure of land value taxation.

On Tuesday morning delegates to the Congress made a motor bus tour of Pittsburgh, returning in time for the noon luncheon, when Carl D. Smith presided and Rev. William J. Coleman, of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, delivered the invocation. The diners listened to Percy R. Williams, secretary of the Foundation, on a National Programme of Action, and George R. Somerville, of Johnstown, Pa., on "The Modern Single Tax Crusade."

Tuesday afternoon was given up to the discussion of Political Policy, Ralph E. Smith presiding and Hon. Edward Polak of New York, James B. Ellery, of Erie, Pa., Miss Charlotte Schetter, of New York, and many others taking part.

The banquet in the Urban Room of the William Penn Hotel was a brilliant affair. William N. McNair, of Pittsburgh, acted as toastmaster and Rev. Samuel Goldensen, of Rodef Shalom Temple, delivered the invocation. Music was given by Nirella's orchestra and spirited singing by well known local talent. Mrs. Anna George deMille gave some very interesting reminiscences of her experience at the Edinburgh Conference, her visit to the home of Philip Snowden, and her meeting with Rev. Thomas Dawson, an old friend of Henry George, and one of his earliest converts. She paid a fine tribute to Father Dawson who is now eighty years old but still in excellent health.

Mrs. deMille left soon after the banquet for Washington where she said she desired to convey to Mrs. Post the greetings of the convention, which on motion of James B. Ellery,

of Erie, Pa., she was asked to do by formal resolution. Features of the banquet which will remain long with those who were privileged to hear them were the extraordinary outburst of real eloquence from Rev. Herbert Bigelow, and, for a different reason, the valuable informative address of A. C. Campbell, of Ottawa, Canada, which we are able to print in this issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

On Wednesday morning Mr. Burger, of New York, presided, and Mr. Olcott, of Chicago, addressed the session in relation to "Chicago's Tax Muddle." Fiske Warren, of Mass., and Clayton J. Ewing, of Chicago, spoke on the subject of Single Tax colonies. At the close of the session Miss Antoinette Kauffman told of the work of the Schalkenbach Foundation.

Wednesday's Luncheon was a very interesting affair because it provided a rather different sort of entertainment. Mr. Mellor, of Pittsburgh, presided, and announced his intention to give his life from now on to the movement for industrial emancipation. The editor of LAND AND FREEDOM spoke of the writings and life work of Henry George, Jr., and David Gibson, of Lorain, Ohio, editor of the *Lorain Journal*, gave the diners a taste of his ability in the making of brilliant and flashing epigrams, combined with a keen analysis of business conditions and the effects produced by economic ignorance.

Wednesday's afternoon session at which Rev. Herbert Bigelow spoke was characterized by perhaps the most animated discussion of all the sessions. Mr. Bigelow had made an earnest plea for the cooperation by Single Taxers with the leaders of other reform movements. This ran counter to perhaps the majority opinion of those present, and in the discussion that followed Mr. Burger, of New York, Mr. Barney Haughey, of Denver, Miss Colbron, of New York, Mr. DeGollier, Mayor of Bradford, Mr. John M. Henry, of Pittsburgh, Mr. Edwards, of Youngstown, Ohio, Mr. McNeill, of Philadelphia, Miss Charlotte Schetter, of New York and others took part.

At the last session of the Congress at eight o'clock on Wednesday evening Mrs. Skeel, of Vineyard Haven, Mass., presided with her usual grace and dignity. Mr. Strachan, of Chicago, was the first speaker. General Coxey, of the far famed Coxey's Army, addressed the session on the money question. Whatever may be thought of the ideas and conclusions presented, on which we will not now comment, those present must have contrasted the man who spoke with the newspaper caricature with which we have been so long familiar. General Coxey gave the impression of great sincerity, he is an excellent speaker, and he is a gentleman.

James F. Morton closed this last session of the Fourth Annual Conference of the Henry George Foundation with an earnest and eloquent appeal for harmony and expressed his commendation of the work of the Congress. He said all those present would go home gratified by what they had heard, with a renewed faith in the cause, and a deter-

mination to do more in the year to come than they had ever done before.

Thus closed the Congress met to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of "Progress and Poverty." Too much praise cannot be given to the officers of the Foundation, President Evans, Secretary Williams, Carl D. Smith and others who had helped to make the Congress the success it was.

The trustees held two business meetings during the Congress, and the present board of officers who had served so long and faithfully were re-elected. Frederick C. Leubuscher, of New York, on motion of Jos. Dana Miller, was elected trustee to fill the position left vacant by the death of Warren Worth Bailey, of Johnstown, Pa. It seemed to be the concensus of opinion that Baltimore should be selected as the place of the 1930 Henry George Congress, and this was left to the Board of Trustees.

The International Georgist Movement

ADDRESS OF CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY
HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS, SEPT. 23, 1929

YOU will appreciate, I am sure, that the length and diversified interest of the printed programme for this evening, and the high quality of the other speakers, makes it a little difficult for me to deal adequately with the large subject to which I am assigned.

I will be satisfied if I may, in the time allotted to me, just impress upon you the significant fact that there is an International Georgist Movement; that it is now effectively organized with headquarters in London, and with enthusiastic representatives and numerous followers in many countries beside our own. It is a movement that I can assure you deserves the interest and the support of every follower of Henry George, wherever his homeland may be.

Once, upon his return from an overseas speaking tour, I heard Henry George at a welcome-home gathering in New York, speak of feeling himself something of a citizen of the world. In spirit, this, indeed, he really was. A feeling of kinship and sympathy with mankind everywhere—of compassion for the lowly and unfortunate in every land—of hatred of injustice—was a part of the very nature of the man. This, I should say, implied no lack of fine Americanism in him. No braver or truer patriot ever lived in the United States. The great principles of the founders of the Republic, the immortal truths of the Declaration of Independence, were the principles upon which he based his philosophy of equality of opportunity and justice for all men. No more loyal, ardent, and eloquent expositor of fundamental American principles ever lived than Henry George.

Fifty years ago, when the great message of "Progress

and Poverty" was given to the world, it was recognized as a message of world-wide import and significance. The great evils that he contended against were, and still remain, world-wide evils. The economic freedom he would establish was not for Americans alone, but for all men everywhere. The uplift he sought was for all human beings. It was not remarkable, therefore, that men of many lands and races heard gladly, and with gratitude, the message of Henry George. His great book has been translated into practically all of the European languages, and into Chinese. It inspired Tolstoy in Russia, Sun Yat Sen in China, and other leaders of men elsewhere. Today, I believe, there are ardent Georgists in practically all civilized countries, and active, well-organized groups all over Great Britain, in Germany, Austria, Hungary, France, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Canada, New Zealand, and the Australian Commonwealth. Well edited Georgist periodicals appear regularly in several countries outside the United States.

The philosophy of Henry George, the philosophy of economic freedom and social regeneration through the abolition of the root causes of poverty, has affected and must increasingly continue to affect political programs in many countries. The slogan of "The Land for the People" has taken on new force and meaning in many parts of the world since the Great War. In Denmark, where the economics of Henry George are taught in every High School, the present Finance Minister, Mr. Bramsnaes, is an exponent of economic freedom and a convinced Georgist. In Great Britain, need I tell you, the Finance Minister is that eloquent expositor of Henry George's philosophy, Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Snowden has recently demonstrated to the world that he can display the courage of his convictions. He not only openly champions Free Trade, as taught by Henry George, that is, freedom in the production of wealth as well as freedom in its exchange, but he has promised the world that his country will soon take the necessary first steps in the politics of the Road to Freedom.

There are a number of delegates here who last month attended the inspiring Conference at Edinburgh, Scotland, where Georgists from twenty-three countries gathered to discuss the world-wide progress of their movement. Those who can look below the surface of British politics at this time must be very blind if they cannot see the Land Question "all over the place," to use a British expression. While the proposal of the Labor Party, for the rating and taxation of land values may not seem, on its face, very radical, one has only to read the speeches of public men in and out of Parliament to realize that this is but the beginning of the fight for the destruction of land monopoly and the ultimate triumph of the demand for Free Land, Free Trade, Free Men!

How important as a political force the International

Henry George Movement may become was well illustrated three years ago when we met at Copenhagen, when the Government turned over to us its splendid Parliament Houses and eminent cabinet ministers addressed our sessions. It was illustrated again, two years ago, by the circulation in eleven European languages, of our classic address to the Economic Conference of the League of Nations, which contained a conclusive demonstration of the interdependence of the economic causes of war and industrial depressions. It was illustrated finally, last month, when Philip Snowden and over a hundred members of the British Parliament sent friendly messages to our meeting in the Scottish capital. No one who attended that meeting will doubt that the cause of Henry George is marching on.

The spirit of that Edinburgh gathering was reflected in its unqualified Declaration of Principle and Policy, from which, as I close, I may quote a few paragraphs:

"We affirm that the persistence of poverty, low wages, and unemployment in every country, and the evil and destructive social phenomena that derive from these conditions, are both unnatural and unnecessary; that they are due, primarily, to unjust restrictions upon freedom in the production of wealth (involving injustice in its distribution) that arises out of land monopoly."

"We condemn those obstructions to the free flow of trade which have been set up between friendly peoples by so-called protective tariffs, "safeguarding" devices, and other interferences with the natural laws of freedom in production and exchange. These policies, yielding benefit only to limited privileged groups in the countries which adopt them, are, in our opinion, nothing short of treason to the true interests of the masses of human kind."

"We appeal to all true friends of humanity and of the establishment of an enduring World Peace to join with us in recognition of the fact that discord between nations commonly arises out of economic causes, such as the struggle for exclusive markets and other preferences, and for concessions in the control of natural resources, or because of the selfish policies by which some nations seek to advantage themselves by hampering the economic freedom of others. We cannot have Political Peace and Economic War."

"The remedy, we believe, lies in the establishment of freedom for all, equal rights for all, justice for all. These ends, we confidently affirm, will be attained when Governments can be led, through *the enlightenment of public opinion*, to repeal the present taxes, rates and tariffs which now hamper freedom in the production and exchange of wealth, and cause injustice in its distribution. Abandoning the burdens now directly or indirectly laid upon labor and capital, we would concentrate taxes upon the value of land and of all natural resources in private hands in the conviction that, these resources being the gift of the Creator to all generations, the value of land is the just and proper source of community revenues."

"When governments can be led, through the enlightenment of Public Opinion"—says the declaration. I know of no other way in which great political reforms may be accomplished and so the work of economic and political educa-

tion remains the most important work that we can do. Teach the people the great truth which Henry George left to us, and the truth will set them free. There is no other way.

Personal Recollections of Henry George

ADDRESS OF FREDERIC CYRUS LEUBUSCHER
AT THE HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS, PITTS-
BURGH, PA., SEPT. 23, 1929.

TO one who dwells in the purely intellectual realm, the written words of an author are the only things that count. The life of the writer, his struggles, his triumphs, his defeats, his social qualities, in other words, his personality, are quite immaterial. Are his words and arguments reasonable and logical, is the only question, not the qualities of the soul that forced him to express himself. Such an intellectual feels that if he allowed himself to admire a writer's greatness of heart, he might becloud his mind with sophistry. He fears he might become a hero worshipper.

The man who desires to live in the rarified atmosphere of pure reason will find that he has lost more than half his life. He would lose the soul of that which has been written. Carlyle said that "hero worship exists, has existed and will forever exist among mankind." He also said "hero means the sincere man."

Henry George has been my hero for forty-five years. His heroism was not shown on the battle field in helping to destroy life, nor in a catastrophe in helping to preserve life. In his own life he demonstrated his heroism by fighting and vanquishing poverty and the lack of education. Above all, he was a hero to me because his ideas and words will ultimately vanquish poverty throughout the earth. Emerson said that "each man is a hero to somebody and to that person whatever he says has an enhanced value." I believe that Henry George will some day be a hero to everybody and that even his minor writings will be magnified. Three years ago, when I was in Denmark, I discovered that the Danish peasants—nine out of ten of them—give the portrait of Henry George the most conspicuous position in their humble homes.

The time allotted to me is too short to give even a hasty sketch of Henry George's career. I will merely touch upon my personal relations with the Prophet, the memory of which I cherish next to the memories of my wife. In 1884, I was a clerk in a New York law office. My employers gave me the usual two weeks' vacation. On my way to the train, I stopped at a book stall to purchase a cheap novel with which to beguile the tedium of the trip. I selected a paper covered novel, entitled "Progress and Poverty." Imagine my disgust when I found that instead of a love story, it was a treatise on political economy. However, as I had no other reading matter, I opened the

book and was soon thrilled by the beautiful style of the writer. Before my two weeks were up, I had finished reading this immortal book and had become a convert to its doctrines. I procured a portrait of the author and daily admired it. The dome-like head and full beard of Henry George at that time looked more like Socrates than anybody else. Remember that this was forty-five years ago and that I was very young and shy. So, much as I longed to see the Prophet, I did not look him up.

In 1886, he became a public character by accepting a nomination for the mayoralty of New York City. All citizens were welcomed at his political headquarters, so I called there the day after I listened to his acceptance speech in Cooper Union. I was met in the court room by a young man with a shock of black hair, who introduced himself as Louis F. Post. I told him that my services were at Mr. George's command but that, above all, I wanted to meet him. Mr. Post immediately ushered me into another room, where at a desk, sat my hero. I was over-awed but he soon put me at my ease by a few kindly words and turned me over to his son, Henry George, Jr., a young man of about my own age. Incidentally, I might say that this was the beginning of a friendship between Harry and me that lasted until he passed on. He, his sister Jennie, my sister and I became socially intimate and spent several summers together in the country. Anna George, now Mrs. deMille, was scarcely more than an infant at that time.

I did not make any speeches during that campaign of '86 but I was "a chiel amang them takken notes." My knowledge of shorthand was utilized in reporting Henry George's speeches. I never saw a more active candidate. On the same day he would address the intellectuals gathered in a large hall, then go to a labor union meeting, followed by several cart tail speakers. One day, he made fourteen speeches including one from the stairway of an elevated railroad station on his way home. It was midnight. My duty was to go with the candidate and report everything he said verbatim. I was a sort of Boswell to his Johnson, and was often obliged to put my notebook on the back of the man standing in front of me at a street meeting. His speeches were so perfect in form that they required little, if any revision. Notwithstanding this strenuous speaking tour, Mr. George found time to engage in an animated epistolary duel with his chief opponent. It was admitted by the opposition press that Mr. George's letters were masterpieces of style and eloquence, but, of course, they disputed his conclusions. Some of you may remember that a month after the close of the campaign Henry George's speeches, his and Hewitt's letters, together with other matter, were published in a book entitled "An Account of the George-Hewitt Campaign of '86," prepared by Louis F. Post and me. That is, Mr. Post did the editing, while my only contribution was a transcript of the speeches; but Post with characteristic large-heartedness insisted on coupling my name with his. On election night

of '86, after the returns showed that his opponent had been elected, not by a majority but by a plurality, Mr. George walked to the headquarters of the United Labor party (as the organization was called) and there made his speech, which rang with dauntless courage. He was really elated and not downhearted, for he had polled a vote large enough to put his ideas on the map. This was after all just what he wanted, for he did not wish to be mayor.

I recall an interesting incident of this campaign. After a strenuous speaking tour I arrived home at about 1 A. M. At 2, I was aroused by a messenger with a letter from Mr. George, entirely in his own handwriting, requesting me to go at once to his home at Pleasant Avenue. Of course, a request from him was a command. When I arrived, he informed me that he had received advance information that a morning newspaper would have a front page alleged interview with John Most, the then leader of the communist-anarchists. Most was quoted as being enthusiastically in favor of the candidacy of Henry George, when as a matter of fact he had been denouncing George as one of the bourgeoisie candidates. The intent was evident. The politicians were getting frightened by the swing of the intellectuals and small property owners to Henry George. As I had some knowledge of German (the mother tongue of Herr Most) Mr. George thought it might be a good idea for me to interview the communist and publish my genuine interview on the same day that the fake one appeared. It was good tactics but the politicians were in the way of its fulfillment. Herr Most just at that time happened to be an inmate of the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island, and it required a pass to get a passage on the ferry. Though a pass was usually given for the asking, try as I might I could not get one. This was my first and last attempt at reportorial work. It might interest you to know that I carefully preserved the letter which Mr. George wrote me that night. A few years ago, I gave it, together with the envelope, to Mr. Benj. W. Burger, and it is now in this hall together with other memorabilia collected by Mr. Burger.

The vote for our candidate was so large that we were encouraged to form a regular political organization and to serve demands on the legislature for the passage of remedial laws for the working man. I was secretary for the committee of lawyers that drew these bills. One measure was so important that Mr. George requested a hearing before the committee in charge of the bill. He and I went to Albany the night before, but all the hotels were so crowded that we were able to get only one small room with only one bed. So I was privileged to become a bed fellow of the Prophet.

In 1887 Mr. George, in furtherance of the plan to keep his ideas before the public, consented to accept the nomination of Secretary of State, a minor and largely clerical position. There happened to be no gubernatorial election that year; otherwise he would, of course, have been

nominated for that. Neither he nor the leaders had any expectation of success in his state-wide campaign and he would have been chagrined had he been elected. The campaign was as strenuous as that of 1886, but owing to the alarm amongst his former Roman Catholic supporters, caused by the excommunication of Father McGlynn, the vote in New York City was cut almost in half, while up state it was negligible. A number of us consented to be fellow-candidates for various offices, Mr. Post as District Attorney and I for a Judgeship, which, owing to my youth I would have been incompetent to fill.

The next ten years Mr. George devoted to his pen almost entirely, with the exception of speech-making tours in Europe and Australia. In 1896 he advocated the election of Bryan, not because he believed in the free coinage of silver (indeed he was a greenbacker) but because of the general liberal and radical tendency of the Democratic candidate. During that decade, I had the privilege of frequent associations with Mr. George and his delightful wife and family. His health began to fail in '96 and in '97 was quite precarious. As the first Mayor of Greater New York was to be elected that year, a movement was started to induce him to again become a candidate. His friends, of whom I was one, strongly begged him not to undertake the strain of a campaign. His physician warned him it would be fatal. He listened to us but said that as such a campaign would do more to revitalize the fight for his ideas than anything else, he considered it his duty to run, even though it meant the sacrifice of his life. That brings me back to the quotation from Carlyle I made at the beginning of this talk, "Hero means a sincere man." It was evident in all the speeches he made in that campaign that he was a very sick man. Nevertheless, he aroused great enthusiasm and the politicians were beginning to fear a repetition of the '86 campaign, with the possibility of George's election; for the voters in '97 had the Australian ballot, the lack of which, some claimed, had defeated him in '86. I heard the last speech he made in '97 (3 days before election) which was the last speech of his life. He was thoroughly worn out after a hard day. Gone was his characteristic fluency, and his erstwhile magnificent voice could hardly be heard. Returning to his hotel he partook of a light supper. Soon after he sunk into a coma and never regained consciousness.

I acted as one of the ushers at the funeral exercises in Grand Central Palace. There was an immense outpouring. Eminent men delivered addresses, including that great orator, John S. Crosby. But I was most impressed by Dr. McGlynn's paraphrase of the bible, "There was sent a man of God and his name was—Henry George." At the conclusion of the services the funeral cortege started. At least 10,000 men marched behind the hearse that cold November day to Greenwood cemetery, about five miles away. "All these men" were hero worshippers. I was one of those that followed my hero to the grave,

Henry George's Influence In Canada

ADDRESS OF A. C. CAMPBELL, OTTAWA, AT THE
HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

MY first word must be a word of thanks to those in charge of this Convention for doing me the honor of affording me opportunity to speak here. What an opportunity it is! I am allowed to speak of my own country, Canada, and Canada at its best—that is, as enlightened and inspired by that greatest of modern seers and lovers of men, Henry George. And I am privileged to address this audience, than which, I am sure, none of clearer understanding and finer sympathy could be assembled, in that audience being the daughter of Henry George, who carries on the work her father so splendidly begun. We are met in Henry George's native state, the state in which that great charter of human rights, the American declaration of independence, was made and signed, which declaration Henry George showed us how to understand and realize. Our convention is held in this world-famed city, this city of clear ideas and high ideals, the leader of cities of the United States in the practical application of the truths which the great prophet of our movement set before the world. It is for me the occasion of a lifetime.

I ask your indulgence while I give a few facts to illustrate Henry George's influence in Canada.

Early in the propagandist work which followed the publication of "Progress and Poverty," Henry George visited Canada. He found enthusiastic audiences, for the power of his printed words had made for him friends and supporters everywhere. Other speakers carried on the movement—Dr. McGlynn, Louis F. Post, James R. Brown, himself a native Canadian—and others. As elsewhere, there was an age of apostolic fervor. But that did not last. Yet, as elsewhere the movement lived in organic form in some places. My friend and colleague in the representation of Canada here, Mr. Alan C. Thompson, has been one of several steadfast workers in an association in Toronto which has carried on its work from those early days, and with results of which I shall have something to say later. But even where no organization was formed, or where none remains, individual converts spread the knowledge of the doctrines of Henry George and kept alive his memory. Time will not permit a list of those workers. But I name one case in my own city. Those of you who follow the literature of the movement have often seen quotations from the *Ottawa Citizen*. Some of you have seen the *Citizen* listed as a Single Tax paper. It is the oldest and strongest of our Ottawa dailies and probably wields a wider influence than any other newspaper in Canada. It is controlled by Messrs. W. M. and H. S. Southam, as good Single Taxers as any in this room. This is a remarkable instance of how the influence of Henry

George is kept alive in Canada, but it by no means stands alone. In every part of the country, and in every walk of life are converts to the Single Tax who, like the Southams, keep the movement active and effective.

Let me mention one or two ways—I could make it a score if there were time—in which the influence of Henry George has directly and distinctly affected public affairs in Canada.

In Canadian federal politics we have, traditionally, two parties. Actually there is now a third; but leave that aside for the present; I shall have to specify it later. Between the two great parties there is one continuing line of cleavage—the tariff. However these parties may differ on other things, on one point of fact they are agreed. They state with equal definiteness that Canada is the only country in the world that has reduced its tariff since the *Great War*. Canada is sometimes spoken of as a peculiar country. Well, there is one of its peculiarities—in a world whose nations are maintaining or building higher these fiscal walls that shut out others, Canada has made freer and freer the entrance of goods to its markets. And, if promises and universal expectations mean anything, there will be further marked reductions within a year. The governing party, called Liberal, makes a boast of this; the opposition party, called Conservative, regards it as ignominious, even shameful, and repeats its demands for a higher tariff.

Let me say, in parenthesis, that the free traders in Canada, including the Henry George people, declare that never in its history has Canada been as prosperous as now. And not only that, but judged by any or all of the standards which are usually applied in these matters, Canada is at least the equal in progress and prosperity of any other country in the world; and this notwithstanding that it put forth its full strength in the Great War from the very beginning to the very end, and suffered terrible losses of man power and money. But let me guard myself by saying that I am not much impressed with a prosperity which coexists with private ownership of land. However, people who like the kind of prosperity that we have are very much pleased with the plenteousness of that kind of prosperity.

Not only are duties coming down or disappearing and other taxes being reduced, but the enactment of protective imposts is made more difficult by the establishment of a Tariff Commission, a fact-finding body that sifts every application for protection. We have a Consumers' League in Canada, and that body is represented at every tariff hearing. Its representative is R. J. Deachman, as thorough a Henry George free trader as ever lived. If you could attend these meetings which Mr. Deachman is helping in the work of sifting, you would come to the conclusion that the influence of Henry George is very strong, at least at one important point of Canada's economic affairs.

You naturally ask how it comes that the ruling party in Canada is so strongly in favor of lowering duties. I

ould like to mention a fact or two. The present leader of the Liberal party and Prime Minister of Canada, is W. L. Mackenzie King. Mr. King is an original thinker on economic questions. Reading his books I think I can see very clearly the effect upon his thought of Henry George's influence.

Mackenzie King was Laurier's protege. Laurier introduced him to more than one audience as "the future Prime Minister of Canada." Laurier, you may remember, was defeated and driven from office by an adverse popular vote on his proposal to accept the reciprocity pact offered by the United States in 1911. This was universally regarded as a free trade defeat and protectionist victory. Laurier was as good a free trader as ever lived. He learned English, in large part, by reading the speeches of Cobden and Bright. But he was a careful reader of Henry George also. Here is part of a letter written in 1916 to Henry Timmis, a Single Taxer of Montreal:

"Anyone who has read Henry George's book cannot resist the conclusion that the taxation of land values is destined to triumph and be of general application. It is only a question of time, but you know what a long time it takes for an idea to penetrate, even in the most enlightened community.

"We have a special committee already at work upon this question and other connected subjects in the National Liberal Committee. We hope to have a report ready for the next general meeting of the Committee later on, and we hope to have the matter well in hand for the next Liberal Convention which I intend to call as soon as the war is over."

Laurier did not live to make good his implied promise; he died a few weeks after the armistice and weeks before peace was officially declared.

I am not trying to convince you that the fiscal policy of Canada is absolutely dominated by the spirit and ideas of Henry George, but surely one can hardly doubt his influence is there.

But let us follow this line a little further. Canada is a democracy. The government is not all; the dominant party is not all. The people rule, and to understand what is doing in government in Canada you must understand the people.

I have just given a case of Canada in contrast with the world—increased tariffs since the war in other countries but decreased tariffs in Canada. Let me point to another contrast. I submit to you as readers of history that it is true of protectionist countries generally that the very backbone of protection is the land owning agricultural class. It is so in Britain—the country squire is the very type of protectionism. It is so in Central Europe. The Junker, as this type in Germany is called, is to be found in all those countries, and in all is essentially the same. In that strong protectionist country, Australia, this is markedly true. In this presence I do not speak about conditions here. But in my own country I have expressed

the belief that when the vast protectionist temple of the United States is demolished, the corner stone will remain—an irremovable unchangeable body of great landowning farmers. So it is throughout the world. Canada is radically different. Our farmers, and more particularly that element of our farmers who are thought of as most typical, those who people our prairies and produce our vast surpluses of grain, are our strongest power in the movement for lower tariffs and direct taxation.

I spoke of a third party. That party originated in 1918, was made up of the farmers, and was strongly dominated by western ideas and western leaders. Let me summarize its tariff platform:

1. Immediate all-round reduction of the tariff.
2. Increase of the British preference—almost the first act of Laurier's government in 1896 was to give a tariff preference to goods from Britain, thus approaching the then almost perfect absence of tariff duties in that country so as to bring free trade with Britain in five years.
3. Acceptance of the reciprocity offer made by the United States in 1911.
4. Foodstuffs not included in that offer to be put on the free list.
5. Every claim for tariff protection to be heard publicly before a committee of parliament.

That is realized in essence in our tariff commission.

But this was not the whole of the fiscal policy of these people in that day. They have a resolution called in their official copy "Taxation Proposals." I read the beginning of it:

"As these tariff reductions may very considerably reduce the national revenue from that source, the Canadian Council of Agriculture would recommend that in order to provide the necessary additional revenue for carrying on the government of the country and for the bearing of the cost of the war, direct taxation be imposed in the following manner.

- (1) By a direct tax on unimproved land values, including all natural resources."

They go on from there. They want income taxes, inheritance taxes, and so on. We hear on our side of the line of the United States citizen who had sixteen reasons for not playing poker, the first being that he had no money. We understand that he was not requested to specify the others. I think we will agree that if these farmers could have got their first demand, the land values tax, they could have worried along without the other taxes for which they so carefully resolutely. But where in the world could they have got the idea of taxing land values?

The third party does not exist today in the form in which it was organized. A large part of its membership is now merged with the governing party, the Liberals. But this section still retains its original name of Progressives and is recognized as a driving element for freer trade as against those elements in the party that would favor re-

strictive duties. The third party organically at this time is known as U. F. A.—United Farmers of Alberta. Alberta is our westernmost prairie province. It is mainly agricultural and radical. In local—as you would say state—politics, it is under the strong control of the same element that make the nucleus of the U. F. A. in federal politics. In the federal arena these people are our strongest and most militant free traders. Not all are from Alberta, not all even are from our prairie provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. For instance our only woman member of parliament, Miss Agnes C. Macphail, daughter of an Ontario farmer, is a member of that group. Our few Labor members—strong free traders—usually vote with the U. F. A. The constituents of all these people are for lower tariffs. The dominant influence in our governing party, and the dominant influence outside to which they are most likely to pay attention is in favor of lower and still lower duties. And I give it as the opinion of one man who has watched politics for years that the present condition of affairs can be understood only by those who know and count upon, the influence of Henry George.

I have given nearly all the time allowed me to this one question of tariffs. But I must at least mention, seeing there is no time to discuss, a few other points.

A great Canadian enterprise—typically Canadian, I think—which during almost fifty years pressed for attention, declared itself permanently alive two years ago. I refer to the Hudson Bay Railway. It was decided to build north to a terminal point at Fort Churchill, to make the line part of the Canadian National Railway system, and to push it through to completion without delay. If the route would prove successful, the decision meant the building, sooner or later, of a city at Churchill.

Canada has had land booms galore, and the people are sick of them. The Minister in charge of this matter, Hon. Charles A. Dunning, Minister of Railways and Canals, decided that it would be humanly impossible to start off a town in those northern wastes with the initial handicap of a boom—or rather with the slump that would follow a boom. Therefore he commandeered for the public—we call it for the Crown, which gives it special sanction in our way of thinking—all the land in that region, including some relatively few lots that had been granted to private parties. Later, as local authority had to be asserted in the control of municipal affairs of the prospective city, the land not needed for railway and harbor construction was handed over to the Crown in right of the province of Manitoba. Churchill will be town-planned in advance, and land will be leased, as in a Single Tax enclave such as Fairhope or Arden. Hon. Mr. Dunning is a western man; he had learned something of the land question from the Single Tax movement. And Single Taxers have had more influence than any other one class in directing public policy in this matter. It is not, I think, the real Single Tax, but at least it prevents meantime the adoption of

the policy which has blocked and misdirected the growth of other cities.

Canada has a reputation for public ownership. Our Canadian National Railways, our Hydro Electric Commission of Ontario and other enterprises are examples. I shall not go into argument or description on these matters, but will only state what I believe to be a fact—and I am a native and life-long resident of Canada, and have been an observer of these matters all my life, and you see how old I am. I sense in Canada a feeling of perfect confidence in this matter of public ownership. We are not afraid of too much business in government nor vice-versa. You cannot scare us with the cry of Bolshevism. We see more or less clearly the principle in these things, and it is the straight Henry George principle as declared in his "Social Problems"—free competition where free competition is possible, public regulation where partial monopoly exists, and complete public ownership and operation of those services that are in their nature monopolies. And if any man says that Henry George's influence has not had something to do with bringing about that condition of public opinion, I will hand him over to Mr. Thompson who has kept the movement going and who knows.

In the matter of local taxation, we in Canada are conservative, like the rest of the world. But we have cities on our Pacific coast that exempt improvements partly or wholly from the general municipal tax levy. Throughout our prairies, farm improvements are tax free. In our second-greatest city, Toronto, dwellings of low value are wholly or partially exempt. Wherever such tax, or untaxed conditions exist, they are traceable directly to the influence of Henry George.

All this is as to the past. Now a word—only a word—as to the immediate and practical future. Since Henry George's day, an unknown world—universe, you may say—has been annexed to this, that mystic yet so serviceable universe of the ether. We use it by the name of Radio. Just what should be done about this is a question that arose in Canada as it has arisen elsewhere. Our government appointed a Royal Commission to inquire and report, one member of that Commission being Mr. Charles A. Bowman, a sound Single Taxer. The Commission made a unanimous report on the 11th of this month. I will not dwell upon that report except to say that no believer in the principles advocated by Henry George can read it without being impressed with the fact that its broad conclusions reflect the spirit and ideals of the founder of our movement. In saying that, of course, I express my own view; I quote none; I commit none. But I speak with the authority of an every day citizen of Canada when I say that in my own country we are sufficiently inspired by the teachings of Henry George to hold as one of the truths that are self evident that in the world of radio all men have equal and inalienable rights, and mankind can confidently rely upon the sovereign people of Canada to

to everything that may be possible within the power of one country to make those rights secure.

Henry George, Jr.

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS BY JOSEPH DANA MILLER, AT HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

HENRY GEORGE was fortunate in his progeny. I need not refer to the distinguished lady who is a member of this Congress and whose great services to the cause have been more manifest of late years, nor to Richard George, whom genius visited in his glorified moments, guiding the hand that turned the insentient marble to those almost sentient lineaments with which we are familiar in the bust of his father and that of Dr. McGlynn and whose promise of greater achievements was interrupted by his too early death.

(Mr. Miller here told some stories of Richard George to show his sense of humor.)

But it is of Henry George, Jr., I design to speak, who in other respects was his father's intellectual heir, and followed worthily in his father's footsteps as writer, newspaper correspondent, lecturer, speaker, and holder of a distinguished public office.

It is not easy for any man to model his life and work in the career of the Great Emancipator. "Only himself can be his parallel." But as near as it could be done Harry did it. He had been his father's secretary and knew his innermost thoughts. He had accompanied his father on his lecture tour of Europe in 1883 and had made the acquaintance of many of the prominent men in England and on the continent. Later came his tour of Japan and his meeting with distinguished Japanese statesmen; and his visit to Russia, where he received the last message given to the world by Count Leo. Tolstoy.

Dying at 54 his life had been one of activity and varied achievement. It was not alone that he was the son of his father that he was engaged by periodicals and newspapers like the *Philadelphia North American*, the *N. Y. World* and the *N. Y. American* to furnish weekly articles, and that he was the Washington correspondent of these and other periodicals. But it was because of his own trained facility in this sort of work, his keen sense of values and his wide knowledge of men and things that gave importance and distinction to his writing, even writing of his necessarily ephemeral kind.

It is little any writer can do to leave any permanent memorial. The mass of books, even of good books, pass in increasing flood to oblivion. Only those works which mark an epoch, or in which some great central truth, or overwhelmingly important principle, is finally enshrined, or in which humanity is portrayed in luminous strokes, have an hope to endure.

The works which Harry wrote, with one exception, are not destined to immortality. His one attempt at a novel,

John Bainbridge, is best forgotten. In this Harry was out of his element.

The *Menace of Privilege* was a book for its time. It deals too largely with economic manifestations that have changed in character to have survived the period. I want to say, however, that there is one chapter in this work in which Harry approached the stately English of "Progress and Poverty."

[Mr. Miller read passages from the chapter entitled, "Civilizations Gone Before."]

One book which Harry George wrote will live—perhaps as long as the English language is spoken.

(Mr. Miller spoke of the debunking school of modern biographies and instanced recent lives of Washington, Matthew Arnold, Dickens, Poe, Victor Hugo, Heine. He quoted Andre Maurois, who said that a biography should above all be a portrait.)

In this sense, if in no other, the life of Henry George by his son is a great work and will live. In my opinion it is the greatest biography since Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. It must rank with the world's greatest biographies. If the literary critics were not so much concerned with the bright, slap dash censorious lives of the great struck off with amazing facility they would have recognized it long ago. But unquestionably a more serious and worthwhile generation will come to know it, for it is a great portrait, written with unconscious art, and it belongs to the arcana of great literature.

In the political field Henry George, Jr., won his laurels. In the 17th Congressional District of New York, normally Republican by from 6,000 to 8,000, he won in his campaign from the then incumbent, William S. Bennett, by a majority of 1,721, a notable victory, for Bennett was popular, though he was a standpatter and had voted for every increase of duty in the Payne-Aldrich Tariff.

It was one of the few Congressional districts in which the tariff was directly assailed and the only one in which free trade was openly and boldly proclaimed without equivocation. Mr. George challenged Mr. Bennett to a debate on the tariff which that gentleman dexterously sidestepped.

Our old friend Frederick C. Leubuscher managed this campaign and deserves some of the credit for the outcome. But it is not too much to say that one of the causes of the success in this first campaign made by the son of the prophet was the candidate himself. His speeches were strong appeals, manly, dignified, and free from the arts of the politician. Something of the simplicity of his great father was manifest to the voters of the district which drew to him the support of the independents. In the high-minded and honorable treatment accorded to his adversary he refused to take advantage of certain openings which a less punctilious swordsman would have availed himself of, taking to himself the high and knightly counsel,

"Tis not in mortals to command success,

But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deserve it."

Henry George, Jr. had been faithful to the high lights handed down to him. He grasped the torch fallen from the hands of the greatest man of his time and carried it worthily. Of fragile constitution he probably hastened his end by his unremitting labors. He sleeps in Greenwood beside his immortal father whose thought now shakes a world. And his fame and what he was able to accomplish are indissolubly linked with his.

Resolutions Adopted

HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

WHEREAS, Frederick H. Monroe, President of the Henry George Lecture Association of Chicago, Illinois, has answered the last summons the 26th day of September, 1929; and

Whereas, Frederick H. Monroe as President of the Henry George Lecture Association labored untiringly for many years in the cause of Human Freedom and Social Justice; and

Whereas, During the many years of his devoted service, it was the privilege of many Single Taxers throughout the Nation to come into intimate contact with him and thereby learn at first hand his qualities of head and heart; and

Whereas, These qualities having revealed Mr. Monroe as a man of broad sympathies, generous impulses, brotherly instincts, rare courage, sound judgment and executive ability,

Therefore, be it resolved that in the passing of Frederick H. Monroe, the Single Tax Movement of America has lost a wise counselor and a devoted worker; the Henry George Foundation of America a loyal supporter and friend; the Country a public spirited citizen, whose vision of a better, purer, nobler civilization, was deep and profound; and

Be it further resolved that these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the proceedings of the Fourth Annual Congress of the Henry George Foundation of America, and that a copy be transmitted to his family.

ON THE DEATH OF W. C. OWEN

IT is with sincere regret we learn of the death of William C. Owen in Worthington, England on July 8th. We recognize his life of sacrifice and devotion to the cause of justice and freedom, thirty years of which were given to his adopted country, America, striving to advance Henry George's Single Tax as the greatest means of setting men free.

Whereas, during the many years of his devotion and services many Single Taxers of this country knew and admired his worth, knowing he gave his whole life for the cause of liberty and justice.

Therefore, Be It Resolved that the Henry George Foundation of America hereby express to those who so tenderly cared for him during his last illness and all who

knew him, our sympathy. We recognize his rare courage and ability as a speaker and writer. Resolved further that these resolutions are to be spread on the minute of the Fourth Annual Congress of the Henry George Foundation of America and copies be forwarded to the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Commonweal* of England.

ETHER LANES

Whereas, United States Senator C. C. Dill of the Commission on Radio Communication has proposed an amendment to "An Act for the Regulation of Radio Communication" which amendment will keep inviolate the public ownership of the ether lanes, and secure for the government the greatest amount of revenue;

Therefore, Be It Resolved, that this Congress go on record as approving Senator Dill's amendment which would allow the rental values of the ether lanes to be sold annually to the highest bidders by means of sealed proposals.

RESOLUTION OF TOLERATION

WHEREAS, there are in America as elsewhere various agencies and various methods of work, all directed toward eventual realization of the great programme advocated by Henry George and,

Whereas, the Henry George Foundation has always stood for the spirit of tolerance and has sought to promote good-will and better understanding among all disciples of Henry George,

Therefore, Be It Resolved that the Fourth Annual Henry George Congress assembled in Pittsburgh declares its sympathy toward all individuals and agencies working in a serious way to promote the Single Tax cause, and extends its fraternal greetings to all Georgists.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

WHEREAS, the fault of representative government as it exists today is that it frequently results in a government by a minority and often ignores entirely important groups of citizens entitled to representation.

Therefore, Be It Resolved that in the interests of democracy and fundamental economic justice, the Fourth Annual Congress of the Henry George Foundation declare itself in favor of the system of voting known as Proportional Representation and advocates its adoption for all elections where applicable.

IF the \$500,000,000 farm bureau results in booming farm land values, it will not "aid" or "help" those who would like to acquire land for working and living purposes.—HOWARD M. HOLMES in *Ohio State Journal*

"TRADER rivalries kindle international hatred, that can be quenched only in blood. A war of extermination is inevitable, fomented by the economic conditions that control the civilized world today."

—ANATOLE FRANCE

Commonwealth Party Nominates

THE Commonwealth Land Party of this city met at headquarters, 3 East 14th Street, and after a sharp debate decided almost unanimously not to support Norman Thomas for mayor, despite his declaration in favor of taking for public purposes the entire rent of land. It seemed to the members of the party gathered at this meeting that to do so was to endorse the socialistic proposals of the Norman Thomas party and to lose sight of the land question.

Therefore they proceeded to place in nomination the following ticket: For Mayor, Lawrence W. Tracy; for Comptroller, Charlotte O. Schetter; for President of the Board of Aldermen, Morris Van Veen; for President of the Borough of Manhattan, George A. Hall, and for President of the Borough of Brooklyn, Benjamin W. Burger. The platform demands land restoration to the people and the abolition of all taxes.

Mr. Tracy is well and favorably known to all Single Taxers of this city, is a fine speaker and what might be called a Henry George "fundamentalist" if that term were in use in our movement. Mr. George A. Hall is not so well known, but is an earnest and sincere Georgist, has travelled all over the world and has been a keen observer of men and things. Miss Schetter has been long an energetic worker in the cause. Mr. Burger whose reputation is international needs no introduction to readers of LAND AND FREEDOM.

Measures to secure the required 3,000 signatures to nominating petitions were immediately begun.

An Indignant Letter

REFERRING to the proposal to erect a monument in Union Square to Charles F. Murphy, late leader of Tammany Hall, M. VanVeen of this city writes in the *Evening World* as follows:

"It is sad, sad reading in the papers that the dominant political organization of our city proposes to erect in Union Square a pediment or memorial to a ward politician of low mental calibre, whose only claim to prominence and recognition was his ability to distribute the spoils of war, award the contracts and dictate who was to represent the city officially in the various offices.

"And this is the organization that denied or refused a place for a memorial to as noble a soul and as brilliant a mind as our city could show, to whom thousands looked for guidance both spiritually and politically, and despite the church in his later days had made peace with him. I refer to Father McGlynn.

"It would be desecration to this sacred square that has held two emancipators, Washington and Lincoln, to permit this memorial or flagpole or pediment to this low-calibre politician.

"If a memorial is to be placed there let it be to a great American who in his last moments looked out upon this square and whose last battle was waged against the methods and sinister influence this organization would promote or represent. Let the citizens place on this sacred square Henry George's bust, who has given to the world a new gospel of freedom and whose great works will forever be an inspiration to those whose toil is unrequited."

"Progress and Poverty" Started British Labor Party

REVIEWING a recent life of Premier MacDonald by H. Hessell Tiltman, entitled "J Ramsay MacDonald, Labor's Man of Destiny," published by Frederick A. Stokes Company of this city, Harry Hansen in the *N. Y. World* of Oct. 3 quotes from the book as follows:

"He was fortified in his growing belief that all was not as it should be by reading "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George, a copy of which reached Lossiemouth soon after its publication. If any one book can be said to have made the British Labor Party possible it was that book. "Progress and Poverty" lit in countless minds the flame of an ideal. Then it was that MacDonald realized that the artist of today, if he is to do any good in the world, must take human life as his material, that until the world of men and women has been remoulded the creative spirit cannot be freed for fruitful action." Mr. Hansen continues:

"MacDonald is now sixty-three. "Progress and Poverty" was published exactly fifty years ago. Henry George could hardly have suspected that his doctrines would have such an immediate effect on a man who was one day to become Prime Minister of Great Britain. Tiltman goes farther to explain that Henry George's book "had a more dramatic effect upon British political thought than any work published during the last century. It even achieved the undoubted feat of making Karl Marx a popular author, for chapters of 'Das Kapital' were published and read as sequels to 'Progress and Poverty'".

[It should be noted that the publishers state that Mr. Tiltman is an old friend of the Premier's, and that Mr. MacDonald carefully revised the proofs, so that the above quotation can be deemed authoritative.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.]

FARMERS who took pains to raise crops on their farms had to pay high taxes while the farmer who loafed and did not raise as good a crop received lower taxes. Bradstreet, telephone and other books are used in our personal tax system. It is a hit-and-miss system.

JAMES R. BROWN

The Story of "Progress and Poverty"

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY BENJAMIN W. BURGER, AT THE HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

HENRY GEORGE had just passed his thirty-eighth birthday, in September 1877, when he sat down to write "Progress and Poverty."

His life had already been replete with adventure and flashes of color.

At the age of fourteen, his school days were ended. He secured a job as helper in a crockery store in Philadelphia, at a weekly wage of Two Dollars.

Two years later, he left for New York, to sign as a seaman on the schooner "Hindoo," at a salary of Six Dollars monthly. After rounding the Cape of Good Hope, he reached East India and Australia.

Subsequently he made a trip to Boston on a coal schooner and in June, 1856, he returned to Philadelphia, where he learned the printing trade.

He had difficulty finding employment, so became a steward on a schooner sailing for California. After one hundred and fifty-five days at sea, during which the ship had several narrow escapes from foundering, he passed through the Straits of Magellan, crossed the Horn of the Golden Gate, and anchored in San Francisco Harbor, on May 27th, 1858.

Having heard of the discovery of gold on the Frazer River, in Western Canada, he determined to go there, but after working his way as seaman to Victoria, B. C., he changed his plans because of discouraging reports he had received.

George decided to return to San Francisco. In 1861, at the age of 22, he married.

In 1865, he wrote the first article for which he received money. He discussed the Assassination of President Lincoln. (His first vote, by the way, had been cast in 1860, for Abraham Lincoln.)

In the San Francisco *Times* of November 30th, 1866, he published a leading article entitled "Two Giants," discussing the apparent sympathetic approach of the United States and Russia toward each other.

In October, 1868, he wrote for the *Overland Monthly* an excellent article, seven thousand words in length, entitled "What the Railroads Will Bring Us," for which he received Forty Dollars.

In the same year, he went to New York in an unsuccessful attempt to procure for the San Francisco *Herald*, membership in the Associated Press.

Early in 1869, he wrote for the New York *Tribune* an article "The Chinese on the Pacific Coast," which brought him favorable notice from John Stuart Mill.

Later he wrote for the same paper a series of articles on conditions in California.

He wrote for the *Overland Monthly* a short story entitled "How Jack Breeze Missed Being a Pasha."

It is an excellent piece of fiction, redolent of the sea, and reminds one of Dana or Conrad.

George squeezed all of his sea experience into this story, and did it mighty well.

Twice he was nominated for the Legislature on the Democratic and the Labor tickets, and twice defeated.

He was Secretary to the Democratic State Convention, in 1871, and a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore, in 1872, which performed the posterous feat of nominating Horace Greeley for President.

As early as 1869, he wrote an editorial in which he advocated the taxation of land values.

Later he wrote another editorial to supplement the first. Finally in 1871, in the course of four months, he wrote a forty-eight page pamphlet, "Our Land and Land Policy," in which he called attention to the fact, as it appeared to him, that a tax on land values is the most equitable of all taxes.

One thousand copies cost George Seventy-five Dollars. Twenty-one copies were sold at Twenty-five cents each; the rest were given away to good people who promised to read them. In my collection, you will find one of these excessively rare pamphlets.

In 1876 he delivered an address, "The Question Before the People. What is the Real Issue in the Presidential Campaign?"

The same year the Governor of California appointed him Inspector of Gas Meters, at a salary of Eighteen Hundred yearly.

Many years later, George stated to Noah Brooks that this position was no sinecure; that it imposed upon him a great deal of work, and that he hired some of his work to be performed by others without entire loss of his official pay, and he had done that, George said, in order to get time to do some writing, which he thought was important.

On July 4th, 1877, he delivered an oration "The American Republic, Its Dangers and Its Possibilities."

The following year, he delivered a lecture, "Why Work is Scarce, Wages Low, and Labor Restless."

In 1878, at the age of thirty-seven, he was invited to deliver a course of lectures on Economics, in the University of California. He gave one—that was all they could digest.

With this varied experience behind him, and with a wife and two children, and but little money, George started, on September 18th, 1877, to write "Progress and Poverty."

He carried on the work of composition upon the book with the greatest care. He wrote, and re-wrote, revised, and re-revised proofs until he felt himself satisfied.

He was always disorderly in the use of his tools and worked in the midst of a litter of papers and books, yet his manuscript looked neat.

After eighteen months of hard work, the book was completed in March, 1879. In the writing of it, he had drawn on the four Public Libraries of the City of San Francisco, besides his own collection of about eight hundred volumes.

Years later, George wrote:

"On the night on which I finished the final chapter of "Progress and Poverty," I felt that the talent entrusted to me had been accounted for—felt more fully satisfied, more deeply grateful than if all the kingdoms of the Earth had been laid at my feet."

On March 22nd, 1879, he shipped the completed manuscript to D. Appleton & Co., publishers in New York.

Six weeks later they wrote him:

"The manuscript has the merit of having been written with great clearness and force, but is very aggressive. There is little to encourage the publication of such a work at this time, and we must, therefore, decline it."

George then requested his brother Tom, in Philadelphia, to go to New York, to seek a market for the book. Tom submitted it to Harpers, who thought it revolutionary, and to Scribners who were polite but sceptical.

Next he interested Professor Swinton, and several other New York friends. They called at Appletons and again placed the manuscript before them. Appletons finally agreed to publish the book if George would advance the money for the electro-type plates. This George was unable to do, but he agreed to make the plates himself, which was satisfactory to the Appletons provided Professor Swinton would take on his own account one hundred copies of the book. This was satisfactory to Professor Swinton.

On May 17th, 1879, in the printing office of William M. Hinton, in San Francisco, Henry George, standing in his shirt sleeves at the case, set up the first two stick-fulls of type himself.

Five hundred copies of the book, known as the "Author's Edition," were struck off, and on October 4th, 1879, the plates made from this type were shipped East to the Appletons.

When the book was finished, George sent a copy to his father, eighty-one years old, living in Philadelphia.

He wrote him:

"It is with a deep feeling of gratitude to our Father in Heaven that I send you a printed copy of this book. I am grateful that I have been enabled to live to write it, and that you have been enabled to live to see it.

"It represents a great deal of work and a good deal of sacrifice, but now it is done. It will not be recognized at first—maybe not for some time—but it will ultimately be considered a great book, will be published in both hemispheres, and be translated into different languages. This I know, though neither of us may ever see it here. But the belief that I have expressed in this book—the belief that there is yet another life for us, makes that of little moment."

After many years of intensive search both in England and in the United States, I have been able to gather 15

copies of the "Author's Edition," all of which are here on display.

As the economic problem presses more and more insistently for solution, and the Single Tax as the sovereign remedy for our economic ills becomes more and more clearly perceived, these volumes, will, I believe, become increasingly valuable.

The manuscript of "Progress and Poverty," as submitted to Appletons in 1879, as well as a portion of the original first draft of 32 pages, was donated in 1914 by Henry George, Jr., then a Representative in Congress from New York, to the Congressional Library in Washington, D. C.

In 1925, Anna George deMille, Henry George's daughter, presented to the New York Public Library an incomplete copy of the manuscript of "Progress and Poverty."

The book did not go well at first. A page review in the New York *Sun* soon after publication, gave it a great lift.

One of Mr. George's friends, a Mr. Healy, who kept a book store in San Francisco, and was the chief distributor of "Progress and Poverty," has said that he sent for two hundred copies, but that more were given away than were sold during the first two years after publication.

The reviewer for the San Francisco *Chronicle*, under date February 1st, 1880, wrote:

"Notwithstanding the comparative obscurity of this writer as compared with Ricardo, Adam Smith, Mill, Spencer, and others, on the same subject, his volume will attract much attention among advanced minds."

Appletons brought out the first regular market edition of "Progress and Poverty," in January 1880, and the second in July of the same year.

They recently informed me, that they had printed, all told, seventeen thousand copies from the original plates.

Shortly after beginning publication of the book, they wrote George suggesting that he come to New York; that his presence would stimulate the sale of the book. Therefore, in August 1880, George borrowed money and came East on a third class ticket, leaving his family in San Francisco.

Slowly the book began to circulate.

In February 1883, George, without charge, permitted J. W. Lovell & Co. to issue a twenty cent paper-covered edition.

George never concerned himself with making money out of "Progress and Poverty," or indeed out of any of his works.

What he primarily cared for was to have the seed of his doctrine sown far and wide; all else was secondary.

The New York *Times* January 28th, 1883, referred to the Lovell paper-covered edition as:

"A still cheaper type edition of a book which has made, and justly made, its mark in the United States, in Germany, in France and in Great Britain."

The edition numbered fifteen thousand copies, and was exhausted in less than a week.

George was continually presenting copies of "Progress and Poverty," and his other books, to his numerous friends and admirers.

In my collection you will find 8 presentation copies of "Progress and Poverty" alone, besides 14 copies of his other books.

The first English edition of "Progress and Poverty," was issued in 1881 by Kegan Paul & Co. A second and third English editions followed in 1882 and 1883.

The first German edition was published in Berlin, in 1882. A cultured German, named Von Gutschow, had been so impressed by the book that he asked for permission to translate it, which George freely gave on the single condition that the translation should be faithful. George could read no foreign language, but he afterward had assurance that this translation was excellent.

The first French edition was published in 1888 and according to a writer in *Land and Liberty*,

"It disappeared at once from the book stalls and from the publishing trade in mysterious fashion."

Henry George & Co. published the book in 1886 and 1887. The Sterling Publishing Co. issued an edition in 1897. Doubleday and McClure published the book in 1898. Their successors, Doubleday Page & Co. began its publication in 1903.

Henry George, Jr., in his introduction to the 25th Anniversary Edition of "Progress and Poverty," under date of January 24th, 1905, wrote:

"Probably no exact statement of the book's extent of publication can be made; but a conservative estimate is that embracing all forms and languages, more than two million copies of "Progress and Poverty," have been printed to date."

The latest edition is the 50th Anniversary Edition, just published by the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation.

"Progress and Poverty," has also been translated into Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Italian, Finnish, Russian, Spanish, Hungarian, Dutch and Chinese.

How was George inspired to write the book?

He tells us. He was once riding on horseback in the hills back of Oakland.

"Absorbed in my own thoughts, I had driven the horse into the hills until he panted. Stopping for breath, I asked a passing teamster, for want of something better to say, what land was worth there. He pointed to some cows grazing off so far that they looked like mice.

"I don't know exactly, but there is a man over there who will sell some land for a thousand dollars an acre.' Like a flash it came upon me that there was the reason of advancing poverty with advancing wealth. With the growth of population, land grows in value, and the men who work it must pay for the privilege of working it. I turned back, amidst quiet thought, to the perception that

then came to me and has been with me ever since."

At another time, referring to the same incident, George stated:

"I there and then recognized the natural order—one of those experiences that make those who have had them feel thereafter that they can vaguely appreciate what mystics and poets have called the ecstatic vision. Yet at that time, I had never heard of the Physiocrats or even read a line of Adam Smith."

George did not invent the Single Tax. He never claimed to have invented it. The taxation of land values had been glimpsed by the French School of Economists, known as Physiocrats, almost a hundred years before "Progress and Poverty."

Patrick Edward Dove, a Scotch landlord of culture and generous aims, in a very remarkable book, entitled "The Theory of Human Progression," originally published in England, in 1850, also had elucidated the Single Tax Theory, long before George.

George's relation to the Single Tax, was rather that of expounder and apostle than inventor or discoverer. He made the idea clear, he buttressed it with arguments so cogent, foresaw objections with such prophetic insight, and answered them so conclusively, and withal showed so plainly that the idea is part of the scheme of the Universe, that history will always associate it with his name.

In his last work, "The Science of Political Economy," published posthumously, George stated that he had never heard of the Physiocrats and had read very little of the economic classics at the time he wrote "Our Land and Land Policy," which was the acorn from which the oak, "Progress and Poverty," grew.

Quesney, Mill, Spence, Thomas Paine and others, somewhat resemble the Norsemen whose keels touched the American shores centuries before those of Columbus; but nothing followed upon the event; they might just as well have stayed at home; while George is like the immortal Genoese with whose discovery the fortunes of mankind were changed.

No book in this age has made so profound an impression as "Progress and Poverty." No economic treatise has ever been so widely read. The eloquence of its style, the gleanings from literature, the skillful marshalling of facts and figures, the earnest moral, even religious enthusiasm of a great idea and a dominant purpose, sweep your sympathies along with the rushing tide of argument.

George's literary art is of the finest. His sentences are never involved, his choice of words is exact, his diction is simple yet rich, his thoughts expressed with transparent lucidity, and the different parts of his subject thoroughly well joined.

Independently of the economic matter of the book, there are so many facts contained in it, so many illustrations, and so many similes, all so interestingly combined, and so eloquently told, that the book on this account alone:

is unique; while considered merely as a political economic treatise, it is safe to assert that it is without a rival.

It is one of the most noteworthy facts connected with Henry George that with but little formal schooling, he should have achieved a style so marvelously excellent.

What manner of man was this who had written "Progress and Poverty?"

First he was a highly spiritual man. He was possessed of serenity, a certain inwardness, a measure of saintliness. Moreover, like all spiritual-minded people, George seemed always to be possessed of a great secret. This air of interior knowledge, of the perception of that which is hidden from the uninitiated, is a common mark of all refinement, esthetic as well as moral.

George believed in Democracy. He believed that human beings possessed indefeasible worth. That does not mean equality of gifts, or equality of mental energy, or equality of any of the traits that lead to success. It means equality in the same sense that each human being is a vehicle of some talent, however small, the bearer of some gift, however seemingly inconsiderable, which in the sum total of humanity's development is needed; that each one in his place and with his gift, however insignificant in appearance, is, in fact, indispensable.

The sole reason for ascribing such worth to human beings, is that the moral law enjoins us to do so. Before ever we have discovered whether a man has worth in him or not, the moral law enjoins us to ascribe it to him, to treat him as if he had it, to see him in the light of the possibilities which he has never made good and which he never wholly will make good. Thus, and thus only, shall we bring to light, in part at least, the precious things in his nature, the existence of which we can only divine. The moral law is wholly misunderstood if it be founded on the actual worth or value of men, for none of us has great worth or value. The moral law, as George conceived it, is a law for the eliciting of possibilities. It enjoins us that we shall invest others with a garment of light, that we shall ascribe worth to others, and to ourselves in order that they and we may become worthy. This is the spiritual conception which regulated George's attitude toward friends and foes.

Forty-six years ago, a Priest, who is still living, wrote to George a letter, suggesting that he become a Catholic.

George replied in part as follows:

"Once in a daylight, and in a city street, there came to me a thought, a vision, a call—give it what name you please. But every nerve quivered. And there and then I made a vow. Through evil and through good, whatever I have done and whatever I have left undone, to that I have been true. It was that that impelled me to write "Progress and Poverty," and that sustained me when else I should have failed. And when I had finished the last page, in the dead of night, when I was entirely alone, I flung myself on my knees and wept like a child. The rest was in the Master's hands. That is a feeling

that has never left me, that is constantly with me. And it has led me up and up. It has made me a better and purer man. It has been to me a religion, strong and deep, though vague—a religion of which I never like to speak, or make any outward manifestation, but yet that I try to follow."

What a self revealing picture of a Spiritual Man!

Henry George Memorial Congress

Pittsburgh, Sept. 23-25, 1929

ATTENDANCE RECORD

Ed. F. Alexander, Cincinnati, Ohio; Prof. J. B. Alemany, Pittsburgh, Pa.; M. E. Akers, Johnstown, Pa.; Will Atkinson, Capon Springs, W. Va.; Mrs. Warren Worth Bailey, Johnstown, Pa.; Warren Worth Bailey Jr., The Johnstown Democrat, Johnstown, Pa.; Mrs. Christine Ross Barker, Toronto, Canada; Ward Bonsall, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Max H. C. Block, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mrs. Katherine E. Bradley, Olean, N. Y.; Miss Fay Brashear, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Miss Janet L. Brownlee, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Prof. H. S. Bender, Johnstown, Pa.; Benjamin W. Burger, Brooklyn, New York; Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, Cincinnati, Ohio; A. C. Campbell, Ottawa, Canada; Mrs. Florence A. Carroll, Jutland, N. J.; Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, New Canaan, Conn.; Rev. W. J. Coleman, Glenshaw, Pa.; Charles W. Collins, Pittsburgh, Pa.; W. W. Cook, Perry, Ohio; John H. Craner, Beaver, Pa.; W. L. Crosman, Revere 51, Mass.; Alfred N. Chandler, Newark, N. J.; Otto Cullman, Chicago, Ill.; Samuel Danziger, Baltimore, Md.; Hon. Spencer M. DeGolier, Bradford, Pa.; Mrs. Ada Easton DeGolier, Bradford, Pa.; Mrs. Anna George deMille, New York City; A. J. Demmler, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Charles R. Eckert, Beaver, Pa.; Mrs. Charles R. Eckert, Beaver, Pa.; James B. Ellery, Erie, Pa.; D. H. Elliott, Pittsburgh, (South Hills), Pa.; George E. Evans, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mrs. George E. Evans, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Clayton J. Ewing, Chicago, Ill.; George Edwards, Youngstown, Ohio; William B. Foster, Pittsburgh, Pa.; David Gibson, Cleveland, Ohio; Charles LeBaron Goeller, Union, N. Y.; Mrs. Emma Golle, Charleroi, Pa.; Mrs. Ruth George Grove, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Frank B. Gill, Pittsburgh, Pa.; George H. Hallett, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.; Frank C. Harper, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Barney Haughey, Denver, Colorado; Charles O'Connor Hennessy, New York City; Robert J. Hardy, Carnegie, Pa.; John M. Henry, Pittsburgh, Pa.; J. H. Hensen, Grand Rapids, Mich.; P. H. Heverin, Wilmington, Del.; C. V. Horne, Ingram, Pittsburgh, Pa.; G. Brown Hill, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Gerrit J. Johnson, Pasadena, California; Rev. John L. Jones, Kansas City, Mo.; Emil O. Jorgensen, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Antoinette Kaufmann, New York City; G. Frank Kelly, Scottdale, Pa.; Miss Helen Klinsky, Charleroi, Pa.; Richard Koch, Warwick, R. I.; Ernest O. Kooser, Somerset, Pa.; Fenton Lawson, Cincinnati, Ohio; Frederick C. Leubuscher, New York City; J. C. Lincoln, E. Cleveland, Ohio; Mrs. J. C. Lincoln, E. Cleveland, Ohio; Robert C. Macauley, Philadelphia, Pa.; George P. Loomis, Oakmont, Pa.; George R. Macey, New York City; Francis W. Maguire, Pittsburgh, Pa.; John Mellor, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Joseph Dana Miller, New York City; Dr. Mark Millikin, Hamilton, Ohio; John Lawrence Monroe, Chicago, Ill.; Francis I. Mooney, Baltimore, Md.; Mrs. Francis I. Mooney, Baltimore, Md.; Miss Virginia Mooney, Baltimore, Md.; James F. Morton, Paterson, N. J.; Paul G. McClelland, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Thomas C. McMahon, Pittsburgh, Pa.; William N. McNair, Pittsburgh, Pa.; M. McNeill, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mrs. Emily Naley, Pittsburgh, Pa.; George C. Olcott, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. George C. Olcott, Chicago, Ill.; Hugo W. Noren, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Robert J. Ostrander, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Charles S. Owsley, Kansas City, Mo.; Edward Polak, New York City; Wayne Paulin, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Charles A. Poth, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mrs. Charles A. Poth, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Billy Radcliffe, Cleveland, Ohio; E. W. Pittman, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mark F. Roberts, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Ray Robson, Lansing, Mich.; Mrs. Ray Robson, Lansing, Mich.; John Salmon,

Baltimore, Md.; Miss Charlotte O. Schetter, New York City, George A. Schilling, Chicago, Ill.; Wm. E. Schoyer, Pittsburgh, Pa.; William Scott, Bradford Woods, Pa.; W. H. Sikes, Leonardville, Kansas; Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr.; Vineyard Haven, Mass.; Carl D. Smith, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Franklin Smith, Glenolden, Pa.; Mrs. Franklin Smith, Glenolden, Pa.; Rev. Frank Edwin Smith, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Phil Smith, Cumberland, Md.; Ralph E. Smith, Pittsburgh, Pa.; George B. Somerville, Johnstown, Pa.; Frank Stephens, Arden, Delaware; Frank T. Stirlith, Edgemoor, Delaware; Mrs. Frank T. Stirlith, Edgemoor, Delaware; George M. Strachan, Chicago, Ill.; Ambrose H. Swope, Johnstown, Pa.; Alan C. Thompson, Toronto, Canada; Henry L. T. Tideman, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Henry Tideman, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Marien Tideman, Chicago, Ill.; R. L. Tommins, Pittsburgh, Pa.; John W. Trieber, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Dr. Francis D. Tyson, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Edwin L. Upp, Gary, Ind.; Mrs. Edwin L. Upp, Gary, Ind.; Dr. Wm. J. Van Essen, Penn Theatre Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mrs. Anna G. Van Essen, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Dr. Walter Verity, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Cora Wagner, Charleroi, Pa.; George W. Wakefield, Pittsburgh, Pa.; John Warner, Cleveland, Ohio; Thomas J. Walsh, Cleveland, Ohio; Fiske Warren, Harvard, Mass.; Percy R. Williams, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mrs. P. R. Williams, Pittsburgh, Pa.; C. E. Willis, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mrs. Ida R. Williams, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Thomas M. Williams, Jr., Pittsburgh, Pa.; Peter Witt, Cleveland, Ohio; Henry H. Wilson, Beaver, Pa.; Rev. W. I. Wishart, D.D., Pittsburgh, Pa.; Frank H. West, Philadelphia, Pa.; Jacob Yeager, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Miss Adelaide Youngman, Jutland, N. J.; James L. Poth, Pittsburgh, Pa.; William J. Wisdom, Pittsburgh, Pa.;

A Fine on Industry

ONE of the points discussed during the National Tax Association's meeting at Saranac, N. Y., during the week of Sept. 9 is a familiar one. It is that by making improvements on their farms, building up their land and trying to establish farming on a modern business basis, along with the American standard of living, farmers increase their tax assessments. One of the ridiculous iniquities of our taxing system is that it penalizes a man for spending thought, time and money on his farm and home. It is a fine on his thrift, industry and good citizenship. It tends, therefore, to discourage healthy progress toward the realization of wholesome ambitions and the betterment of conditions that make or mar the lives of little children. Taxes are a constant and increasing drain on the human and property resources of the country in general, and of the agricultural industry in particular. What can be done to mitigate the injustices of the system? Why don't farmers' protective associations include this primary item in their demands for equity and relief? Will the people who levy and collect taxes and spend tax money ever reform the system which maintains them at the public crib?—*Rural New Yorker*.

LAND values are rising all over the country, owing to the development of motor transport and the overflow of the population into what have been rural areas. Land which recently had a purely agricultural value becomes eligible land for building purposes, and its market value rises ten, fifty, or a hundred times. The landowner has done nothing to create this increased value." RT. HON. PHILIP SNOWDEN, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Death of Frederick H. Monroe

ON August 26 at his home in Palos Park, after an illness of two months, died Frederick H. Monroe, President of the Henry George Lecture Association. It is a curious coincidence that his death occurred on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the publication of "Progress and Poverty" and the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the founding of the Henry George Lecture Association. He had in contemplation a trip to Pittsburgh to attend the Henry George Congress, but had been taken ill while on his eastern tour with his son, John Lawrence, last June and had been failing since that time. He was 64 years old. He is survived by his widow, Irene S. Monroe, and two sons, Frederick H. Jr., 28 and John Lawrence, 21.

Services were held Wednesday afternoon, August 28th, at Lain Chapel, Chicago, attended by many of his friends from Palos Park and the Chicago Single Tax group who gathered to pay their last respects. Rev. U. M. Maguire, editor of the *Baptist*, officiated, while former alderman Wiley Wright Mills paid an affectionate tribute to his more than a quarter-century's devotion to the Henry George cause.

The honorary pallbearers were John Z. White, whose brilliant oratory was made known to thousands through Mr. Monroe's efforts; George A. Schilling, who in 1904 gave Mr. Monroe a ticket to New York that was to start him on his twenty-five years of trans-continental tours; George C. Olcott, Chicago land values expert; Otto Cullman, president of the Merchants and Manufacturers Federal Tax League; Andrew P. Canning and Joseph Foerster, distinguished Chicago followers of Henry George.

The active pallbearers were Henry Hardinge, Patrick Kelliher, George Strachan, Emil O. Jorgenson, and Henry L. T. Tideman, all Mr. Monroe's Single Tax friends of thirty years' standing, and George Burden, a family friend. Mr. Monroe was born in Arcola, Illinois, April 7th, 1865, and after a youth and young manhood spent in Kansas and Colorado, moved to Chicago with Mrs. Monroe in 1895. He was active in the old Chicago Single Tax Club becoming its president for two terms, 1898 and 1899. The Henry George Association, with Mr. Monroe as its president, then was formed to further promote Single Tax educational work in and around Chicago. In 1904 the Henry George Association was organized to conduct the educational work on a nation-wide basis, with John Z. White official lecturer and Mr. Monroe president and treasurer. Travelling becoming too strenuous for Mr. White in 1927 the lecture field was covered then by Hon. George H. Duncan, for ten years a member of the New Hampshire legislature.

During the past five months John Lawrence Monroe has been actively engaged with his father, for the first two months accompanying him in the East, and during his father's illness making the annual trip for the Association through Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, under

his father's personal direction. Announcement has been made that he will continue to promote the educational program of the Henry George Lecture Association carrying out as nearly as possible the policies of his father.

It was as a lad about to become a school teacher near Denver, Colorado, that young Frederick Monroe was first introduced to the book that was to determine his career. Seeing the book lying upon the desk he spoke of it to Mr. White who was Superintendent of the schools and was told that it was a work no young man should fail to read. He found it fascinating as a novel, as so many have before and since. It struck a sympathetic chord in his nature for he had yearned even before reading the work to devote himself to social or humanitarian work and the teachings of this book supplied the needed spur.

He probably had met and knew intimately more Henry George men than any man in the movement. He had met also many public men in his travels up and down the country, who while not openly avowing their belief revealed their sympathies. He was therefore in a position to know that the movement had friends who when the time should arrive would make their convictions known. It was this that strengthened his faith in the triumph of the movement. Few had had such exceptional opportunities for gauging public sentiment and the underlying conviction of so many men in public life to whom in a way he was a father confessor.

His tolerant spirit for all sorts of Single Tax activities, his willingness to aid any one who was doing work for the cause in his own way, even though it may not have been his way, was a trait to which we can bear witness, for many were our conversations and while we often differed, never was such difference of opinion allowed to color our relationship, which over a long period of years was never interrupted.

We learned to respect his singleness of purpose, his amazing industry, and his rare courage. Undoubtedly he performed a work of great usefulness. He kept some of our most prominent lecturers in the field who otherwise would have been heard only occasionally. He created a field for them and through his efforts the movement was assured of their continued services in the lecture field. It is to be hoped that the work he did will be perpetuated and that John Lawrence Monroe will, as has been announced, continue the work that his father has relinquished. We are sure that the friends of the movement will wish him God speed.

SAID Herbert Spencer: "The sole result of legislation to protect fools against their own folly is to create a nation of fools." Let any one who doubts this take a good look at the United States.

THE rights of man are rights of all generations of men and cannot be monopolized by any.

—THOMAS PAINE.

Prize Essay Contest in New York High Schools

THE Dr. Mary D. Hussey Prize Essay Contest for pupils of the New York City High Schools was ended in June and prizes were awarded June 25, 26, 27 and 28. Similar contests were conducted in high schools outside of the City of New York, in Lakewood, N. J., Toms River, N. J., Schuylerville, N. Y., and Pottersville, N. Y.

Dr. Hussey, devoted adherent of the principles of Henry George, left a bequest of \$5,000 for Single Tax work and named a committee to administer this fund. The Committee consisted of Miss Amy Mali Hicks, Miss Charlotte O. Schetter and Miss Grace Isabel Colbron. On the invitation of the Committee Hon. Edward Polak lent his active cooperation to the work.

It seemed to the Committee that to interest the young was the most important object to which this sum could be devoted, and so \$1,000 was set aside for prizes to the pupils of New York High Schools and those of the four others named above. Mr. Polak, acting as President of the Mary D. Hussey Prize Essay Committee, secured the consent and cooperation of the Board of Education.

The subject of the essays was "The Economic Law as Expounded by Henry George," and the conditions were that in each school at least five essays must be written. A committee of economics teachers from the schools read the essays and selected not more than two from each school to be read by the judges. Essays were not to exceed 2,000 words in length.

Upon request of principals of the various High Schools speakers were sent to address the classes and answer questions. Over 800 copies of "Progress and Poverty," abridged and unabridged, were distributed among the competing students, and other books placed in the school libraries.

More than 1,500 essays were submitted by the pupils of twenty-three High Schools and the prizes were awarded as follows:

FIRST PRIZE OF \$100

Harmel, Ruth T., Girls' Commercial High. Griffin, Mary E., Julia Richman High. Schulz, Helmet, Brooklyn Technical High. Brachman, Alex., James Madison High. Dwaretsky, Joseph, Alexander Hamilton High.

SECOND PRIZE OF \$75

Friedman, William, Dewitt Clinton High. Morris, Muriel, Julia Richman High. Mandel, Morris, Franklin K. Lane High.

THIRD PRIZE OF \$50

Lapidres, Leo, Manual Training High. Johnson, Hermes Estelle, Wadleigh High. Kafka, Roger J., James Monroe High.

HONORABLE MENTION PRIZE OF \$25

Harold, John M., Brooklyn Technical High. Bluestein, Abraham, James Madison High. Glazer, Hyman,

Alexander Hamilton High. Cohen, Alvin H., George Washington High. Weiner, Clarence M., James Monroe High.

The Single Taxers who delivered prizes to the students and addresses at the Commencement Exercises of the High Schools were:

Mr. John J. Egan, Hon. Charles O'Connor Hennessy Hon. Cornelius M. Sheehan, Mr. Benjamin Buger, Mr. Charles H. Ingersoll, Mr. James R. Brown, Mr. Byron Holt, Miss Antoinette Kaufmann, Mr. Otto K. Dorn, Mr. Charles J. Post, Mr. Edward Polak, Hon. William J. Webber.

The Committee desire to express their gratitude for the help extended by Dr. T. E. Bullard and Mr. Jesse B. Deyoe, of Schuylerville, N. Y., and Hon. Chas. Hecht, of Lakewood, N. J., in making this essay contest successful in the four out of town schools, and to James R. Brown, who lent the facilities of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, and to both Mr. Brown and Mr. Sid Evans for their great service in addressing the economic classes of the schools and thus helping to guide the students in writing their essays.

It is the intention of the Committee to follow up this work, to continue sending literature to the competing students, and to extend the work to other cities.

A printed report of this contest with fuller details will be sent on application by the committee of the Dr. Mary D. Hussey Fund, care of Manhattan Single Tax Club, 1860 Broadway, this city.

The Henry George Congress

MANY who may not agree with the main proposal of the late Henry George, the Single Tax, will yet join heartily in well wishes for the congress now being held in Pittsburgh in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of his book, "Progress and Poverty." Obviously a book that proves to be a living force for half a century and promises to grow in its hold, with many organizations in existence to spread its doctrines, has much of merit. This is a reminder that important as the Single Tax may be to its advocates, there is more than that one feature to the writings of Henry George. The author showed generally a great sympathy for the common people and shed light on a number of their problems.

In an especial sense, Pittsburgh has paid tribute to Henry George. Its graded tax, by which buildings are taxed at only half the rate applied to land, has been called a modified form of the Single Tax. In George E. Evans, William N. McNair, Percy R. Williams and a number of others Pittsburgh also has its share of ardent leaders for the reforms advocated by George.

It is certain that this memorial convention will stand out in the history of the societies founded upon the George ideas.—EDITORIAL, *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, Sept. 23, 1929.

Profits and the "Vice" of Saving

PART I.

THERE is perhaps no economic problem which has worried more the man in the street than that embodied in the title of this article. Started originally by Foster and Catchings of the Pollak Foundation of Newton, Mass., whose book "Profits" gave rise to a \$5,000 prize contest for *adverse* critics, the problem has been discussed by organs as wide apart in their audience as the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Pumpkin Corner Weekly*. The Pollakians claim that overproduction is caused by the hoarding of profits and salaries which destroys the equilibrium between production and consumptive power. The evident remedy, they say, is for everyone to spend all they receive so that economic equilibrium will always prevail and market gluts, with their resulting shutdowns and unemployment, be avoided.

The Pollakian remedy has been enthusiastically accepted by many influential people including, of course, all those engaged in the mass production of such semi-superfluities as radio-sets and pleasure cars. Others, while not yet ready to discard the venerable commercial code of Poor Richard and call saving a vice instead of a virtue, seem partly hypnotized by the new heresy and make only a feeble resistance to the growing demand for the conversion of all our savings banks into promoters of installment buying. But fallacies may be detected in the most plausible sophistry, if one will employ patience and a strong lens, so I shall ask my readers to kindly bear with me while I apply the magnifier.

The Pollakians seem to have fallen into the same pit as did Karl Marx when he wrote his first two volumes of "Capital," dealing with the production and circulation of wealth. Confining his investigations for many years principally to the cotton factories of England, Marx developed his famous theory of "surplus value" which may be defined as: "The difference between the value added to a commodity by the labor expended in changing the form or position, and the cost of such labor." Thus defined, "Surplus value" is the practical equivalent of "profits," as used by the Pollakians, and I shall therefore hereafter use these two terms interchangeably in my discussion. Unlike the latter, Marx believed that surplus value arose from the robbery of his workmen by an employer and he advocated from this foundation the famous paradox of Proudhon: "all property is robbery."

The acceptance of this paradox as their creed by the Socialist parties of Western Europe, when they were organized a half century ago, explains both their political theories and their practical programme for a war of classes aiming at the destruction of every class except the Proletariat and the abolition of private ownership in all the means of wealth production.

The first volume of "Capital" on the production of

wealth and the second volume on its circulation were published by Marx during his lifetime, but the third and last volume, on its distribution, was only issued posthumously, in 1894 by Frederick Engels. Curiously enough it was not till the writing of his last volume that Marx discovered his early mistake based on a wrong conception of surplus value. In his investigation of agriculture and mining included in the book on Land, he found that the surplus value of these industries differed radically from that of a competitive industry like cotton manufacture. While the profits of the latter tended to be reduced by competition to their minimum essential for covering business risks, those of industries founded on the exclusive possession of natural resources such as arable land or a mineral deposit, included often another item, due entirely to some special advantage conferred by nature or society, which technically is called economic rent. In other words, profits in competitive industries contained no element of robbery, as they were due to some service in production contributed by either the proprietors, as mental laborers, or the invested capital saved from their labor in the past. But in privileged industries, which possessed landed property conferring some special advantage in production not common to all competitors, there often existed a surplus profit or rent or increment which, not being due to any present or past service of the proprietors but rather to nature or society, was clearly unearned by the persons who received it and might therefore ethically be termed a "robbery."

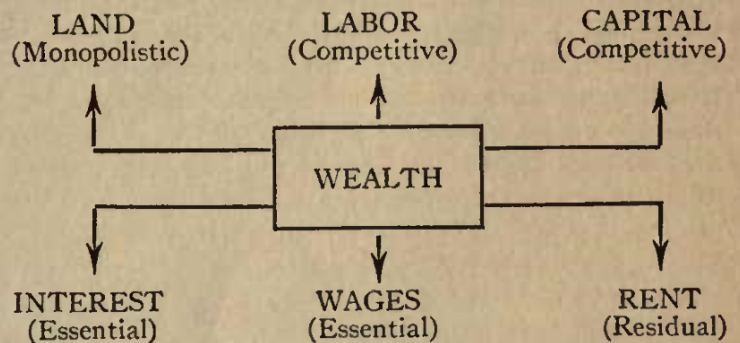
Unfortunately for an orderly social progress, these discoveries of Marx were published too late to change the original political programme of Socialism which had already been preached widely for two decades. Marx, himself, never corrected publicly during his lifetime his early error regarding the nature of surplus value, either because he never fully realized the practical significance of his studies on landed property or because he shrunk from facing the public opprobrium which such a correction might have caused. It is not surprising that the leaders of Socialist parties have never betrayed any knowledge of Marx's final conclusions about profits, if indeed they ever discovered them, as few, if any, have been sufficiently studious to wade through the 2,178 pages of "Capital" which precede the book on Land. This failure to understand completely his prophet must also have been true of Lenin, student as he was reputed to be, for his Russian experiment was begun on the basis of the original Marxian programme and it is improbable that anything but its complete failure in practise impelled him to avoid further economic disasters by adopting the "N. E. P."

Before discussing its social implications, I beg leave to describe, in some detail, the nature of monopoly profits, or economic rent, as distinguished from the popular term "profits" as used by most writers including the Pollakians.

All the factors for producing wealth can finally be re-

duced to three: *land*, *labor* and *capital*, while the produced *wealth* is thereafter distributed among these three factors, labor receiving the *wages*, capital the *interest* and land the *rent*. These seven italicized terms, in their strict economic sense (2) can graphically be related by the accompanying Trinitarian diagram.

The popular terms "profits" and "income" are complex rather than simple items of distribution; each term can be subdivided into *interest*, *wages* or *rent*, according to the wealth representing the reward paid for the use of capital, of labor or management, or of land. The term insurance can readily be classed either as interest or wages, according as it represents the extra cost for capital or labor, added to cover the risk of their use. Similarly, the popular terms for the factors of production, such as real estate, railway, mine or factory can, after a little consideration, be readily subdivided into the fundamental factors of land, labor and capital.



TRINITARIAN DIAGRAM

As land, labor and capital share among themselves the whole output of wealth, the share of one of the three productive factors in the output of any enterprise can only be increased at the expense of one or both of the other two. Also, the share of wealth that one factor can obtain depends entirely on its relative strength, in its struggle with the other two factors. As productive operations grow in size, it is evident that any one of the three factors that can be indefinitely increased in quantity is subject to competition, and consequently its share of wealth tends to be cut down to the minimum necessary for the factor's survival. As both labor and capital are of this competitive nature, wages tend constantly to approach the lowest living wage necessary to keep up a labor supply of the required quality, and interest tends to approach the minimum rate needed to encourage the saving of capital. Land, on the contrary, being fixed in quantity, cannot be increased as production grows; it is therefore the only naturally monopolistic factor of the three. The final result of the competitive struggle in distribution between land, labor and capital is that the monopolistic factor, land, takes the whole residue of wealth from any operation after labor and capital have been paid their essential wages and interest.

As rent is a residue, not an essential payment to sustain

production like wages and interest, lands may be continuously worked which yield no rent; and, as a matter of fact, it is probable that the area of rentless lands under exploitation on the globe is greater than that of those yielding rent. For superior lands, the *economic* rent—as distinguished from the popular term rent—which generally includes interest and often wages too—is easily calculated from Ricardo's well-proved Law of Rent. (3) Speculation or forestalling, as usually practised, may be defined as the legal withholding from use of needed superior lands for individual profit, thus forcing part of the nation's labor and capital to resort to inferior lands where they consequently produce less wealth. This also raises the price of the output, for it artificially lowers the quality of marginal land (4) whose cost of production fixes the market price of the whole output of the community in question.

While land speculation only indirectly affects the quantity and price of commodities, by lowering the quality of marginal land, land monopoly is able not only to control the quantity but also to fix the price of its output directly. If the monopoly be local, it can only fix prices as high as those of an imported product; if it is complete, it generally fixes its price at "what the traffic will bear," or where it will produce the maximum continuous income. As examples of practically complete monopolies may be mentioned: the diamond trust of Africa, the anthracite trust of Pennsylvania and the coffee trust of Brazil.

The state is a silent partner in all productive enterprises as it furnishes more or less of its land, its capital and its labor to assist every one. Accordingly taxes,—the share of wealth apportioned to the state—may be classed under the heading of wages, interest or rent, as they represent a payment made for the use of the labor, the capital, or the land of the state. Any general tax levied by the state on private capital or labor is bound to increase the essential payments for the sustenance of capital and labor (interest and wages) and, therefore, to increase the price of commodities that is set by the cost for capital and labor on marginal land. But a tax on the third, or residual item in wealth distribution—*rent*—cannot raise prices, because rent is not a factor in price-fixing, marginal land being rentless. An increased tax on rent means, then, that the state gets more and the landlord less; while the increased tax on either interest or wages means, finally, its shifting to consumers in the form of higher prices for commodities.

(To be continued)

REFERENCES

1.—"Capital" by Karl Marx. English trans. of E. Unterman, publ. by C. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill., 1910.

2.—J. E. Symes, in Chaps. 1 and 2 of his "Political Economy" thus defines these terms: "*Land*" includes such material gifts of nature as may be monopolized; *Labor* includes all manual and mental human exertions used to produce wealth; *Capital* includes such material products of labor as are devoted to the production of other objects

of desire; *Wealth* includes all the material products of human labor which arouse desire. Assuming free competitive conditions, *an* *Wages* is the share of wealth secured by laborers, *Interest* is the share secured by capitalists, and *Rent* is the share secured by the proprietor of natural objects and forces."

3.—Symes ("Political Economy," 29) gives: "The normal rent of any land is got by deducting the produce of land on the margin of cultivation from the produce of the land in question."

4.—Marginal land may be defined as the leanest land that has to be worked to supply the current demands for its product. It is necessarily rentless and its expenditure for labor and capital fixes the price of the commodity yielded. Marginal land constantly fluctuates in quality; *naturally* as the current demand varies and *artificially* when affected by the operations of land speculators and monopolists.

—ROBERT BRUCE BRINSMAN

Economic Law as Expounded by Henry George*

PRIZE WINNING ESSAY BY HERMES ESTELLE
JOHNSON, WADLEIGH HIGH SCHOOL

PROGRESS and poverty, seemingly inseparable companions of civilization, go hand in hand in every country of the world which has shown any sign of material progress. Wherever progress is, poverty is sure to follow. In communities where material progress has hardly commenced; in communities where no class of people live luxuriously; in communities where the scientific appliances which simplify labor have not yet been introduced, there is no poverty. But in more advanced countries where wealth is abundant, and where there are magnificent churches and mansions, there are people who suffer from dire poverty; there are almshouses, there are prisons, there are tramps. There must be some fundamental cause for the fact that poverty is engendered by progress. This cause is clearly explained by Henry George in his book "Progress and Poverty."

The cause that produces poverty amid advancing wealth is the tendency of wages to a minimum. Therefore, to find a solution to the problem of poverty, we must first understand why in spite of increased productive power wages tend to a minimum which will give but a bare subsistence. Henry George endeavors to place the solution to this problem within our apprehension by proving that wages are not drawn from pre-existing capital as the current "wages fund" doctrine fallaciously teaches, but are produced by labor itself. Carefully paving the ground before him with substantial reasoning, Henry George, the Socrates of the nineteenth century, shows by progressing from the simple, original state of things to the present day complicated methods that wages are the produce of labor. He also conclusively proves that the laborers are

* We have selected this essay for publication, out of the sixteen winning prize essays in the contest described elsewhere in this issue, apart from its intrinsic merit because the writer has successfully overcome two handicaps; girls are not taught economics as thoroughly as boys, and the writer is a colored girl.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM

not maintained by capital but receive their wages and subsistence from the produce of their labor.

One may then say that if capital does not provide labor with wages and maintenance, what then is its function? Its function is to increase the wealth-producing power of labor by enabling it to avail itself of the productive forces of nature. It is the tool in the handle of labor. It has been observed that where capital is most abundant, wages are lowest. The current doctrine teaches that the reason for this fact is increasing population, maintaining that wages depend upon the ratio between the number of laborers, and the amount of capital devoted to their employment. Therefore, an increase in the number of laborers necessitates a decrease in wages. Regarding as valid the preceding statement, and the Malthusian theory which says that population tends to increase with greater rapidity than subsistence, the current doctrine maintains that in spite of greater productive power, increased population results in lower wages.

To disprove the current doctrine, Henry George disproves the Malthusian theory, showing wherein it is fallacious. He asserts that in a given state of civilization a greater number of people can collectively be better provided for than a smaller; that the injustice of society is the cause of the want and misery which is attributed to overpopulation; that increasing population brings with it increased productive power; and, that in a state of equality, increased population would tend to make every individual richer instead of poorer. Having shown the invalidity of the Malthusian theory, and having previously proven that wages are not drawn from capital, Henry George, by dint of his Socratic reasoning, has completely disproved the current doctrine.

But the disproof of this doctrine does not tell us what produces poverty amid advancing wealth. We must now make a careful study of the laws of distribution to see if they will bring us nearer to the solution of our problem. Having narrowed the field of inquiry by proving that the solution is not to be found in the laws which bound the production of wealth, we must seek it in the laws that govern distribution.

The laws governing the distribution of wealth are those of rent, wages, and interest. The three factors of production are land, labor, and capital. Rent, which is the return to land, depends upon the margin of cultivation, rising as it falls, and falling as it rises. By this we mean that rent is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use. Wages, which are the return on the produce of labor, depend upon the margin of cultivation, falling as it falls, and rising as it rises. In other words, wages depend upon the produce which labor can obtain at the highest point of natural productiveness open to it, without the payment of rent. Interest is the return on capital, and depends upon the margin of cultivation, falling as it falls and rising as it rises. By this last state-

ment we mean that the relation between wages and interest is determined by the average power of increase which attaches to capital from its use in reproductive modes. As rent rises, interest, like wages, will fall, or will be determined by the margin of cultivation.

These laws of distribution are affected to a great extent by material progress. Increase of population which is an element of material progress tends to increase rent, and decreases wages and interest. Material progress, in the form of improvement in the arts of production, increases production. But the benefits of improvements are ultimately monopolized by the land owners.

Having made a careful study of all these laws, conditions, and situations, Henry George solves his problem, and informs us that the reason for the unequal distribution of wealth is inequality in ownership of land. After depriving man of land, what has he?—Nothing. Absolutely nothing. Land enables man to subsist, land furnishes him with habitation, land satisfies his desires. It is to land that he must apply labor and capital if he expects the gratification of his wishes. Hence, when land is monopolized, how can wages but tend to a minimum which will give but a bare subsistence? How can the masses subsist if a few people check production by monopolizing the land and thus debarring applications of labor and capital?

There can be no perpetual extirpation of the slums and the desperately poor classes until all land is open to applications of labor and capital. Thousands of laborers stand idle, thousands of people suffer and even die of poverty, while a few hundred are lapped in luxury. Was this state of affairs pre-ordained by the Creator? Is this condition due to the niggardliness of nature? Henry George answers these questions in the negative. Private ownership of land is a condition created by man.

Many remedies have been proposed to check the increase of poverty amid advancing wealth and to curb and finally eradicate private ownership of land. Henry George shows the insufficiency of these remedies, and recommends a single tax on land values.

Henry George's proposal is to shift taxes from buildings and improvements to land values. In the United States there are income taxes, license taxes, inheritance taxes, and many others which tend to curtail production. Take, for example, a manufacturer who has to pay an income tax, a property tax, and a tax on the commodities he produces. The accumulation of these taxes tends to deter him from producing an increased amount of commodities. Thus, production is curtailed. But, if a single tax were to be placed on land values, in lieu of curbing production, it would stimulate production by penalizing idle land. One can readily see that if a tax were placed on idle land as well as land which is utilized, more land would be brought into use, because the owner would have to pay the tax whether he was utilizing his property or not.

The Single Tax, which is as expedient as it is just would

require no laborious effort to put it into effect. On going into effect, the Single Tax would decrease unemployment because builders and artisans would be called upon to build up idle land. Thus, if there is more employment, poverty will be lessened. The decrease in poverty will in turn result in a higher standard of living. It can be clearly seen that a single tax on land value would be very advantageous and beneficial to the country.

It is sincerely hoped that it will not be far in the future when poverty shall be extirpated, land shall in effect be public property, unemployment shall have ceased, the standard of living shall be raised and there shall be many other ameliorations of the conditions of society due to the effect of the Single Tax.

"Progress and Poverty"

I SEE that the admirers and followers of Henry George are celebrating during their International Conference this week the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of his book "Progress and Poverty." It will be a surprise to nobody that the chairman of the American and other committees, is named Charles O'Connor Hennessy—an Irishman is bound to get in somewhere in any big forward movement, especially if it has its origin in America.

I knew Henry George pretty well, and indeed I met him at a time when he had already conquered most of his difficulties. He was not a man who had much presence, for he was rather short of stature; he had inherited from his days of abject poverty a certain shabbiness of dress, and altogether there was a contrast between the world-wide glory he was just attaining and the unpretentious exterior. Apart altogether from his doctrines, Henry George's book was a fascinating volume, written in perfectly pellucid and unpretentious English, and carrying the reader along on the tide of its simple eloquence. I think really it was the style of Henry George rather than his fundamental doctrine as to the Land Tax that accounted for the immense and continuous popularity of his book.

He was almost bullied by his enthusiastic followers to stand for the mayoralty of New York, and he had some fair chance of winning. But, as people anticipated, the exertion of such a strenuous campaign was more than his well-worn physique could stand, and he died suddenly in the middle of the fight. His delicacy of constitution was inherited by at least one member of his family: his son, who afterwards became a member of Congress, was a tiny but delightful boy; he remained a boy in appearance—and a delicate one at that—to the day of his early death.

There was another remarkable member of the family who, I am glad to say, still survives, Anna George deMille—for such is her name—was the guest of honor at one of the social gatherings which accompanied the conference. I hope to see her before she leaves this side. She, like her relatives, is tiny in stature, and she seems to have a

great deal of what the Irish call "cutting" in her, and, besides, is a very pretty woman. It was rather amusing to me to watch the different phases of her personality in the course of conversation—at one moment an enthusiastic apostle of the new land gospel, the next simply a very pretty and attractive woman. She is delightful in both capacities.—HON. T. P. O'CONNOR, M. P. in *London Times*.

Australian Resolution Cabled to the British Government

THE following Resolution passed by the Henry George League of Victoria at their monthly meeting on July 15th, 1929, and cable authorized for despatch to the British Government:

"Maintaining that tariffs are one of the causes promoting unemployment, high cost of living and international ill-feeling, we view with admiration the stated intention of the British Government to carry out the clearly expressed mandate of the electorate to discontinue the policy of protection existing in Great Britain.

"Asserting our right as Australians to frame our own domestic policy without let or hindrance by any nation or any part of the Empire we express displeasure and irritation at the undignified public utterances made in Australia with the object of inducing the British taxpayer to further support Australian industries already leaning too heavily upon the British and Australian consumers.

"We express the hope that the noble gesture made in the British Parliament will soon be translated into action and set a shining example to the Dominions and the world at large, for we feel that any attempt at economic welding will weaken existing ties that bind the Empire and lead to retaliation from other countries, whose cooperation and goodwill we strongly desire for the peace of the world and the wellbeing of mankind."

WE know a corner lot speculator who is fierce against dog race betting but believes he himself is a useful citizen when he acquires title to vacant land and holds it idle for a "rise" in the selling price.

—HOWARD M. HOLMES, in the *Ohio State Journal*.

WOMEN who are sincere in their efforts to better the home and living conditions cannot shun the extreme importance of the Single Tax teachings propounded by Henry George.—ANNA GEORGE DEMILLE at the Pittsburgh Conference.

IT is land monopoly which has dispossessed more than half of the inhabitants of every nation of their natural inheritance, without providing for them, as ought to have been done, an indemnification for that loss, and has thereby created a species of poverty and wretchedness that did not exist before.—THOMAS PAINE.

Henry George and Catholics

ATHER DAWSON'S RECENT LETTER, AND INCIDENTS OF THE EDINBURGH CONFERENCE

HERE were many unusual and humanly interesting incidents at the recent Edinburgh Conference of International Union for Land Value Taxation and Trade which brought together the followers of Henry George from many parts of the world. One of the most impressive of these incidents was the reading to the Conference by President Hennessy of a letter handed to him by Mrs. Anna George deMille which she had received from Thomas Dawson, a devout and beloved Catholic of Ireland. Father Dawson was an intimate friend of Henry George and his name figures in a notable chapter of the Life of the great philosopher, written by Henry George, Jr. In the chapter referred to there is a letter to Father Dawson, written under the seal of confidence and privacy, in which Henry George touchingly revealed his inner religious feelings. After his death the letter found its way into the hands of the biographer who did not previously know of its existence. There is no more beautiful nor revealing incident of the life of Henry George than this.

Thomas Dawson, retired from active pastoral service, now in his 80th year, is living in Dublin. In response to a letter from Mrs. deMille he travelled to London to appear before the Edinburgh Conference. She urged him to attend the Conference, but he demurred on account of physical infirmities, and also because, as he explained in a letter:

"A priest cannot take part in the duties of the lay politician and the Finance Ministers unless he is so badly advised that the Bishops authorize him to go forward and lead. And it must be remembered that some very able Catholic men, having great influence, are landlords, but 'good landlords', though the landlord system is manifestly and essentially unjust, *contra bonum publicum*. I have always been willing to be known as having learned from your father in the early 1880's, and as one who has seen the truth of his doctrine more and more clearly in the lapse of time. I would always willingly write and explain and defend—even in print—your father's teachings.

T. DAWSON, O. M. I."

An incident in harmony with the foregoing was the adoption by the Conference of a resolution, giving praise and thanks to J. O'Donnell Derrick, an active Catholic of Glasgow, who has for years been the Scottish correspondent of the *Irish Weekly* and *Ulster Examiner* and who has been indefatigable in his work through this and other newspaper mediums in spreading the teachings of the Henry George movement in Northern Ireland and Scotland. Mr. Derrick, in a letter to President Hennessy after the Conference, wrote: "Father Dawson

has been a tower of strength to me in my Georgian activities. Were I dying, my last words would be—'God bless Henry George's disciples everywhere and may God give the people Grace to realize the truth which Henry George sought to make clear.'"

Land Question Up In New York Campaign

ADDRESSING the two candidates for the mayoralty, Norman Thomas said: "Assuming that both of you are committed, in theory, to the system of more efficient and honest assessment of land values than we now have, how do you expect to recover for the people the land values which society creates? How can you carry through any of your elaborate programs for the city if the landlord is to be the chief beneficiary of every public improvement?"

Under a Socialist administration Mr. Thomas pointed out the cost of public improvements would be paid for largely by special assessments or excess condemnation, or by a mixture of the two, working toward the establishment of the right of the people to the whole economic rent of land. "This rent can be taken by a tax which cannot be shifted by the landlord to his tenants," he added.

"Mr. LaGuardia's list may or may not be wholly correct, but the under-assessment of land, partly as a result of favoritism, unquestionably exists and is necessarily made up for by the over-assessment or over-taxation of other property," Mr. Thomas said.

He declared that, under the present system of taxation and assessment, every improvement to the city helped the landlord, but saddled more taxes on the people.

"The problem in itself is easily solved," the Socialist candidate explained. "Society creates land values. Society should take them by a tax. No injustice would be done by imposing such a tax if the readjustments were made over a period of years. The landlord always takes all the traffic will bear. The tax simply substitutes society for the private landlords as the recipient for ground rents."

—N. Y. *Herald-Tribune*, Oct. 2, 1929.

WE all know that property in the suburbs has frequently been increased in value 500 per cent. or more through such improvements, but our City Administrations have been so short-sighted and so fearful of the political consequences of placing this burden where it should fall, that the land speculators have reaped the benefit that belongs to the car-riders.

—SAMUEL UNTERMYER.

RING out, O bells of Liberty!
Teach men God's Truth that makes men free!
"The Earth is Mine," thus spake the Lord.
Sojourners ye by my accord.

—E YANCEY COHEN.

THE Golden Age will be ushered in when governments conform to the same ethical principles which universally obtain among men: When governments shall, for their necessary expenses, make full use of their only legitimate source of revenue, the rental value of land: When consequently, all other taxes shall be abolished: When land speculation and land monopoly shall cease: When all men shall enjoy an equal right to the use of the Earth: When commerce between nations shall be as free as it now is between the states of the Union: When the philosophy of Henry George shall have become a beneficent reality.—HENRY WARE ALLEN.

TARIFFS A MENACE TO PEACE

[Extracts from an address by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University and of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, at Southampton, L. I., Sept. 2, 1929.]

THE certain and revolutionary result of the shift which has taken place in the centre of gravity of human interest is to put wealth in the position which liberty used to occupy. This displacement more than anything else explains the extraordinary decline of political liberalism which has taken place in both Europe and the United States. 'It bores me to hear you discuss liberty,' said a young Oxford man, who is now a member of the House of Commons. He was perfectly sincere and he spoke the language of his generation. For him at least, and for millions like-minded with him, the centre of gravity of human interest had definitely moved from the politics of principle to the politics of interest, from problems of liberty to problems of wealth.

"A stupendous amount of nonsense has been written about the economic interpretation of history. Of course the gainseeking motive has never been absent from human life and human society, but time and again and for long periods of time it has been so far in the background as to be without measurable influence on the course of events. Moreover, when the gainseeking motive is confronted, as it so frequently is in the life history of men and women, by an alternative based on character, on high principle, on large intelligence, it often goes to the wall.

"The present eclipse of liberalism is so plain that he who runs may read. In part, this eclipse may be due to the fact that what were once distinctive liberal principles have now been either accepted or assimilated by groups and by parties which do not proclaim themselves liberal. In still larger part, however, this eclipse is due to that shift in the centre of gravity from liberty to wealth, which has already been described. The enormous influence of this dominant motive on all human conduct and on all public policies is plain. It controls an increasing number of individual lives and it is shaping most powerfully the policies of nations both new and old, for the production and distribution of wealth is distinctly a collective or group act rather than an expression and revelation of individuality, as is the case in letters, the fine arts or philosophy. In the field of scientific research, individual achievements of the highest order fortunately remain.

"The economic interest is now bound up closely, although we must hope not permanently or even for any considerable time, with that extreme form of nationalism which brought on the great war and which was sent to its destruction by and through that war. If narrow nationalism, built on a truly political foundation, could not do better than it did, what can possibly be expected of a narrow nationalism that is built on an economic foundation? The world is just now standing at a crossroads. It may take the path in one direction which will make agriculture, industry, commerce, trade, finance, the fortunate means of uniting the whole world, of increasing its prosperity and of buttress-

ing its peace; or it can take the opposite path which will turn the nation into narrow-minded, unsympathetic, jealous and quarreling neighbor and so prepare the way for another cataclysm which, if it should come, would mark civilization's end.

"What are we going to do about it? Where shall our influence be thrown? Shall it be for a repetition of the old stupidities, the old ignorances and the old antagonisms or shall it be for a new world order in which selfish competition shall be supplanted by kindly and large minded cooperation? That is in substance the crucial question which at this moment awaits answer by leaders of opinion in every land.

"It so happens that passing events in our own country offer excellent illustration of the alternative which is before the world.

"It is perfectly possible for Congress in enacting new tariff legislation to advance or to set back the prosperity and the peace of the world. The time has long since gone by when tariff legislation is purely a domestic matter. For the United States, as for Great Britain, for France for Germany, for Italy and indeed for almost every land, tariff legislation is primarily international in its incidence and in its more lasting results. Plainly the time has not come nor is it in sight when Richard Cobden's ideal of absolute freedom of international trade is possible even if practicable. The differences of level between the industrial systems of various nations are still too great to permit entire freedom of trade without overturning much that we should all like to keep secure. On the other hand, the goal of any tariff system should be, as Garfield long ago declared it to be, an increasing freedom of trade and international intercourse. In other words, tariffs established for other purposes than revenue are not ends in themselves, but means to an end. When those ends are achieved, the means toward them may be dispensed with."

Asserting that it was impossible for the existing economic situation in Europe to continue long, Dr. Butler maintained that a new economic administrative unity on the Continent with an increasing measure of free trade among its component parts was in the offing.

"Given a coherent, reasonable and well-administered economic union, there would appear to be no reason why the same conditions—high wages, mass production, cheap and quick communication, and installment buying which prevail throughout that free-trade area which is the United States, should not quickly come to prevail throughout another free-trade area which would be the economic union of the United States of Europe.

"From both these great economic unities the British Commonwealth of Nations stands apart, and it is that fact and its implications and possibilities which are likely to govern and direct British policy, domestic and foreign, for a generation to come. An alternative before the British Commonwealth of Nations would appear to be either to join the economic union which will be the United States of Europe, or to institute a new and third economic union, world-wide in its scope and magnificent in its proportions, on the foundation of the British Commonwealth of Nations itself. * * * * *

"If to the United States of America, there were added two additional economic unions, the United States of Europe and the British Commonwealth of Nations, each protecting a huge and widely diversified area over which absolute free trade would prevail, Cobden's ideal would have come near to accomplishment, although in a form which he himself could hardly have forecast."

"It is plain that all these problems and considerations are the accompaniment of that change of the centre of gravity of which I am primarily speaking. If men were chiefly concerned with the form of political institutions, with representative government, with the protection of civil liberty, with poetry, philosophy and the religious life, then the most significant and striking individuals would be leaders of the people, poets, philosophers and religious teachers. The fact that they are not is a measure and an index of the change which has taken place."

"What is to be the end of it all? Surely it would be a sorry day for the world if zeal for liberty, if poetry, philosophy and religion were permanently to remain in the background and were to cease to hold their once dominant place in the life and the minds of men. It would be a long step backward if, through the substitution of wealth for liberty, men were to become permanently materially minded and gradually to slip back into the state of industrious and contented ants. A way must be found to correlate this new economic motive and ideal with the older intellectual, political and religious motives and ideals and to enrich each by the other. That this is no easy task goes without saying.

"First of all, men must be made conscious of the contradictions that have come into their lives through failure to realize that this centre of gravity has shifted. Americans of the officeholding and office-seeking class continue today to quote Jefferson and to roll up their eyes and to boast at the name of Lincoln, while flatly contradicting in thought in deed and in act the most precise, the most fundamental, and the most far-reaching teachings of these great leaders of men. The same is true in Great Britain. Many a man calls himself a Liberal today, who, by the influence and his vote, is going quite contrary to the example and the teachings of Gladstone and of Campbell Bannerman.

"Everything would seem to depend upon our capacity really to know what is going on. This means the acquisition and the use of the power to think. It means the acquisition and use of the power to discriminate between rumor and fact, between hope and accomplishment. It means the possession of a body of principles of life, of thought and of conduct that will offer both a baseline from which to measure and a cornerstone on which to build in approaching the understanding and interpretation of these new phenomena in the world.

"It is my own belief that there is no necessary opposition between these two centres of gravity. I think it can be shown that as liberty is a chief interest and ideal was the natural outgrowth of circumstances and happenings that preceded it, so wealth can be shown to be related to the zeal for liberty. We must not let them quarrel and set up opposition one to the other. We must not let them, either singly or in combination, dominate the lives of men and nations for the production of more of narrow, selfish, unsympathetic nationalism. We must expend every energy to make both defense of liberty and the production and just distribution of wealth a means of building the moral fiber of individuals and of nations, and of bringing the peoples of the earth into increasingly close friendship, interdependence, understanding and cooperation for high purpose."

COMMUNICATIONS

J. R. HERMANN'S TRIBUTE TO F. H. MONROE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:—

The death of Fred Monroe takes me back thirty years or more. I had just finished a speaking tour of Missouri. I was less than thirty years old. I passed through Chicago and stopped to visit the Single Tax Club at Handel Hall. Mr. Monroe was its president, its very life. He was young and full of enthusiasm and he invited me to the platform where I gave a detailed account of my trip through Missouri. In the audience were John Z. White, Louis F. Post and others.

After the meeting I had several talks with Monroe and got his viewpoint and his plans for the future. He had been a successful book agent in Denver and for that matter was a successful book agent all his life. He told me his plan was to organize a movement patterned on the Y. M. C. A., that the Single Tax movement could get support from moneyed men just as the Y. M. C. A. did, and was the background for young men like we both were. That looked plausible to some extent though I had my misgivings. I never felt they would give much to the real thing. I went to Peoria for the winter and stayed with Robert Cumming and Jimmie Hill. Monroe told me if I could get some favorable comment on my ability as a speaker he thought he could get money to keep me on the road. I then made speeches

in the state of Illinois and got much favorable comment from the reporters regardless of the topic. I sent copies to Monroe. The following summer I went to Colorado to campaign for the Bucklin Bill. In the meantime Monroe went ahead and raised money for John Z. White.

Last Spring I was genuinely glad to clasp his hand. However great our differences, he had done much to revive interest in the movement. At this meeting I experienced one of those indefinable impressions that this was the last time I should ever talk to him. He did represent a real figure in the movement and kept eternally at it no matter how often he was snubbed, knocked down or beaten. Despite our differences I could not but honor him.

J. R. HERMANN.

Portland, Oregon.

ASHLEY MITCHELL APPLAUDS THE CONFERENCE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

We had a fine Conference at Edinburgh, the tone was splendid throughout, and we got great publicity, especially in the Scottish papers. We have received at the Tothill street office a letter from one of our members in Scotland who says that people were asking him, "Who is this Henry George that everyone is talking about?"

I feel sure that the Conference will have helped to make the sentiment stronger for a definite move in the next Budget by Philip Snowden. President Hennessy's address was brilliant and will live in the records of our cause. He started the Conference on a high pitch which seemed to be the key note throughout, and if any one had suggested that we were not preaching the full gospel of Henry George no answer would have been necessary; the atmosphere of the Conference was the proof.

The social gathering on July 30 to commemorate the Jubilee of "Progress and Poverty" was extraordinarily significant. I only wish that all the devoted followers of Henry George had been there. We had a most suitable address from Mrs. Anna George deMille, followed by shorter contributions from representative men of different countries who with a few words added impressively to the occasion. Notable among these speakers were Messrs. Canning, Millikin, and Holt of the United States, Albendin of Spain, and Jacobs of England.

The American delegates added to the effectiveness of the Conference, both Baldwin and Murphy doing good work, and Chester C. Platt, and Messrs. Thompson and Roebuck of Canada. If Mr. Platt who contributed effectively himself does not do credit and full credit to the American delegation you can ask him for me to strengthen it.

I hope you have a good conference at Pittsburgh and as I cannot be with you there, take my best wishes for its success and remembrance to all my friends gathered there.

Huddersfield, England.

ASHLEY MITCHELL.

HENRY GEORGE AGAIN CORROBORATED

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

There can be no doubt that the institutions and customs of a country exert a powerful influence in moulding the character of the population. The institutions and customs that are now at work in Russia moulding the character of the future population of the country are:—First: The common ownership of all natural resources. Second: Free trade among the members of the Soviet Union. Third: The general diffusion of education. Fourth: The general absence of Sunday work. Fifth: The eight hour work day in the industries. Sixth: The general interest taken by the youth of the country in athletics. The last mentioned influence should have a good effect on the physique of the people. There are sport clubs in all parts of the country, and the sports are not commercialized as they are in some countries. The absence of Sunday work and the eight hour day give the workers time to attend meetings and discussions, and should promote the general intelligence of the people. Free trade promotes honesty, truthfulness

ness and the harmonious intercourse of the people of the different sections of the Soviet Union. Many years ago an English writer said, that the income tax laws of Great Britain had made of the British people a nation of liars. Unfortunately, Russia has both a tariff tax and an income tax law, but they will be easier repealed in Russia than elsewhere, because the revenue derived from the rent of the land makes them less necessary.

In regard to education, the present Russian Government is doing more for the education of the people than any other government in the history of the world has ever done. Education is free, from the primary grades to, and including, the universities. Not only is education free, but hospital service, medical service, including the service of dentists, oculists, etc., are also free. The workers in the industries are given one month's vacation with full pay each year, and, in addition, the railway workers and some others are giving a free pass on any railway in the Soviet Union. On the northern shores of the Black Sea there are many sanatoriums and pleasure resorts that were once the playgrounds of the Russian nobility. The workers now have access to these resorts for a limited time during their vacation. Old age pensions and unemployment benefits are provided also. The industries of Russia at the present time are generally carried on at a loss, and the deficits are paid from the rent of the land. Every one living in Russia has an interest in the vast resources of the country, and this interest is of a very substantial nature, as is shown by these free services.

The rent of the land is assessed in a clumsy and inefficient manner, but this only lessens in some degree the benefits of common ownership.

The Russian Government is at present carrying out an ambitious programme of internal improvements. These improvements include railways, highways, river improvements, hydro-electric plants, metallurgical works, city improvements, great irrigation works and many others. These improvements are being made without negotiating any loans either foreign or domestic.

One of the results of the common ownership of the land seems to be, that one can travel from one end of Russia to the other without seeing a single house with a red light in the window, or be accosted by a street-walker. This is the more remarkable, as before the Revolution Russia was notorious in this respect. The result is seldom if ever denied, but some attribute it to police surveillance. This cannot be the reason, for in other countries where police activities are as rigorous as they are here, this result does not obtain. Land reform has opened up new avenues of employment for women, and the free services mentioned have greatly lessened the pressing need for a money income. The result might have been and really was predicted. "Land reform once achieved' all other reforms will be made easier."

Ambitious young women are taking university courses in preparation for careers in the professions. This preliminary education is in most cases possible only because it is free, and it is free only because it is paid for from the rent of the land. This much can be said with certainty: That the extreme promiscuity, with its attendant evils, that existed in Russia before the Revolution has been greatly curtailed; and that the only plausible reason that can be given for this curtailment is the common ownership of the land.

Lenin and his coadjutors must have foreseen the results or they would not have made land reform the keystone of their political and economic structure.

The lesson of Russia to the world is, that the common ownership of land will have definite results, regardless of the methods used to obtain it; and that a revolution is not too high a price to pay, if it can be obtained in no other way.

The contentions of Henry George established a truth by deductions that are a monument to the triumph of human reason; and these deductions are now corroborated by inductions, the validity of which cannot be successfully denied.

Katakstan, Russia.

W. A. WARREN.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONAL

THE Baldwin County (Alabama) *News* is full these days of articles from Fairhope by A. E. Schalkenbach, E. B. Gaston, E. Yancey and others.

THE *Irish Weekly and Ulster Examiner* reproduced the address of John J. Murphy of this city given at the Edinburgh Conference Fifty Years of Single Tax Progress.

O. E. TOEPFERT, of Cincinnati, and L. V. La Taste, of Dallas, are sending letters in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

HAROLD SUDELL has a letter in the *Philadelphia Record* telling that the tax burden may be lightened on the home owner, and the headline reads it "Constructive Suggestions from a Contributor who has given much thought to the matter."

THE Paterson *Press Guardian* gives nearly a two column report of a lecture delivered before the Rotary Club of that city by James Brown, President of the Manhattan Single Tax Club.

HON. P. J. O'REGAN, of Wellington, New Zealand, writes us in his recent letter: "Doubtless you are aware of the fact that we succeeded in placing all the rates (local direct taxes) in Wellington upon the improved value at a poll of the ratepayers in April 1927, but I have seen no mention of the fact in your publication. Wellington occupies 23 sq. miles of territory which is about the same area as Manhattan Island, and the rate revenue this year exceeds £500,000, the whole of which is placed where it ought to be without exemption or graduation. The local taxation on the unimproved value of land in this country is in strict accordance with Henry George's principle that it is a flat tax with no exemption and no graduation."

THE oil portrait of Henry George by Harry Thurston See, of which in colors can be had of the Schalkenbach Foundation, 1111 Broadway, New York, is one of the finest portraits ever painted and a striking likeness of the Prophet. Mr. See knew Mr. George intimately and admired him greatly. Besides the portrait of Henry George, he has painted life-sized portraits of General Fred Dent Grant, Lord Russell and General Francis V. Greene, the last of which can be seen in the Seventy-first Regiment Armory of this city.

THE *Christian Science Monitor*, of Sept. 24th, contained a complete story of the Henry George Congress. In November the *Monitor* ran a series of articles on the Single Tax continuing through four issues of that admirable paper.

ALL of the Pittsburgh papers gave accounts of the Henry George Congress and several printed the picture of Anna George deMott.

E. J. HAYES, well known Single Taxer of Australia, left \$5,000 in his will to the cause. While living Mr. Hayes was a liberal supporter of the Australian movement.

POULTNEY BIGELOW, of Malden-on-the-Hudson, who has just celebrated his 74th birthday and celebrated the occasion by completing a book on which he has been engaged for a long time, wrote the *Single Tax* for the George Foundation in response to an invitation to address the conference, "My purse is light as was that of Henry George. We became friends in 1880 and my faith in him grows increasingly strong."

AMONG the excellent publicity secured by the Edinburgh Conference, not the least were full column articles in *The Scotsman* of that giving summaries of many of the more important addresses at the Conference.

SPEAKING of Ramsay MacDonald the *New York Telegram* says: "When at 18, he made his way to London he had already joined those who thought the world stood in serious need of remodeling. He had had Henry George. He had heard of Robert Owen. Later he was read of Karl Marx, and, although he is not a Marxist in the Moscow sense, his economy is based upon the Socialist bible."

GEORGE LLOYD is still speaking over the Radio Station W. P. C. H. The time has been changed to Saturdays at 3 P. M. His subject is "Current Events."

PETER WITT, former member of the City Council of Cleveland speaking at the Henry George Congress of the outstanding significance of the recent British Labor victory, declared that the land question becoming the vital issue in British politics. Mr. Witt has just returned from a tour of Europe at which time he studied the British election campaign at close range. He sees in the Labor Party victory not only an English Single Tax triumph but also a material advancement of the world-wide Henry George cause.

GEORGE LLOYD in a communication to the *Telegram* of this city writes: "Norman Thomas in a recent speech said 'We (Socialists) will not rest until we recover for society the land values that society creates.' That would abolish taxation, unemployment, landlordism, and speculation and slums and provide plenty of houses by forcing vacant land into use. It is the remedy for all economic ills that Henry George advocates in his wonderful book 'Progress and Poverty.'"

THE Library of Congress is in need of LAND AND FREEDOM for July-August, 1925 and Nov.-Dec. 1925.

W. L. SINTON, of San Francisco, who suffered in health a short time ago is recovering his strength. He informs Mr. Bolton Hall that he is contemplating the publication of his letters.

It was good to see Frederic C. Leubuscher at the Pittsburgh Conference. He did not attend the Edinburgh International Conference owing to the death of his wife, Aurelia Lange Leubuscher, on April 7 of this year, a bereavement of our old friend which we failed to chronicle. Mrs. Leubuscher had accompanied Fred to the Copenhagen conference, and when called on for a speech explained that she was not a speech maker, but said very happily that she was "a Single Taxer by marriage and later a Single Taxer by conviction." Mrs. Leubuscher was buried in Woodlawn, and the services were attended by a great number of friends associated with her husband in work for the cause.

AN old copy of the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* of August 20, 1773, has been resurrected containing an advertisement in which George Washington offers for sale some 20,000 acres of land on the banks of the Ohio River.

THE *Newark Evening News* of recent date contains a communication from Frederic C. Leubuscher in regard to the investigation by Governor Roosevelt of the purchase of land in Westchester County for public purposes, on which the *News* had commented editorially. Mr. L. seizes upon the editorial to point a moral.

J. R. HERMANN, of Portland, Oregon, is going ahead to secure signers to the petition for the Single Tax measure in that state. He is having a real success in arousing labor organizations to the necessity

of the measure. Signatures to the petition now number about four thousand; twelve thousand are needed. Help and literature are needed at 271 Market Street, Portland.

MR. JOHN C. ROSE, who is booking speaking dates for William N. McNair, can be addressed at 1112 Forbes Street, Pittsburgh, Pa. Our friends can do the cause a service by cooperating with him.

THE *Examiner*, of Launceston, Tasmania, published a column editorial advocating the untaxing of improvements and transferring the burden of local revenue to land values.

THE *Keighley News*, of Yorkshire, England, contains a good report of the address of Rev. Herbert Bigelow in Temperance Hall, Keighley, at which meeting Ashley Mitchell presided.

LAURIE J. QUINBY, now of Los Angeles, has addressed the following letter to Hon. Edward Polak:

"I wish to express to you my great appreciation of the report of the Hussey Essay Contest in your schools. I thank you and those associated with you for this fine work. I can realize nothing in the form of propaganda for our great cause that can match the value of such work as this, for it reaches, as no other method will, the developing minds of youth. It gets them started right in their economic thinking."

At the plate of each diner at the banquet in Pittsburgh was found a beautifully printed card with a four stanza poem from J. H. Hensen, of Grand Rapids, Mich., "Dedicated to the Golden Anniversary of 'Progress and Poverty'".

THE names of the singers at the Pittsburgh banquet were Mrs. Vera Kaighan Nirella, William Zoffer and Frank Dursi. Danny Nirella's orchestra is popular in Pittsburgh.

MESSAGES conveying greetings and regrets were received at the Henry George Congress from Hon. C. C. Dill, Hon. Newton D. Baker, Hon. John J. Lentz, Hon. James H. Gray, Jakob C. Lange, of Copenhagen, M. Warriner, of London, J. O'Donnell Derrick, of Glasgow, A. W. Madsen, of London; John Paul of London; Prof. John Dewey, Norman Thomas, Poultney Bigelow, John Z. White, Lawson Purdy, Charles H. Ingersoll, Andrew P. Canning, L. V. LaTaste, Charles J. Ogle, Henry Ware Allen, George Foster Peabody, Mrs. Mary Fels, E. B. Gaston, C. R. Colbron, Vernon J. Rose, E. B. Swinney, Frederick J. Libby, Dr. S. Solis Cohen, John M. Moore, Hamlin Garland, Jackson H. Ralston, Frederick F. Ingram, George J. Shaffer, Chester C. Platt, J. R. Hermann, George H. Duncan, Dr. J. H. Dillard, Frederic C. Howe, Orville Wright, Oliver T. Erickson, James C. Fuller, John Emery McLean, James H. McGill, Henry B. Tawresey, Thomas Colegate, W. H. Maguire, Edward White, W. S. Wright and Erwin Kauffmann.

GEORGE A. BRIGGS, of Los Angeles, writing to Bolton Hall says: "I wonder if you know about the big work Prof. Roman is doing here. He has half a dozen forums, the biggest of which has a weekly attendance of some five hundred. It is called the Parliament of Man. Swinney is its Chancellor of the Exchequer. Last week Harry Gunnison Brown was here for two bully talks. In introducing Brown, and in trying to show the confusion of thought extant as to the term "rent," Roman said:

An ill-tempered man named Percentum
Who gnashed his false teeth till he bent 'em,
Refused any share
In the cost of repair;
Said he, 'I don't own 'em, I rent 'em.'"