

November—December, 1930

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

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

Personal Reminiscences of Henry George  
and Some Distinguished Contemporary  
Churchmen

Spiritual Basis of Georgist Economics

Laurie J. Quinby

The Agrarian Problem in Mexico

M. C. Rolland

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# LAND AND FREEDOM

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## WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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## Comment and Reflection

IF President Hoover had not issued regular forecasts of business recovery and the coming of prosperous times, we might acquit him of gentle fooling, though without any serious attempt to deceive. But it is a little exasperating to read these periodical prophecies and realize that our president has no greater means of information than can be gleaned through ordinary channels. He has no sources of information denied to the rest of us.

OF course, it is very unfortunate to have bad times under a Republican administration. It is so "unusual," as the people of Los Angeles say of bad weather. The Democratic party, we have been told, is the party of business depression, unemployment and soup kitchens. We have been told this for so long that some very estimable but stupid people believe it. The pretence has shrunk a little.

BUT it is quite as exasperating, on the other hand, to listen to the abuse of President Hoover for not doing something about it. Mark Twain said of the weather that everybody complained but nothing was ever done. Those who complain about the hard times through which we are passing point to Hoover as in some mysterious way the cause of these conditions. We feel assured that if these complainants will present some plan to the administration Mr. Hoover will listen. But they have none. Palliatives, yes, but nothing more. And Mr. Hoover, and administrations, national and state, have a bag full of these.

THE world is owned; the planet on which we move and have our being is private property. Labor is charged for its use; we pay every minute for being on this planet, though born here without our consent. There is ample provision made for us in the natural economy; legally we are denied that provision. The despairing cry of Jean Paul is the cry of most of us: "We are all orphans, you and I; we have no father."

A WORLD so constituted is a world turned topsy-turvy. The natural reservoir from which sustenance is derived, is the property of the few; the source of all wealth is owned by a small portion of the people; all others

must sue for employment as the price asked for the use of the natural opportunity continues to mount. Labor and capital are compelled to yield an ever increasing amount of their earnings for the chance to work at all. Rent charges for the use of the earth continue to increase until they can no longer be paid and yield the most pitiful return to labor. Unemployment begins, and the era of keener competition for jobs. We call it "bad times," but all times have been bad, though not so bad sometimes as at others. At all times there are large numbers of people distressed by want and the fear of want.

WHAT is needed is a remedy for conditions always prevailing, not palliatives only when conditions become acute. A system which gives to the few a constantly increasing income, while leaving little in the hands of the many, is a condition which obtains at all times, and leads finally to the inability of the masses to buy back the goods they have produced, the clogging of the machinery of distribution and a halting of production. We are then said to have "bad times," but this is only because people have grown ignorantly accustomed to conditions in which the great masses of the people are perpetually in a state of moderate poverty. It is only when great numbers are near the starvation point that we say times are bad.

PERHAPS the failure to arrive at any satisfactory solution arises from the fact that the attention of the public and the more thoughtful is directed toward the phenomenon of bad times only when conditions become acute. We submit it to analysis only at the culmination of all its evil effects, and this is true even of those who have the capacity of thought. The patient is now in such a condition that we do not now look for a cure, but, because of actual necessity, for immediate restoratives. And as soon as temporary recovery shows itself we go merrily on our way until the patient is down again with the same disease, when the same treatment must be repeated. We are a wise people, but poor physicians, since we shrink from a real economic diagnosis when the patient is sick but not yet quite upon his back. And all the time we are the willing victims of quacks and quackery.

THE remedy for all these evil conditions is contained or is hinted at, perhaps as boldly as political exigencies

permit, in the King's Message at the opening session of Parliament. Does it mark an economic epoch, and the opening of the final struggle for industrial emancipation, in Great Britain and throughout the world?

**"My ministers propose to introduce legislation to secure for the community its share in the site value of land."**

## The Spiritual Basis of Georgist Economics

Laurie J. Quinby, at the Henry George  
Congress

**W**E live in a universe of law. I speak not of statutes, but of law. Statutes are artificial—a device of man. Law is Natural—the expression of Infinite Power, Intelligence or Mind, as one prefers. Since the Primal Dawn, Natural Law has dominated the affairs of man. Though, in all ages, man has enacted statutes—changing these as suited his whim—Natural Law has remained unaltered. Man has attempted to amend, or vacate the Natural Law. Every effort in that direction has failed.

The greatest obligation any man owes to life—or to himself—is to be intelligent. His primal debt to the Infinite is to understand Natural Law which, being obeyed, brings him into harmonious relationship with God. If Natural Law is the Will of God, then the most reverential prayer ever uttered is, "Thy Will be done."

When we see that, from inevitable necessity, like follows like, that love breeds love, while hate engenders hate, we are forced to the conclusion that deep within the heart of Nature there is Law which executes itself. In every relation of life, the careful observer will find this truth. Law allows no exceptions. A saint falling from a tower will pay the same price to the law of gravity that will be paid by the most erring. Wrote the great Emerson: "If one could, in the least particular, derange the order of Nature, who would accept the gift of life."

As it is with the individual life, so it has always been in the relations of man in communities. Nations are no more exempt from the operation of Natural Law than are the meanest of creatures. Obey or pay is as true of nations as of persons. The history of the world is the story of the rise and fall of nations. That they should rise and evolve to greatness is natural. For, in rising, they conform to the Natural Law of Growth. An expression of the Law of Growth is that all things follow the line of least resistance. In human society that simply means that the wants of man shall be satisfied with the least possible effort. There is philosophy in laziness, if you please. All the progress man has made has been due to his effort to achieve his desires—to satisfy his wants—with the greatest economy of time and energy. All modern improvements in every field of activity display this. Then, since self-preservation is the first law of Nature, individuals in society learn

to satisfy their wants with as little effort as possible. To a certain extent they make a study of Natural Law. They see how they may, through the power of organized society, convert to their personal uses the wealth produced by all. First they discover the law through their observation of its action, then they enact statutes to limit the operation of that law in their personal interests. Were all the people intelligent that wrong could not be permitted.

I say to a certain extent, they become intelligent. If only they were to pursue the study of Natural Law to its conclusion, they would discover that it is also a Law of Nature that any course in human conduct which interferes with the equal rights of others, ultimately must result in an unhealthy reaction against all who are guilty of that infraction. Nature hates monopolies and exceptions, and finally destroys all of them. So we see how any course which is not naturally good for the most humble cannot be good for the great. For injustice it is that brings about the decay of nations. That nations should fall, therefore, is natural only in the sense that they have violated the basic of law of life—that is, Justice. No nation ever fell where Justice prevailed. No civilization ever declined so long as the people were intelligent, just, happy and unafraid.

In pointing out the true basis of statute law, Blackstone showed that happiness is the only justification for human enactments. He emphasized the truth that the pursuit of happiness was a Natural Right—inherent through our very nature and from the fact of our existence. It follows that it is unalienable because it is bestowed by a Power beyond our understanding or control. Then he demonstrated that all the validity which any human statute could possess rested solely on that Infinite foundation.

I once knew a cripple of exceptionally active mind. His condition led him into morbid and rebellious thinking with respect to Nature or to Nature's God. He said to me, "When I see human misery all about me; when I observe that wealth and the good things of life gravitate to underserved places, and that men, without demerit, are poor and miserable, then I am rebellious. If there is a Supreme Being—having omnipotent power—so long as I see that he tolerates these conditions, then I declare him to be a monster, unworthy the worship of mankind." He had overlooked the fact of history that God does not tolerate the things of which he complained—as the fall of all empires eloquently shows.

One day I went to my friend with a book, I said to him: "Here is a book I would like to have you read." Looking at it he said: "Well, that looks like it deals with problems of this life, unmixed with visions of a chimerical hereafter. I'll read it." For a long time he studied that book. One morning he brought it to me, saying: "Well, Quinby, I've gone through this and it has gone through me. And do you know?" he added, "I must confess that Henry George has done for me what I have always denied any man could do—he has proved to me that there is a God."

I need not mention my own emotions, nor seek to describe to you the new light that shone in all his visage. It was an inspiration. But he went on to explain. He said, "You know how I have always felt regarding the existence of a Supreme Being. Now I know now that all the misery of life is due, not to the decrees of a malignant power, but to the ignorance of man. I can see if man only had the intelligence to adjust his social arrangements to Natural Law, all would be peaceful, prosperous and happy. The wisdom which now I see lying back of all this, I am ready to reverence as God."

Is it any wonder, friends, that when he had finished writing "Progress and Poverty," in his humble home, here in this city, fifty years ago, at lonely midnight, Henry George fell upon his knees and wept like a child?

Henry George discovered nothing. He merely recognized natural phenomena, apparent to any careful observer today and in all ages. He sought to establish no cut and dried system. He did not propose to make man over. He knew that every trait of character which man possesses is natural and right. He knew that what we call selfishness is but the manifestation of a useful trait of man shown under abnormal conditions. In a natural environment that trait would bring about true self-betterment in the individual without in the least bringing woe to any. It is not and cannot be an injury to the laggard pupil at school for another pupil to reach one hundred per cent. "For how could there be greed, where all had enough? How could the vice, the crime, the ignorance, the brutality, that spring from poverty, exist where poverty had vanished? Who would crouch where all were free-men; who oppress where all were peers?"

As Henry George did not seek to re-make man, neither did he propose to tear down and re-make our social order. All he desired was that our social order cease its destructive purpose in unmaking man. He did not propose the overthrow of what civilization had achieved. He only offered the gentle suggestion that civilization itself cast off the excrescences in the form of unjust statutes which were infecting it unseen. His proposal might be considered revolutionary by the timid, but only in the sense that truth is revolutionary. Only in the sense that the Golden Rule—which is applied common sense—is revolutionary.

Henry George proved that Nature is not niggardly, and that in the bestowal of her rewards she recognizes no favorites. She gives to labor and to labor only of her abundant supply. "What will you have?" she asks. "Take it and pay for it." Take it by the payment of labor. Beg for it at the loss of manhood. Steal it at your peril. Those are the three ways—and the only ways—by which men secure this world's goods. Beg, steal or produce. Beg, and die of dry rot. Steal, and destroy all civilization. Produce, and the most hopeful vision that man ever entertained of the Golden Age to be, shall be dimmed by the realized glory of the future.

The storehouse of Nature groans with an unlimited supply—not of wealth—but of the SOURCE of all wealth. It is not wealth—it is not supply—until the industrious hand and productive brain unite in bringing it forth, fashioned to suit the needs of man. That part of it which man consumes for his bodily needs and in satisfaction of all human want is wealth. That part of it which he reserves to facilitate his labor in more economical effort in producing wealth is capital. So, in its final and accurate sense, capital is only stored-up labor, whose interests are identical with labor, and not antagonistic. Then, if these premises be true, any one who receives any form of wealth without rendering to some one or to society the full equivalent in service of what he takes, must align himself in the category either of beggar or of thief. The only distinction there is between beggar and thief lies in the fact that the beggar satisfies his wants through working upon human sympathy, while the other satisfies his through cunning and treachery.

Henry George saw that the land—which is Nature's storehouse—must be free of access to all mankind. He saw that as certain men took possession of any part, they thereby excluded all others from that part. None of them having produced it—yet it not being practical for all, personally, to own and work it—it was the right of all to name the conditions under which those in possession might hold and use it. His method of adjusting this was simply to extend to its logical conclusion what we are already doing in a limited sense. He saw that land possesses beneath its surface valuable minerals needful for mankind and that its surface yields food under cultivation. He saw, what was even more apparent, that man is a social being and seeks companionship for the increase of human happiness. Whatever man might do he cannot separate himself from the land. Therefore, as he gathers in communities, his social attributes, his intelligent and ethical qualities all reflect themselves in the value of land on which he builds his social system. As all these values are either the bestowal of Nature or the result of the aggregate activities of all men, they cannot justly be appropriated by any individual or set of individuals. Being a social product, they belong equally to all.

To accomplish full justice for all, Henry George saw that it is not necessary for society either to buy up or to confiscate the land. Either of these ways would be unjust and ineffectual. The fair and equal distribution of the benefits of these natural bounties would still remain an unsolved problem. So he proposed the practical and common sense plan of wiping out all taxes upon thrift and industry—because such taxes limit enterprise and production—and to place all taxation upon the value of land regardless of the use the holder of any given piece might make of it. That, in a nutshell, is the Single Tax, which is not a tax at all. It is merely a recompense by the individual to society for what Nature and society do for

him. It would leave to him all the fruits of his own labor and enterprise, including, even, some portion of land values as compensation for his service in securing them for society. It is equitable, ethical and just. It is the application of the Natural Law of Justice, for Justice is the natural order. Repeal the unjust laws enacted by men, and the Natural Law of Justice remains. Justice is merely the absence of injustice.

In all the phenomena of Nature, in the chemical laboratory, in the infinite details of all social order, in the mental and spiritual unfolding and development of this wonderful piece of work called man, we have endless illustrations of the perfect balancing of all things. Nothing is left to chance. The scientist could not be a scientist were it not for the fact that throughout Nature he has observed absolute, undeviating law. Given any circumstance, and he will determine the exact effect of any cause. "Seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you," is the expression of unchanging law. There is a perfect natural adjustment in all the relations of life. Love is the great creative power. All things that are lovely and of good report, spring from it, while hate, envy, jealousy, engender antagonisms, treachery and war—all destructive of peace and good will—undermining all civilization.

Time never made ancient good uncouth, nor ancient error just and right today. Whatever was truly good and just, still remains so, and whatever was destructive of these ends at any time are so today, however may have changed man's concept of them. It is because of these observed and demonstrated phenomena that I am convinced that all life is spiritual and divine. It is because the illuminated mind of Henry George perceived these spiritual truths and showed how they could be made applicable in the solution of the economic problems of the world, that I dare to say he spoke for all time. For if these laws, the fact of whose existence I do but faintly glimpse and suggest, are actual, then they indicate the constant presence of some infinite love and grandeur beyond the conception of the human mind. We see only the effect of these unchanging laws, however obscure to our mentality may be the Law-giver. It is the realization of that fact which gives to our knees a tendency to bend, and which, in the language of my friend of other times, we are impelled to reverence as God. It is because of those truths that we may safely trust that the economic philosophy of Henry George has a solid spiritual basis. I dare also to say that this world will never be civilized, this life will not be glorious to the entire human family, Justice will not prevail over all, peace and plenty will not be realized, nor human suffering one jot effectually abated, until the world essentially recognizes and applies these fundamental truths so eloquently set forth by Henry George.

All men must secure free and ready access to the Father's infinite Source of Supply.

## Direct Political Action

LONA INGHAM ROBINSON AT THE HENRY  
GEORGE CONGRESS

CIVILIZATIONS, all down the ages, have slowly and painfully "carried on" a few hundred or a few thousand years and then passed into oblivion. Early historians record symptoms of their nation's decay; current writers declare we are traveling the same road ourselves. But what is fundamentally wrong they do not indicate.

We often hear the trite statement that ours is a "transition state." Ancient writers likewise made the same declaration as to their own times. Change is our normal condition whether we advance or recede.

But as a whole nations can advance in only two ways: individually and collectively: individually through thought and material inventions, collectively through mass movements led by chieftains, kings and other dictators.

Thus we have two kinds of conduct: individual conduct towards our fellow men and collective conduct which in primitive times is assumed by whatever headman there is. He casts the vote for all. But people grew restive and wanted to have a voice in their own collective conduct.

The Town Meeting was born and with it politics: the only method by which people can determine what their collective conduct shall be toward home and foreign states, corporations and individuals.

Now all down the ages individual progress is comparatively free. One man invents a crooked stick plow or a stone axe; a woman discovers wool and invents the spindle and crude loom; other men and women copy and improve upon them. Thus the two wheel cart and chariot, the canoe and sail-boat started on their long journey to automobile and airplane of today. So with agriculture and building arts, every betterment could be copied and improved. Individual initiative was free. And the last 150 years have seen these magic mechanical inventions multiply with increasing speed.

But when we consider our collective conduct and activities, obstacles arise at every step. And when we come to the making of laws, constitutions, the setting up of courts of justice in whose power lies the happiness or misery of the whole people, the machinery or methods of determining what our collective conduct shall be are governed by past ages.

Centuries roll by. Astrology merges into Astronomy, alchemy grows into chemistry, chirurgery changes into surgery by individual action. But virtually the same principle of taxation we used today was used by Herod when he farmed out his taxing job.

Cuneform inscriptions on brick changed to writing on papyrus, on parchment to printing on paper; thought and then speech flew on wire till finally the magic wireless and radio! But landlords are still recording their titles and

mortgages as safely as those on Assyrian tablets 430 B. C. now in the Pennsylvanian University.

We have improved a thousand fold every individual invention of our ancient forbears; their collective ideals and actions, essentially unchanged, govern us to this day. With the antiquated traditions of the glory of war still permeating the public mind we have invented such perfect and deadly killing tools and chemical agencies as the ancients never dreamed of.

We are fighting the air too, before we have legally established our rightful relation to the earth. Advancement in the art of ascertaining what we would have our collective conduct be is infinitesimal and moves at the rate of a glacier.

We speak of "the march of civilization." Civilization to be able to walk, not to say march, should be fairly balanced with both feet on the ground. But alas! the leg of statecraft, or the art of collective action, stopped growth ages ago and hangs a helpless superfluity, while the leg of man-craft ingenuity and skill keeps right on growing. So civilization has to hop on one leg, making almost no progress at all.

We are suffering the horrible result of this static condition of state-craft, merely muddling through antiquated formula.

While in the feudal ages minstrels might sing the glory of battles and women celebrate the victories on tapestry, they were comparative innocent; they knew no better. *We* know better. On us be the guilt if we ever have another war. All thinking people know the ethics of tariffs. This summer for the first time the mask was removed from that piratical game. But solemnly Congress debated all summer the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill as if it were some scientific proposition. Before this country should again propose war we should demand from Congress a plebiscite on the question.

Representative government as now manifest has proved a gigantic failure. We never know who any new candidate will be or do when he is elected. In these great cities it is purely a gamble to vote for representatives. But there is a fairly good chance that we can have some opinion on measures.

Now we Henry Georgists, many of us, would like to put his scientific plan into operation. This state (California) has a fairly good Initiative law. Oregon has another; Colorado has such a law, Missouri has one. Ohio has one, but not to be used on matters of taxation. South Dakota has an Initiative law but they never use it. On the whole California has one of the best of them all. Since and beginning in 1912 it has been used on a number of occasions. Ten years later it was invoked to slay itself.

Now I take it we all desire the best propaganda of our fundamental proposition.

Did any of you ever do Henry George propaganda work under the Initiative law? The first thing is to get your

amendment ready—that bone of contention. It should be short and clearly explanatory of the Single Tax in its simplest form. When this bill is legally drawn up and accepted by the authorities, you distribute your solicitors over various parts of the city. Already you have a line of publicity lasting some three months or till the first official filing in August. Then you speed up your work till the day of limitation. Meanwhile you have five hundred words of argument on your bill, printed in the voter's pamphlet, say two million copies sent free to every voter in the state. There is no cheaper propaganda in the world! What if your opponents have the same privilege? What do you care? They may say as the anti-Single Tax League did in 1922: "Under Single Tax we would have nothing to base our bonds on. Under Single Tax nobody would want land except to use it!" Meantime early in the season there is obvious work for all hands. You arm yourself with a sheaf of copies of your Amendment, on the reverse side of which is printed something explanatory. Now sit quietly and unobtrusively among the sitters in waiting rooms. Turn to one and say in a low voice, "Beg pardon, but are you a registered voter?" "Yes? Well, do you know about amendment 19? No? Well, would you like me to give you a copy of this bill we are expected to vote on?" A few explanations if you wish and you turn to the other side. You have asked permission to bestow a gift. They thank you. They *want* to know about this thing that has a direct bearing on their political conduct. You can at the same time distribute small explanatory folders which the family will discuss for days. In the campaign of 1916 we had 35,000 signatures for the first filing.

In 30 days one person can gather a thousand. For the cheapness and wide scope of this method cannot be surpassed. Does any other method stir up the predatory animals to such a point of ferocity, and to such well organized attack?

In 1916 only the banks showed a united front. "If this bill becomes a law what can we hitch our mortgages to? What can we rest our bonds on so they will float? By 1918 under "persuasion" of the banks the merchants and manufacturers joined the Anti-Single Tax League under the President, E. P. Clark, of Clarke Hotel. Their unity and efficiency were unquestioned.

Unfortunately, in the campaign of 1918 as well as the previous one, which polled 260,332 votes, there were four separate cliques nominally from the Georgian ranks, enforcing the Anti-Single Tax League to defeat the bill: One in New York, one in Chicago, one in San Francisco, and one in San Diego. Is it not amazing that with all this opposition we polled over 260,332 votes? And 180,000 and over in 1918? After we got into the world war.

We had to meet the powers of darkness clamoring that this was not the time for so radical a bill; that this was not radical enough; that the manager had no respectable following; that he was not responsible, that Single Taxers in California were hopelessly divided. A San Francisco

correspondent in *Christian Science Monitor* said so; that if we could get Luke North out of the way, J. S. W. and W. T. M. would go through California and make a whirlwind campaign. Single Tax bill? no, but a good bill, quite a good bill; everybody would vote for it."

But Luke North did not "get out of the way" till five months after election.

These Henry George campaigns were national in their scope, though their field of action was California. I might have said *international*; because the first thousand dollars was sent from Henry Boole, of England. Canadian Single Taxers contributed liberally; from almost every state in the union came money; often in small dribs regularly gathered by one man from many and mailed to us. Philadelphia had such and Missouri. E. H. Boeck of St. Louis, times without number sent such a bunch. A teacher in Brooklyn got up a rummage sale and sent the proceeds \$78.00. One contributor from "Brick House," East Alstead, N. H., sent over \$200.00 in various payments. Dr. Macklin, missionary from China, sent a contribution. A Mr. Armistead Rust contributed regularly.

That is the way the funds should come, not all from one benefactor. In the gloomy days of 1917 when Luke North was crushed with despair that the campaign of 1916 was a failure, a wire message came from the eastern coast followed by a letter enclosing his expenses, inviting him to attend a convention to be held in his honor in Atlantic City, and asking him to tell them how in the world he rolled up 260,332 votes for Single Tax in 1916.

## Georgist Doctrine Converts Every Sceptic into Ardent Advocate

THE following radio talk was given in Chicago, on October 13, by E. Wye, (E. Yancey Cohen) over WCFL, to which it is estimated over 300,000 regularly listen in. An address on the Single Tax is given every Monday night. The talk was printed in *The Federation News* which gave it the heading, "Georgism an Industrial Doctrine that Converts every Sceptic into an Ardent Advocate." To George Strachan and his associated group is due the credit of securing the use of the Federation radio. There have been many notable talks over this radio, among which was one by C. J. Ewing, on "The Aristocracy of Labor."

In the present great crisis in which the world finds itself the philosophy of Henry George is again attracting attention. What, asked Henry George, does the phenomenon of Industrial Depression mean, what does it portend? Henry George's great book, "Progress and Poverty," was written precisely to reply to these questions, its subtitle being, "An Inquiry Into the Cause of Industrial Depression, and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth." Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth—does not that short phrase describe the condition which the world faces today?

What is Georgism? Georgism is a plea for the assumption of a reasonable basis for carrying forward the peaceable yet intricate development of modern society. Progress being, as we know, beset with snares and pitfalls, we are at intervals brought up against a mass of troubles, confusing and alarming to the most thoughtful of us. Such a condition confronts the world today. To this problem Georgism claims that it has found the clue, a thread that can lead us out of the labyrinth.

There are two great economic classes found under our present civilization, first the multitude who work but cannot accumulate, and second, the few who do not work but who easily find a comfortable surplus awaiting them at the end of the year, to be invested farther in income-producing property. The first class is always on the threshold of want; the second constitutes the bond-holders, coupon-cutters, money-lenders, investors, rent collectors and dividend receivers of the mighty House of Have. Now Henry George pointed out that the gulf between these two classes is constantly widening and deepening, so that without an understanding of the causes which have produced so monstrous an inequality the two classes may ultimately destroy each other in fratricidal and civil strife.

### HOW GEORGE LOOKS AT WORLD

Georgism, as a philosophy, asks us to consider the world in general under three great divisions or categories. First, we must think of the earth which we inhabit and realize the stupendous Energy of the universe which sends this earth swinging and revolving through its orbit in obedience to everlasting law, which furnishes in cosmic liberality the life of all the creatures with which we are acquainted, the Energy which through transmutations and conservations extended through millions of ages has for the use of man stored the heat of the sun in forms suitable for his present needs. The great coal-measures laid down in the carboniferous ages, the oil wells, the metallic mines, the forests, the water-powers, lifted by the energy of the sun from their sources in the oceans to descend again from mountainous heights and turn turbines and dynamos for the use of man—these are but some of the gifts of Nature to mankind. Georgism asks: By what sanction from the Almighty do some dare to assume to themselves the ownership of these eternal energies of nature? Whence came to be theirs the title-deeds they arrogantly claim to own, and the power to demand from the rest of us payment for the use of what God has given to the children of men?

Then secondly, Georgism posits that we must think of ourselves as members of the human family, as living men and women, each of us with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Such being the case, the first of all questions is the bread-and-butter question, for death by starvation, one may suggest, is not in the basic scheme of things. We work to make a living, but we do not work for the sake of working. We follow a natural bent of human nature, and strive to achieve the satisfac-



tion of our desires with the least exertion. Hence all labor-saving inventions. If we could go the long, wrong way about our tasks, we are with reason regarded as inefficient dumbbells. Now, is it common sense to suppose that if our customary method of doing things were not distorted and unnatural, if a habit of accepting a bare living had not developed among us, men would work for others for less than they could earn by working for themselves? Consider. In the early days of this Republic the sturdy, hopeful pioneer went forth to open land of the West to enjoy the full products of his labor. And observe this: The average amount of his self-earned wages at the frontier became the measure and norm of wages in the older East. The Far West reacted favorably on the East—an equilibrium in wages was struck between the two regions. And in those days unemployment as a national plague was a thing unknown. How could there be unemployment when men were free to employ themselves? And what is the nature of the unemployment which menaces the world today other than this—that millions of workers are barred from self-employment by the reduction to private ownership of the free land of former years and by a land speculation that artificially forces the rent price of land to prohibitive heights? Forced in great multitudes to sell themselves to a job, bled white by the exactions of land-owners, speculators, interest mongers and an iniquitous tax system, no wonder that at intervals the general poverty of the masses brings progress to a halt, while in alarm society seeks the way out of the crisis, but can discover no better remedy than doles, the soup-kitchen and the bread line.

#### HOW CIVILIZATION DEVELOPS

Thirdly, Georgism points to society as a whole, the great organism which develops with the growths of population, industry and commerce, science and art. What we call civilization is the outcome of centuries of advances in knowledge and inventions, in association and cooperation. When governments are established, the operation and continuance of government demands a stable revenue. But we have yet to find in history a single example of a revenue system that answers the requirements of equity. Robbing Peter to pay Paul has always been the easiest formula followed. Hence property taxes, license taxes, poll taxes, tariff taxes, every indirect and crooked kind of tax that the mind of man could devise has been tried with all the variations, and always to the disaffection of the plucked geese, notwithstanding the complacency of the privileged classes. For the system which turns the golden flow of land rent, of interest and of every variety of unearned increment into the laps of the few, leaving the common people, the impoverished producers of the world, to sustain the disheartening and impossible burden of carrying everything on, is now seemingly up for examination. Meanwhile, have we learned anything? We have learned that in the economic rent of land, graded from the negligible values at the frontiers or borders of population to the enormous ground rent

we find in the centers of activity, trade and population (such, for example, as in Chicago or New York—the latter with a ground rent of nearly a billion dollars a year)—in this economic rent the nation as a whole has the reflection, the measure of all the advantages which nature and society, which invention and the arts of production and exchange have bestowed upon us as a people. What crass idiocy then in the continuation of our present system which gives unearned riches to the parasites and leeches of society and denies to the hard pressed would-be industrious masses of the population more than is sufficient for "bread and the circus." Dangerous in the extreme is the ignorance and cynicism manifested by our so-called better classes.

Accordingly this great plan of justice and order, illuminated by the genius of Henry George, comes like another Cross of Constantine in the heavens, beckoning the world to salvation. A menace to the privileged few, by these it is misrepresented, denounced and maligned in terms bitter with anger and fear. But some day the common people may hear the Georgist message gladly. Not a revolution, but a mighty restoration would be the outcome. For the yearly land rent of the United States would constitute a superb revenue of the people, sufficient for all the needs of the body politic without recourse to any taxation whatever. From the Socialist standpoint this land rent would furnish the continuous means of carrying out those great public undertakings, national, state, and municipal, which to the Socialist seem the first desirability in the art of government. The collection of economic rent would leave to the wages of labor their full reward. The filchings of taxation, the rake-off of interest, the private collection of ground rent being passed and gone, the Socialist would find that the prophecy of George Bernard Shaw for equality of income would be measurably attained, while the great law of Progress, association in equality, as formulated by Henry George, would have become a world-embracing fact.

Finally, what is the Georgist ideal? Not the spirit of charity, hovering over us "like an ineffectual angel, beating in the void his luminous wings in vain," but rather the spirit of progress, driving unerringly above the clouds of doubt and the mists of ignorance and superstition, a radiant Apollo of art, peace and civilization, descending finally to earth in the midst of a sea of upturned faces, exultant with welcome, delirious with joy!

#### Something To Think About

**M**UNICIPAL taxes increase in the United States more than 100 per cent. for every 20 per cent. increase in population.

Per capita taxes today total \$77.30; in 1923 the figure was only \$22.66.

Thirty cents out of every dollar of corporation profits goes for taxes.

Authority: Silas H. Strawn, head of Chicago Citizens' committee.  
—Los Angeles Record.

# Personal Reminiscences of Henry George

## And Some Distinguished Contemporary Churchmen

The following was addressed by a Catholic priest in Ireland to his devoted friend, Henry George's daughter. For some personal reasons this old land leaguer would not sign his name, yet he does not conceal that he felt highly honored, though greatly surprised, when in the Life of Henry George, he found himself named as the recipient of a memorable letter.

HENRY GEORGE was always glad to find in earlier authors the confirmation of his own views on the essential injustice of the landlord system. He quoted such older authors with pleasure, if only for the purpose of recommending their teachings to English, or Irish, or other European politicians. These were naturally distrustful of the teachings of a newly arrived American, whom the Duke of Argyll, joking with some difficulty, called the Prophet of San Francisco. In or around the year 1880, i.e., in the days of the Irish Land League, when Henry George was living in Dublin, and was correspondent of the New York *Irish World*, he heard of the Irish Fintan Lalor, and the Scottish Thomas Spence, and he eagerly put their words anew into print. He always maintained that, since what he taught in "Progress and Poverty" was the truth, others must have perceived it before himself.

Mr. George may not have known of a remarkable passage in the works of the English philosopher, Paley (1743-1805); and indeed the passage may not have appeared in all editions of *Elements of Moral and Political Philosophy*, first published in 1785. Paley wrote, in his considerations concerning "Property:"

"If you should see a flock of pigeons in a field of corn, and if—instead of each picking where and what it liked, taking just as much as it wanted, and no more—you should see ninety-nine of them gathering all they got into a heap, reserving nothing for themselves but the chaff and the refuse, keeping this heap for one, and that the weakest, perhaps worst pigeon of the flock; sitting round, and looking on all the winter, whilst this one was devouring, throwing about and wasting it; and if a pigeon, more hardy or hungry than the rest, touched a grain of the hoard, all the others instantly flying upon it, and tearing it to pieces: if you should see this, you would see nothing more than what is every day established and practised among men. Among men you see the ninety-and-nine toiling and scraping together a heap of superfluities for one, and this one too, oftentimes, the feeblest and worst of the whole set—a child, a woman, a madman, or a fool—getting nothing for themselves all the while but a little of the coarsest of the provision which their own industry produces; looking quietly on while they see the fruits of all their labor spent or spoiled; and if one of the number take or touch a

particle of the hoard, the others joining against him, and hanging him for the theft."

Paley got some good "livings" in his day. But in spite of his exceptional talents, he never reached the "Bench of Bishops." It was reported that when his name was mentioned favorably to George III, the King exclaimed, "Paley! What? Pigeon Paley?" Nevertheless, after the Pigeon paragraph quoted above, i.e., after showing that the landlord system is manifestly and essentially *contra bonum publicum*, Paley continued as follows in apparent seriousness:—

"There must be some very important advantages to account for an institution which, in the view of it above given, is so paradoxical and unnatural."

Paley's mention of the pigeon more hardy or hungry than the rest reminds me of a conversation with Henry George, on an occasion when we met in Leeds. Judging by my own whereabouts in 1884, and by a reference in George's Life, p. 434, I feel sure it was in that year that our meeting in Leeds took place. He was accompanied by a very zealous and intelligent follower, Mr. McGee (or McHugh). I rallied Mr. George about a rather strong statement which he had lately made to the effect that it was "hard to repress a feeling of contempt" for the afflicted Irish "tenants," who, after enduring such and such, had only—"occasionally murdered a landlord." He said, quite gravely, "Well, if you had been in Donegal with me, and had seen etc., etc., I think you would not have found fault with that statement." Of course I was really well enough acquainted with what, "by a heartless euphemism," says Cardinal Manning, we call the Land Question. My own grandfather had been evicted from his farm. I explained to my American friend that it was not courage which was wanting to the Irish. It was a case of *Di me terrent*: they considered it sinful to take the law into their own hands. Whether every individual victim of oppression took that conscientious view is another matter.

It was in Leeds, after his Scottish campaign, that Henry George told me he had seen the meaning of the "Reformation," in Scotland: the Lords wanted the Church properties!

I have been quoting Paley. Henry George himself, as I have said, gladly made use of the words of Thomas Spence, published in 1775, maintaining the public right to the rental value of land. The author of "Progress and Poverty" had already in his book quoted Herbert Spencer ("Social Statics," ch. ix), declaring that Equity does not permit property in land.

The words of Fintan Lalor in the young Ireland days

(1847), were the same as those of John Stuart Mill in later times: "The land of Ireland belongs to the people of Ireland." These same sentiments were also expressed very well by Mill's step-daughter, that spirited and intellectual lady, Miss Helen Taylor.

Ruskin, unable to be present at George's lecture in London, wrote him a public letter wishing him "an understanding audience." Ruskin himself had already explained that the Social Problem meant simply how to get potatoes and meat enough on the table twice a day.

Others to whom Henry George made appeal for confirmation of his own (more fully developed) views were Turgot and other "illustrious Frenchmen," who in the darkness of the night "foresaw the glories of the coming day." To their memory he dedicated his book, "Protection or Free Trade": "a great work, a masterly work," says Mr. Snowden, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer: "a work which gets down to the fundamentals of the controversy." Turgot (1727-81), theologian, lawyer, minister of State, and "philosopher," perceived that it could not be right or reasonable that the workingman should be *taillable et corveable a merci*, and unto starvation; nor that the weavers of purple and fine linen should be free from taxation. Instead of a confused medley of aids and tithes, and corvees and octrois, he desired that there should be one good *impôt*, payable by those who were allowed to hold any portion of the national soil as their own. He had the root of the matter in him. He had got to what Mr. Snowden calls "the fundamentals" of Free Trade, freedom to buy and to sell, and to produce something for sale. Turgot was not like the simple-minded Frenchman of 1848, who wished to provide national workshops, and expensive overseers. In France above all countries there is a bountiful and pleasant national workshop provided for all by God Almighty; but Turgot's great proposal was too great, too new, too simple, and too just. It "displeased the privileged classes," says M. Georges Goyau.

The human mind is very conservative, and often very honestly so. Gladstone maintained that it was not true that he was too fond of change: he desired to "preserve not only whatever was good, but whatever was tolerable." Yet it is the usual fate of those who propose changes for the better, to frighten those people who are sufficiently content with things as they now are. And sometimes indeed the *Rerum Novarum* heralds, the preachers of much-needed improvements, use language to provoke the anger, or the ridicule, of every one. Proudhon (1809-65) for instance, proclaimed as a grand truth, such as may hardly be discovered and proclaimed "*en deux mille ans*," that Property is Theft! Seemingly he meant only that Landed Property, the Landlord system, is *contra bonum publicum*, and therefore unlawful, just as other private property is lawful, desirable, and necessary, precisely because it is *pro bono publico*. But naturally it has taken us a long time to see any sense in the bold and ludicrous statement, "*La propriete c' est le vol.*"

Henry George cannot be said to have left himself open to misunderstanding of his meaning when denying the right of private property in earth and air and God's direct gifts. He explained over and over again that what he proposed was simply a just system of taxation. "We would take for the community what belongs to the community, leaving sacred to the individual all that belongs to the individual." Instead of taxing a man because he is industrious, or is doing something useful, or needs to eat and drink, we would take (he said) for the public needs the fair annual value of every town site, or other such landed property. Still I said to him one day quite truly that some men did not understand his doctrine. He said somewhat warmly, "They do not wish to understand," and I am afraid that was and is the truth in many cases.

Cardinal Manning understood Henry George from the very beginning. Thoughts about the Land Question, or The Condition of Labor, were not new to him. In 1874, in the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, I heard him deliver his Lecture on the Dignity and Rights of Labor. It was a delight to hear that silvery voice, and to follow those words "falling like snow flakes," so fresh and fair, every syllable so clear, and every sentence sending home its meaning to the mind so plainly as if the thought could not in any other way have been expressed. The great Archbishop, the distinguished Archdeacon of Chichester, was already at home, and was making the Catholic Church at home, among his own people, although Gladstone looked upon his going away from the Establishment as a death. The lecturer expressed the desire he had "to promote, if it be in my power, not only the good, but even the recreation, of my neighbor." Besides his historical survey, he went on to make such statements as that Labor is the origin of all our greatness, and that there is no limit as yet ascertained to the fertility of the earth. Talking of the Rights of Labor, he spoke of conditions which "turn men into creatures of burden—I will not use any other word"—and declared that "we dare not go on in this path." "No Commonwealth can rest on such foundations."

The Archbishop was very calm, very sympathetic, very plain and clear in what he did say, but he showed us no definite way to remedy a state of things which was too bad to last. I contrasted his lecture with his sermons, already heard or read. In these he was peremptory and decisive. The ecclesiastical Paganini, as some one called him, never failed to make charming music with the one string, the Authority of the Church, the one authorized Teacher of Religion.

In 1874 I was not acquainted with his Letter to Earl Grey in 1868 (on Ireland). In that weighty appeal, he had gone plainly enough to the root of a matter which concerned others than the Irish people. He asserted that private rights must not damage the public weal; "that there is a natural and divine law, anterior and superior to all human and civil law, by which every people has a right to live of the fruits of the soil on which they are born,

and in which they are buried." And he went on in a characteristic masterly summary:—"The Land Question, as we call it by a somewhat heartless euphemism, means hunger, thirst, nakedness, notice to quit, labor spent in vain, the toil of years seized upon, the breaking up of homes, the miseries, sicknesses, deaths, of parents, children, wives; the despair and wildness which spring up in the hearts of the poor when legal force, like a sharp harrow, goes over the most sensitive and vital rights of mankind. All this is contained in the Land Question."

It was no wonder that the writer of such lines understood and approved Henry George, when the time came. But not in the Sixties or the Seventies, even when Gladstone had begun to lessen the tyrannical power of Irish landlords, would either the Cardinal or Mr. Gladstone have thought of such a comparison as was set before us in the Eighties by Henry George. He told us to take notice that there had been no need to bring negro slaves into England or Ireland. When rough work was to be done, the natives were glad to be allowed to do it for their masters, in the worst possible conditions, because they had no chance of working for themselves: they had not a foot of ground of their own, on which to labor, or to lie down to rest.

In 1884, Mr. Wilfrid Meynell brought the author of "Progress and Poverty" to the Cardinal at Westminster. He afterwards described the interview in touching words, which Henry George, Jr., quoted in the *Life* of his father, p. 438. The Cardinal had no need to wait for the Royal Commission on the "Housing of the Working Classes," on which he served, his name coming next after that of the Prince of Wales (Edward VII), 1884-5.

We have now in the *Life* of Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, published only at the end of the year 1928, a private letter in which the Cardinal tells plainly enough his agreement with George. He tells the Archbishop (p. 227), "I know what Henry George means . . . but I am not sure of your meaning, unless it be that the Irish people shall reenter into the possession of their own soil. The garrison must give way to the nation." This letter is dated August 17, 1886. In the Eighties, Dr. Walsh was defending the afflicted Irish tenants on the ground that they too (and not only the landlords) had rights in the land, rights given by Gladstonian legislation. At the same time, his private correspondence with Cardinal Manning showed that he was going more deeply into the subject. He wrote to the Cardinal in 1886-7:—"Progress and Poverty" is a singularly interesting as well as ably written book. Ever since I read it, several years ago, I have felt convinced that the nationalization of the land will infallibly be a point of practical politics before very long. The sooner it is carried out, the less revolutionary the measure will be. What Dr. Corrigan [Archbishop of New York] writes is very sad. The extracts quoted by himself are quite sufficient to show . . . that George is a

writer of singular definiteness and clearness. I do not think it possible that anyone who had read "Progress and Poverty" could have made such a mistake, or could have failed to see the irrelevancy of the arguments on which the Archbishop relies." (*Life of Archbishop Walsh*, pp. 227, 230.)

Dr. Corrigan had condemned a book either not read, or not understood, and he had "censured" the Rev. Dr. McGlyn "for publicly approving the views of Henry George. Reparation came to Dr. McGlyn" later, but too late.

I have not found any expression of Archbishop Walsh's opinion about the Letter—which he did not like to call a Pastoral Letter—issued in 1883 by Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath. Dr. Walsh himself was a great and good Irish Bishop, who most industriously used his exceptional talents in promoting the temporal and spiritual good of his people. He is sure to have read Bishop Nulty's pronouncement and proof of that "The land of every country is the property of the people of that country." But it is easy to understand the general silence on the subject. Many interests in England and Ireland were alarmed by such an episcopal approbation of Michael Davitt's slogan, "The Land for the People." In the *Life of Henry George*, p. 363, we may read of events in which almost all the actors have passed away.

When George returned from seeing the Bishop of Meath at Mullingar, he said to me—with a very slight American accent on the word very—"Dr. Nulty would be a very good Radical man, if he were not a Bishop." The simple fact was that, long before the famine of 1879-80, Dr. Nulty had been acquainted with the miseries inflicted upon the Irish people by bad laws and bad men. After the famine of 1847, he had seen the evictions; he had seen a rich country depopulated. "An eviction is a sentence of death," said Gladstone during one of his attempts to make bad laws less intolerable. His one short sentence was like a summary of the words of Archbishop Manning, already quoted. When the principal members of the Land League were on trial—the Traversers they were called in legal language—in the Four Courts, Bishop Nulty was present and prominent, and it was made public that he wished to give evidence to account for the existence and the operations of the Land League. But to the Judges such evidence seemed irrelevant. They did not wish to hear of explanations or excuses, or anything of past history, but only to inquire into certain alleged speeches or actions of the Traversers. Bishop Nulty was not invited into the witness-box.

I have mentioned Michael Davitt, a man of singular nobility of character, which was manifested not only in his touching last testament to the Irish People, but in the very fact of his coming out of the prison-house not a ruined and embittered man, but a still greater man than he was before his prolonged sufferings and humiliations began. Davitt was almost the only Irishman in politics who under-

stood and approved Henry George's doctrine. In 1905, at Dalkey, not a year before his death, I asked him if he had learned his views from Henry George. He said that a lady journalist had asked him that question in a railway carriage in America. But no! it was in his own lonely reflections in his convict cell during many years that he perceived the real cause of the poverty of the people, and that it was not a mere Irish grievance. It was certainly remarkable how almost at the same time but without communication three men came forward to preach "The Land for the People." Davitt and Dr. Nulty had been moved to think and to act by their acquaintance with the injustice practised on their own people, Henry George by his experience in "progress" and "boom" in California.

Many patriotic and intelligent Irishmen had it in mind that due reform in the land laws meant simply freeing the farmers from the risk of eviction and from rackrents. To them it was a very new doctrine that any one's right over land (of only prairie or site value) was quite different from ownership of producible and perishable goods. The new talk about nationalization only made them scoff. "I would not waste my time reading such nonsense," was said by Frank Hugh O'Donnell, M. P., and to myself by a more important man, still surviving, the idea was too novel for them to look at it at all. They had a notion that it meant putting a committee, or a county, or the State, in the place of the individual landlord. Where would the difference be? William O'Brien asked me in or about 1881. You see the difference, said George to me, when I repeated the words. I could not say that I did, at that early moment, before perceiving that a just tax makes it every body's interest to bring all land into use, so that there can be no need for starving people to outbid each other for a hold upon some small portion of what the landlord system chooses to throw open.

Nationalization was not a word used by Henry George. The national soil cannot be more national than it is. What can be done is to make a good use of it for the benefit of the nation. When George came back from his campaign in Australia, in reply to my question, he told me with a laugh that he had addressed very good meetings. They had a system there called totalization; they saw mention in the papers of nationalization; they thought it must be something of the same kind, and they gathered in crowds to hear him. I believe totalization is some sort of a plan for betting on horses.

Nationalization in the sense of a bureaucratic or state management was something with which George had no sympathy. I asked him one day how it was that a certain London daily paper, ably conducted, quite radical, quite literary, seemed to be against him. "Oh! they are Socialists: that is the reason." This was in the days when even in *The Times* a friendly reviewer quoted one of his best passages, but made all quite smooth for the reader by some such declaration as that stuff of that sort was not likely to be

swallowed by free-born Englishmen. The word socialism is often used without any very precise meaning. An Englishman, a convert, told me many years ago that Abbot Gasgnet was "by way of being a Socialist." Still there are real Socialists in England. And no wonder! Socialism would be better than the present system. But it would not last long. Socialists (says George) would try to rule the vital functions and internal relations of the human frame by conscious will. The public weal, which forbids private property in land (in the true sense of property or ownership), commands other private property, and the private management of one's own affairs.

A very active man in the Land League, along with Davitt was young Thomas Brennan. He was explaining one day to Henry George the high patriotic spirit of the Fenian Society, to which, I presume, he belonged. The Land League movement, he said, was "rather sordid." "All men are sordid," said Henry George. Of course he only meant, *Primum est vivere*. We must live, even though Talleyrand, who lived so very well, did not "see the necessity" for other people. Bobbie Burns admitted the plea even for the thieving mouse turned up by his plough!

Our Irish ideas have been pretty correct, yet rather vague, about the ownership of the soil. Thomas Brennan, a fine and brave young man, if somewhat too contemptuous and cocksure, prospered, I am glad to know, in Omaha. I hope it was not by any dealings in "real estate" that so militant a Land Leaguer made his way. But we have been accustomed in a vague way to remember ancient confiscations and modern evictions, and to nourish hopes that somehow justice would yet be done. The dear old Bishop of Clonfert, Dr. Duggan, about whom William O'Brien tells us so much in his *Reminiscences*, got Henry George to explain his views about the Land Question. Then he said: "Go on preaching that doctrine; that is what I used to hear around the turf fires in Connaught." Still it was the usual Irish notion that payment of money for leave to work was like payment to a shopkeeper. I had youthful wonder about the plan of transferring land by means of a twig or a sod. And when I saw a landlord building a new house for himself in certain fields, I was in childish confusion of mind as to the ownership of the earth. For the landlord was a good man, and resident. He was raising a new home, where his father, an absentee, had allowed an old house to tumble to the ground.

In spite of all old struggles for "tenant-right," and then for making every man his own landlord, there was not among public men in Ireland sufficient sympathy for the views of the American who had come "to spread the light" on his own behalf, and on that of Patrick Ford's *Irish World*, and of Michael Davitt. When these views were new to me, in the early eighties, I consulted the Rev. Dr. Carr, a learned professor in Maynooth, afterwards Archbishop of Melbourne. In a kind letter, he wrote that the burden of proof lay upon the preachers of the new doctrine: that the Church had been approving of private

property in land ever since the Donation of Constantine.

I think now that the word property is commonly used in two senses, but that Henry George correctly used it in only one and the same sense. Also, that the old landlordism was the cause in the Church of nepotism, pluralism, absenteeism, commendarism, and so forth. Moreover, the Church properties were really cases of public property in land, not private. The rents were intended for religious and charitable purposes. When the Rev. Dr. Browne (Bishop of Cloyne since 1894) was editor at Maynooth of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, I begged him to have "Progress and Poverty" reviewed, perhaps refuted. He said that it was not possible to have the book considered at all in a publication bearing the Imprimatur of the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. McCabe).

Indeed many worthy ecclesiastics did not, and do not, like to meddle with "what by a "heartless euphemism" we call the Land Question." In a theological conference at Spanish Place Church, in London, the late Mgr. Moyes, a very learned, experienced, pious and zealous priest, said that it was for laymen to remedy the injustice done by bad laws. Nevertheless, Pope Leo, a few years earlier, had solemnly declared that "all the Ministers of Holy Religion must throw into the conflict (over the Social Problem) all the energies of their mind and all the strength of their endurance." In the making of Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, the Pope (report said) was influenced by Cardinals Manning and Gibbons. Certainly His Holiness enforced the "Dignity and Rights of Labor," that is of human nature, whilst insisting, even more plainly than Henry George, that individuals or families cannot lawfully be turned into employees of some public board, but must have their own roof-tree, and their own plot of ground, or demesne, of such size as may be pleasing to themselves.

Mr. George visited Cardinal Manning on at least one other occasion besides that already mentioned. In August 1890 he went to him in Carlisle Place, Westminster, along with his friend (who became my friend), "Father" Huntington, an intellectual and pious Ritualist clergyman from New York. George afterwards asked me to come with him to find Father Huntington, who had gone to pay a visit also to Father Lockhart, of the Institute of Charity, at St. Etheldreda's, Ely Place. As we went along Holborn in a hansom, he told me that, when leaving the Cardinal, Father Huntington had knelt down to ask his blessing. He would willingly have done the same, he said, but he did not wish to be misunderstood. That was characteristic of Henry George. He was the soul of honor: a most religious mind.

I spoke to him with a laugh about the severe words he had lately used against Herbert Spencer's backsliding. He said with warmth, "And what *else* was it but a cowardly apostasy?" Of course I only enjoyed the phrase, because those very free thinkers are always saying that we Christians are the cowardly poor folk. Spencer had forgotten

his former ideas about rent, and his question regarding the rate per annum at which injustice turns into justice. In 1892 George published his book, "A Perplexed Philosopher." It is not surprising that neither the Duke of Argyll nor Herbert Spencer even attempted any reply to Henry George.

We read at least once a year, viz. on the 14th Sunday after Pentecost (or perhaps the 15th after Trinity) the words (St. Matt. ch. VI) in which Our Divine Lord declares that if we were ruled by God's laws, if justice prevailed among men, we should have all that we need. The birds of the air have abundance: the sweet nurslings of the vernal skies (as Keble calls them) do not need to toil.

Many men who have often read that passage act and speak as if Our Lord's words were not true. Perhaps they do not wish to understand. Since we are not leading an ordinary, natural, i. e. divinely appointed, life, we are driven to make a living by all sorts of laborious dodges, producing nothing, adding nothing to our common stock, merely passing things (perhaps not dishonestly) from one pocket to another. We live by huxtering, i. e. picking up such difference as we can between what we pay for goods, and what is paid to us. And so there are ten shops in every small street, "cutting each others throats," where one shop would be enough. Or we live by gambling, of one sort or another. "Don't call them promoters," said a friendly solicitor to me in London, referring to some members of a religious co-fraternity; "in London a promoter is a man who is robbing the public."

And those who cannot be promoters in that sense are driven to gather up used postage stamps, tin-foil, tissue paper, or other cast-off trifles. I know a man practising this sort of industry who calls himself *le chiffonier du bon Dieu*. A rag-gatherer for religious and charitable purposes in God's own world, full of God's rich gifts! And we pay tens of thousands of men for standing idle at the street corners, or in public institutions, instead of paying them for producing cheap food in the tens of thousands of now idle acres. And we pay able-bodied men who might be doing useful work—to stand at the receipt of custom for the annoyance of travellers, in the childish attempt to "tax the foreigner," as if he were an enemy to be punished for offering us cheap goods. And we tout for the tourist foreigner, as if we had not the ability and honesty to pay our own expenses in our own country. And some of us charitably spend money and pains in sending families away from their native land, to be exiles in the snow or the slum, and still "in dreams to see the Hebrides," or to weep for the "winding banks of Erne," the woodlands and meadows of that southern "Avondhu, which of the Englishman is called Blackwater."

I have said that we in Ireland are rather vague in our notions about popular rights, though we may cherish an innate sympathy with such a cry as "The Land for the People," or the cry of Roderick Dhu,

"These fertile plains, that softened vale,  
Were once the birthright of the Gael,"

But it would be worth our while to consider well how much truth there may be in the fuller doctrine which Walter Scott, elsewhere, makes a Highlander teach to young Edward Waverley:—"To take a tree from the forest, a salmon from the river, a deer from the hill, or a cow from lowland strath, is what no Highlander need ever think shame upon." *Waverley, ch. 18.*

The political economy of Henry George is what gives clear ideas on these points. He himself had great confidence in the power of truth. But he realized the power of vested interests, and the selfishness and inhumanity of man. His confidence simply was that somehow, somewhere, sometime, the Laws of Heaven would prevail, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man be recognized.

## Touring the West

FOLLOWING the national conference at San Francisco Percy R. Williams, Secretary of the Henry George Foundation, made the most extended speaking tour that he has yet undertaken. He spent seven weeks in the West traversing the territory from Phoenix, Arizona, to Seattle, Washington, and back through the Rocky Mountain states to the Farm Belt, speaking in twenty-five different cities and towns in ten states.

The engagements included chambers of commerce, service clubs, universities and colleges, women's clubs, forums and labor organizations. He reports a cordial reception everywhere and generous newspaper publicity. In most cities there were present in the audience prominent city, county or state officials, very frequently the Mayor or head of the department of assessors being present, and in some instances members of the respective state tax commissions. Throughout practically all of the states visited there seemed to be at this time an unusually keen interest in the general subject of taxation, and through Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska and Iowa, as well as in states farther west, there appeared to be keen interest in the Pittsburgh policy of concentrating the principal burden of local taxation upon land values, which the speaker used as an illustration of how important economic steps directed toward a state of genuine, permanent prosperity might be introduced.

Early in November, Mr. Williams visited Meadville, Pennsylvania, where he addressed an audience of five hundred students at Allegheny College, held a round table conference with the members of the Liberal Club at the college, and spoke before the open forum conducted by the Stone Church of Meadville, of which Dr. J. S. Lackland is the aggressive and progressive pastor.

Of course, whilst another man has no land, my title to mine, your title to yours, is at once violated.—EMERSON.

## Lecture Tour of James R. Brown

AUG. 21. Asbury Park, N. J., Kiwanis Club; attendance 100. My third visit and a most friendly and encouraging meeting.

Aug. 28. New York, N. Y., Lions Club, McAlpin Hotel; attendance 30. Very friendly and very much interested.

Sept. 2. Bay Shore, L. I., Rotary Club, attendance 50. My third visit; open-minded attitude and reaction all that could be asked for.

Sept. 3. Glens Falls, N. Y., Kiwanis Club; attendance about 100. My third visit.

Sept. 4. Ogdensburg, N. Y., Rotary Club; attendance about 65. My second visit; reception very friendly.

Sept. 6. Schroon Lake, N. Y., Adirondack Lumbermen's Assn., Annual Meeting; about 150 present. The group became thoroughly interested in our proposition.

Sept. 9. Binghamton, N. Y., Lions Club; about 75 present. Third visit.

Sept. 10. Tarrytown, N. Y., Rotary Club; attendance about 50. This was my third visit; attitude increasingly friendly.

Sept. 16. Oswego, N. Y., Rotary Club; 50 present.

Sept. 17. Auburn, N. Y., Kiwanis Club; 75 present. Fourth visit.

Sept. 18. Olean, N. Y., Kiwanis Club; 100 present. A seeking attitude.

Sept. 23. White Plains, N. Y., Rotary Club; attendance about 100. My third visit; growing friendliness.

Sept. 24. South River, N. J., Rotary Club; 40 present. Anxious to know more.

Sept. 25. Bronx, N. Y., Chamber of Commerce; about 200 present. My third visit.

Sept. 25. Beverly, N. J., Bevel-Edge Club; about 50 present. Hearty invitation to return again and proceed with the argument.

Sept. 30. Auburn, N. Y., Rotary Club; about 100 present. Second visit.

Oct. 1. Tupper Lake, N. Y., Rotary Club; about 45 present. Established a very friendly relationship.

Oct. 2. Bound Brook, N. J., Exchange Club; about 50 present. Attitude very friendly and kindly.

Oct. 3. Roselle, N. J., Woman's Civic Club; about 103 present.

### ONTARIO TOUR

Oct. 6. Welland, Ontario, Rotary Club; attendance 50. My second visit.

Oct. 7. Toronto, Ontario, Gyro Club; attendance 80. Splendid group of fine fellows and a very favorable impression left, judging by their comments.

Oct. 7. Toronto, Ontario, Fifth Ward Ratepayers Assn.; attendance about 30.

Oct. 8. Toronto, Ontario, Western High School of Commerce; 1,200 students. My second visit.

Oct. 10. Dunnville, Ontario, Lions Club; about 60 present.

Oct. 10. Dunnville, Ontario; group of 30 people at private house.

Oct. 13. Willowdale, Ontario, Earl Haig High School; 200 students.

Oct. 13. Toronto, Ontario, Masonic Lodge; 200 present. The door is on the latch and the string hangs outside. Come back soon.

Oct. 14. Toronto, Ontario, Toronto University; meeting of students in economics department; 150 present. Second visit.

Oct. 14. Toronto, Ontario Men's Club of Kimbourne United Church; 40 present. Second visit.

Oct. 14. Toronto, Ontario, Toronto University, Fabian Society; about 40 present.

Oct. 16. Kingston, Ontario, Queens University; a group of students in economics department; about 40 in number.

Oct. 17. Sarnia, Ontario, Kiwanis Club; attendance 110. First visit; hearty invitation to come back.

Oct. 21. Windsor, Ontario, Kiwanis Club; 100 present.

Oct. 22. Goderich, Ontario, Collegiate Institute; 260 students.

Oct. 22. Goderich, Ontario, Men's Club of United Church; 100 present.

Oct. 23. Windsor, Ontario, Gyro Club; 18 present. A small but splendid group of men.

Oct. 23. Windsor, Ontario, Shriners Club; 200 present. Out of this meeting grew a half dozen invitations to address other Shrine Clubs.

Oct. 24. Toronto, Ontario, Single Tax Dinner; 40 present.

Oct. 26. Toronto, Ontario, Rationalists Society; 200 present.

Oct. 27. Toronto, Ontario, Eastern High School of Commerce; 800 students present.

Oct. 28. Niagara Falls, Ontario, Lions Club; 55 in attendance. Mayor and Aldermen present. This is my second visit; we got quite a number of converts out of this group.

This concluded the Ontario tour and we have every reason to be pleased at the reception accorded the message. We have made many friends in Canada and the doctrine has distinguished adherents. Those to whom the subject matter was new were interested to pursue the question further. At Niagara Falls, Ontario, the Mayor who is an avowed Single Taxer, and members of the city council listened attentively. The *Evening Review* of that city said: "Mr. Brown made a strong case for his plan and at the end of his address answered many questions."

Oct. 29. Newark, N. Y., Lions Club; about 40 present and the very best kind of men. It was a delightful meeting; earnestly urged to return within six months.

Oct. 30. East Aurora, N. Y., Kiwanis Club; 80 in attendance. My second visit.

The newspapers were particularly kind and generous with space. The Niagara Falls (Ontario) *Evening Review* gave us two columns. The Goderich, (Ontario) *Star* one and a half columns, and the Goderich *Signal* two columns. This newspaper also instituted a prize essay contest on the Single Tax for the students at the Collegiate Institute. In Toronto the *Mail and Empire* gave us two thirds of a column, the Toronto *Daily Star* a half column, the Dunnville, Ontario, *Gazette*, two columns. The Sarnia *Canadian Observer* one column. At Tupper Lake, N. Y. the *Adirondack Herald and Press* gave us two columns, and the *Spokesman* two columns. At Olean, N. Y., the *Evening Times* gave us two columns and the *Herald* one. The Bay Shore, L. I. *Journal*, gave a report of three quarters of a column, and the Tarrytown N. Y. *Daily News* a good report in one third of a column. The St. Thomas, Ontario, *Times-Journal* gave an excellent report of the lecture at Sarnia, and said: "He made his Single Tax lecture as funny as a Stephen Leacock essay. Any Kiwanian who entertained doubts about the speaker and his subject, fearing an inexpressibly dry session, certainly \* \* \* \* \* received a pleasant surprise."

Besides the newspaper reports of our addresses, there are about forty papers that use the monthly service that we send out from this office.

Letters of approval and commendation are very numerous. The following excerpts from letters received in relation to the tour will indicate the trend:

"I beg to acknowledge receipt of the parcel of books and pamphlets re taxation, all of which, like Mr. Brown's address, are very interesting. I shall see that these are properly distributed and that as many members of our Club as desire read the various books sent in."

—H. E. LAMBERT, President Lions Club,

Dunnville, Ontario.

"Thank you very kindly for your letter of November 1st, and for the Single Tax literature, which I received yesterday. I will certainly make this literature available to the rest of the men in the club and if more is requested I will write you.

"Now let me tell you and your association (and I intended doing this the first of the week) how much we appreciated and enjoyed your address of October 28th. I have yet to see more enthusiasm displayed by the members of this club and more favorable comment expressed, than I have seen and heard since this meeting.

"I can assure you and your association that we have all profited by your address on this most vital economic subject and your presentation is inimitable and beyond comparison. You certainly left us all thinking and that is what we all need."

—W. D. BRACKEN, President, Niagara Falls Lions Club, Niagara Falls, Ontario.



"If your pleasure was as great as our pleasure to have you as our guest speaker, then you surely enjoyed yourself while with us. The only criticisms I heard was that it was a shame to listen to such a splendid talk only thirty minutes. Sometime in the future we would like to arrange to have you with us and we to give you the time you want to talk. Your talk was greatly enjoyed by all present, and we shall look forward with great pleasure to have you with us again sometime in the future."

—A. W. CHRISTY, Chairman Speakers' Committee, Lions Club of Newark, Newark, N. Y.

"Referring to your recent visit to our city, at which time you spoke to about one hundred of the members of the Border Cities Kiwanis Club and also to about two hundred members of the Shrine Club of both Windsor and Detroit, it may interest you to know that the different committees were unanimous in their opinion that you put over your talk on 'Taxation' in a very successful way. The humor displayed served not only to keep your audience in periodical laughter, but assisted you to clinch your arguments in a very convincing manner. We shall look forward, with pleasure, to another visit from you next year, and, until then I beg to remain,"

—J. O. LUNDY, Chairman Speakers' Committee, Border Cities Kiwanis Club, Windsor, Ontario.

"We were very pleased with your talk before the Rotary Club last Wednesday and hope that sometime in the future we will be able to have you with us again."

—W. A. ALLGAIR, Mayor, Borough of South River, Middlesex County, N. J.

In all of these meetings, anybody who expresses a desire for literature has it sent to him from the office. To those Clubs, Colleges and Schools where we have spoken, we send quite a lot of literature for free distribution. Let me add this word, that there never was a more propitious time to advocate Single Tax than at the present moment. People are more anxious than ever before to know something about Taxation. The question is being forced upon them by circumstance. It is indeed true that the fields are white unto the harvest and it is equally true that the reapers are few.

The two tracts that the Manhattan Single Tax Club has issued lately, one entitled "The Pyramiding of Land Values" and the other, "The Gasoline Tax," have been wonderfully well received by interested people all over the country. The following excerpts from letters will prove that these tracts have made so far, a good impression, and have been received most heartily. Dr. Roman of California sent for one thousand copies of "The Gasoline Tax."

"Anent your pyramidal talk elucidating the mysteries of Manhattan land values, may I be permitted to observe that it is not only O.K., but unequivocally a K.O. Your modest brochure will become a classic on the subject. Students of economic history will take delight in witness-

ing your deft jabs and jolts athwart the solar plexus of Old Man Gotham who gobbles New York's goodly rents.

"Denunciation is all very well, in its way, but the gentle irony of mellow humor is the harpoon that penetrates the blubber of the whale and plants its barbs in the flesh of Leviathan. All in good time the lance will dispatch the quarry, and we shall then see what we shall see. Perhaps some of the oil will prove to be Standard, who knows?"

—WM. LLOYD GARRISON, JR., Boston, Mass.

"Permit me to thank you in behalf of the Pupils and Staff of our School for your splendid, thought-provoking address to us during your visit to Canada and also for the literature sent us after your return.

"I am placing it at the disposal of the Students and Staff for an Essay Topic.

"Again thanking you most heartily."

—J. P. HUME, Principal, Collegiate Institute, Goderich, Ontario.

"I think your new booklet 'The Pyramiding of Land Values' about as clear and convincing a statement of the Single Tax as I have ever seen. Will you please send me about 20 copies for distribution."

—LOUIS B. PARSONS, New York, N. Y.

"I note that you have been good enough to send Professor Urwick two interesting pamphlets, 'The Pyramiding of Land Values' and "The Gasoline Tax," both of them written by yourself. These are being studied by our taxation specialist, Mr. H. R. Kemp. May I take the occasion to thank you once more for your kindness in coming to address the Commerce Club, and assure you that your visit was enjoyed by everyone in the room. We should be happy to think that this is an annual event, and shall look forward to welcoming you next time you are in town during the session."

—GILBERT E. JACKSON, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario.

"The two new leaflets which you have asked me to look over have that same easy style. Your discussion of Manhattan real estate values is an excellent illustration of your point. The question the boys are going to ask is: 'How do the advocates of the Single Tax propose to secure for the public this social value in property?'"

—ROBERT W. HOSKINS, Loomis Institute, Windsor, Conn.

"It was a great pleasure to hear from you again and to receive the two tracts that you have just published. I have read them with much interest and congratulate you most heartily. You know what a welcome our students have for you and one hundred copies of each could be well used."

—H. H. SEAY, JR., University of Richmond, Richmond, Va.

"I was very glad to have your note of October 20th and the two new tracts on land value and gasoline tax. I was very much interested in reading them myself, and I shall

be glad for our students to have the opportunity of reading them when they are studying the subjects of taxation and rent. I shall turn them over to Dr. Tucker, and if we need additional copies, he will write to you."

—G. E. HANCOCK, Dean, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.

"I was very glad to receive your letter of October 20th, together with the tracts on 'The Gasoline Tax' and 'The Pyramiding of Land Values.' I shall be glad to accept your very kind offer of copies of these tracts for distribution to members of my class in Public Finance. In this way we can make use of about twenty copies of each. We shall look forward to seeing you again when you make your annual visit to the South in the coming Winter or Spring."

—ROBERT H. TUCKER, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.

"I have just finished reading the two tracts recently mailed to me. The one on the Gas Tax appeals to me, particularly in the light of our 4c tax in Pa. The other presents your sane argument in behalf of the whole single tax movement. Please send me 100 copies of the latter. I would also like the same number of copies of the former. I wish these tracts for distribution among our students. When you come this way, do not pass us by."

—GEORGE F. DUNKELBERGER, Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pa.

"Your note of October 20th reminds me again of your visit at Peddie and the delightfully interesting way in which you presented the case for the Single Tax Club. The tracts you have published are pointed and interesting, and I shall be glad to distribute 100 copies among our teachers and senior students, who are the ones most likely to find them of value and interest."

—R. W. SWETLAND, Headmaster, The Peddie School, Hightstown, N. J.

"I received and have read the two new tracts. I appreciate your sending them. I enjoyed them very much. They are true to the point, and clearly and well written. I could use a few extra copies. I also see three on the list I have not read, 'Not a Single Tax,'—Root, 'Untaxing Industry,'—Holmes, 'Hurt In Her Own House'—Brown.

—B. F. EMENHEISER, History Club of Baltimore, City College, Baltimore, Md.

"I am glad to acknowledge receipt of your two booklets on the subject of taxation. I agree with you as to your views, but do not see how you can get authorities in the various cities, towns and states to agree on the question. There is no doubt but what land should be taxed and not the necessities of life, with the tax added to the consumer's cost. I can see no more justice in a gasoline tax than in a tax on sugar, potatoes, or any other commodity. I noticed on the Forum of the *Journal Courier* this morning your

article on Taxation. We are looking forward with much pleasure to seeing you on Friday, November 14, at 2:15 P. M."

—NATHAN B. STONE, President, Stone College, New Haven, Conn.

#### NOVEMBER LECTURE DATES

Nov. 3. South Manchester, Conn., Kiwanis Club; attendance about 50.

Nov. 5. Larchmont, N. Y., Lions Club; attendance about 130.

Nov. 6. Newark, N. J., Kiwanis Club; attendance about 300. My third visit here and reception could not be better.

Nov. 11. Suffield, Conn., Suffield Prep. School; some 300 students. Brownell Gage, Principal, a very fine man of high ideals, who spent many years as a missionary in China. Knew very intimately our good old Single Tax friend, Dr. Macklin, of Nankin University, also knew John Duff, who went as a missionary to China and became a well known merchant. John Duff was one of my boyhood friends; we both went to the Congregational Church Sunday School. Dr. Gage holds both of these men in high esteem. It was a great pleasure to meet with Dr. Gage, his good wife who is one of the faculty, and an M. D. All the members of the faculty were kind and friendly to our doctrine.

Nov. 11. Windsor, Conn., Loomis Institute. This is a very fine Prep. School. I spoke here on my last tour in New England; on that occasion my audience was about 300 very bright and alert young men. This time more than 300—reception and interest could not have been better and our tax idea is getting fast hold on students and faculty. The door is open and we intend to return.

Nov. 12. Amherst, Mass., Agricultural College; 900 students. A very fine body and we had a most enjoyable time. I did not see any tears or frowns on the faces of the students or faculty. On leaving, the question shot at me was, "When are you coming back?"

Nov. 13. New Britain, Conn., Rotary Club, a group of about 50 splendid business men and much interest shown in our proposition to make this a tax free world and a hearty come again and tell us more.

Nov. 14. New London, Conn., Chapman Tech. High School; 500 students. One of the best conducted high Schools I have ever seen, both as to discipline and mental atmosphere, and also the interest the students take in their work. The Principal, Mr. F. S. Hitchcock, is not only a man endowed with native qualities of a great teacher, with a mind well stored with scientific facts, but his hand is cleverly trained to do all things a Tech. High School teaches.

Nov. 14. New Haven, Conn., The Stone Business College; over 300 students and a business college of a very

high order. The President, Mr. Nathan B. Stone, is an earnest advocate of our plan to encourage industry and discourage idleness. This was my second visit and a lot more visits and lectures are on the programme.

Nov. 15. Cheshire, Conn., Roxbury School, a splendid prep. school; 150 students, with cultured and scholarly men at the head of it. One, a Prof. Allen, is an ardent Single Taxer. I had a most enjoyable time with the kindest and most appreciative attitude on part of student body and faculty.

Nov. 17. Fitchburg, Mass., Kiwanis Club; 25 good, sane, substantial business men. A pleasure to talk to them and very much appreciated by them. The same old request, come back again and soon.

Nov. 18. South Braintree, Mass., Thayer Academy, Headmaster, Stacey B. Southworth, a real educator and son of a great High School Principal. Both father and son rank very high in educational circles in New England and both are Single Taxers; 300 students at this school. My address was the first delivered in their new auditorium. Never yet have I seen a finer spirit in a College, expressing the love of the faculty for their students and their work, and the respect and affection of students for the faculty.

Nov. 18. South Braintree, Mass. Joint meeting of three Rotary Clubs at noon; 100 present. I spoke to this same group on the occasion of my last visit and it was quite evident that the seed sown then fell upon good ground, the hearty, kindly reception and interest in the subject was very obvious. I have promised to return as usual. An incident here showed the value of this work and its effectiveness in putting our truth to the people. A gentleman who heard the address when I was here before came to me and was very anxious for me to give an address before a large men's club connected with one of the leading churches. I was very sorry to be compelled to defer my visit to his group as my time was all taken up, but promised him to keep his request before me and as soon as possible comply. Thus it is the seeds of truth are carried by the currents of life to unseen corners.

Nov. 19. Worcester, Mass., Becker College; a very high-class Business College with an attendance of 500 students. This was my second visit, and what a hearty and friendly reception by all the members of the faculty and administration and students, just such as a dear old friend would get. Towards our gospel a kindly and inquiring attitude.

Nov. 19. Worcester, Mass., Worcester Academy, a prep. school of high-class; 500 students. It was an experience most enjoyable to me and the students body and faculty seemed to understand, enjoy and accept our postulates. The Principal said: "Won't you send us literature. I want to follow this lecture up in our studies?"

Nov. 20. Northampton, Mass., High School, 9:00 A. M.; assembly of some 800 students. Our good friend and Single Taxer, F. W. Plummer, is Principal and a most admirable one he is, judging from discipline and interest.

Nov. 20. Northampton, Mass., High School, class at 10:00 A. M.; about 30 students.

Nov. 20. Northampton, Mass., High School, class at 11:00 A. M.; about 35 students.

Nov. 20. Holyoke, Mass., Lions Club; 80 present. Friendship and interest all that could be asked. The old request, "Don't fail to come again."

Nov. 21. Boston, Mass., Boston University Class at 8:30; subject: "The Bible and the Land Question." Small class of 10 very earnest students.

Nov. 21. Boston, Mass., Boston University, class at 9:30. Large class of 65, studying social problems and the duty of the church to society. These classes are part of Dr. Vaughan's Course at the School of Theology.

Nov. 21. Boston University, School of Law, 4:00 P. M. Small class of 11; but had a real heart to heart talk to them on the tax question; results very satisfactory.

Boston University, College of Physicians and Surgeons, 8:00 P. M., 40 real live alert men and women. Put them all down for the Single Tax, faculty included. Literature had been sent from the office and you should have seen how it was gobbled up after the lecture. It certainly pays to talk to intelligence.

#### LECTURES FOR BALANCE OF MONTH

Nov. 24. Lowell, Mass., Kiwanis Club; noon.

Nov. 24. Lawrence, Mass., Cannon's Commercial College; afternoon.

Nov. 24. Lawrence, Mass. Open meeting to citizens in auditorium of high school; evening.

Nov. 25. Andover, Mass. Phillips Club of Phillips Academy; evening.

Nov. 28. Bronx, N. Y., Mt. Eden Center. Open Forum; evening.

JAMES R. BROWN

THE most discouraging feature in this business depression is the attitude of such men as Newton D. Baker. Hailed everywhere as a man of intellect and as a leader of thought, he contents himself with pleas for charity funds and with platitudes. For instance, he says: "The most impressive problem in American life at this moment is the finding of a basis of industrial adjustment which will prevent the recurrence of depression."

"At this moment," says Newton. Why, it has been the most impressive problem ever since Newton was learning to read.

"With our natural resources unimpaired," he exclaims. Now, he knows better. Of course, our natural resources are impaired. At least one-half of the land is held out of use by speculators for higher prices. Our country might as well possess only half of its area.

IN a little while all nations will have tariff walls, and then they can all get rich by charging themselves too much.—*Everett Herald.*

## The Agrarian Problem in Mexico

M. C. ROLLAND, C. E. AT THE HENRY  
GEORGE CONGRESS

I<sup>N</sup> the following address I hope you will excuse me for mentioning my personal activities because I do so merely as a means of showing my experience and sincerity in this movement.

Long ago, as a youth, I supported the Anti-re-election party in its first revolutionary agitation against Porfirio Diaz which demanded that, at least, there should be allowed a free election for vice-president in order to avoid an armed conflict. Even then we all knew the inevitable consequences of all former bloody struggles in our country which had merely thrown into power voracious soldiers and politicians, who soon enriched themselves at the cost of general misery, but were ever incompetent of solving our genuine national problems.

The stubbornness of the Dictatorship caused the Revolution which, in its turn, was betrayed by its trusted general, Victoriano Huerta, and this event caused my adherence to Venustiano Carranza, Governor of Coahuila, who had headed the protest against such a national dishonor. Later, we begged Carranza most earnestly to legislate for social betterment and this doubtless influenced him to publish in Vera Cruz, on Jan. 6, 1915, his famous agrarian decree which started the present movement; but on a wrong basis, because it was a political expedient rather than an honest attempt to solve the national problem. This decree contained serious errors whose bad results we predicted, even then, and have since seen our predictions verified. The basic principle was the creation of *egidos* (reservations) around all villages so as to form a communal property to be administered by a local committee. We foresaw that the taking of land from its present holder, even when he was working it badly, for the purpose of giving it to incompetent persons, could only result in its depreciation and a decrease of production with no final benefit for anybody. But our warnings were unheeded, and for fifteen years the formation of *egidos* around all villages has been proceeding apace.

The revolutionaries believed that the principal problems to solve were those of land and labor and to these they have devoted all their energy, but, as we shall see, in a badly mistaken way.

The land reform has been confined to the creation of *egidos*, a means adopted by the Spanish conquerors in 1573 to save the Indian villages from starvation by giving them land for a communal use independent of the greedy Spanish Colonists.

The Labor reform has been limited to a one-sided legislation in favor of the employee, without reference to the needs of industry, which kills all initiative by discouraging employers. This false policy will probably not be modified

till all production has been paralyzed and national famine result. The blame must be placed on unscrupulous leaders who have pushed their dupes to all forms of excess while filling their own pockets. But it is not our purpose here to dilate on the labor situation but on our subject, that of land.

### FAILURE OF THE EGIDO POLICY

Knowing my revolutionary enthusiasm, General Salvador Alvarado, military governor of Yucatan, engaged me in 1915 to organize his state agrarian commission and catastro (land office). I took along with me from Mexico City a large staff of engineers and we started work with great vim. We were among the first who tried to destroy the haciendas (great estates) in order to form *egidos*. My greatest ambition was to divide up the haciendas of the Yucatan peninsular slave drivers, because I then believed that the solution of the agrarian problem consisted in giving each Indian a piece of land. Meanwhile, the *egido* policy was being inaugurated furiously also on the mainland. Nevertheless, Governor Alvarado and I soon began to perceive that there was something lacking in our policy for accomplishing a genuine social reconstruction, and we began to notice something of the injustices of taxation.

Just about this time, I went to New York to take charge of a bureau for propaganda, or rather for the justification of our revolution. Soon afterwards, I came into contact with some partisans of the Single Tax and became so interested that I devoured all the books on the subject available, beginning naturally with the inspiring works of Henry George. It was later, at the Single Tax Convention of Niagara Falls, that I was deeply moved by the sight of the young men from Philadelphia, who yearned to form a Georgist political party in spite of the disapproval of their elders who did not desire to arouse against the Single Tax the opposition of the Republican and Democratic parties. Since that convention, my spiritual thirst for a correct principle of true social justice has been satisfied, and I have enjoyed the mental calm and faith necessary for exerting all my energies in the struggle for a well defined object.

Meanwhile, the *egido* frenzy had been steadily increasing in Mexico. All the politicians, from ward-healers up to national cabinet ministers and presidents, seized upon this popular craze and converted it into an efficient tool for getting public office; as I discovered when I returned home in 1919 and, with General Alvarado, founded a Mexico City daily, *El Herald*. This paper served us in preaching the new ideas on the Single Tax and the modern forms of municipal administration with the Referendum, the Initiative, and the Recall. We proposed a new plan of municipal government emphasizing the taxation of land values instead of labor and capital. In 1920 came the Obregon revolution and my appointment to the National Agrarian Commission, which is the central body directing the *egido* policy in action.

### THE FAILURE OF THE GOVERNMENT POLICY

As a commissioner, I now had an inside view of agra-

rianism in practice and was soon convinced, with my newly acquired Single Tax knowledge, of the scanty merit possessed by the egido scheme for solving the rural problem in the public interest. The new egidos, administered by the famous executive committees, I found almost abandoned; because it is natural that rural workers will not exert themselves to build a home, plant trees and make other vital betterments on a lot which may change hands annually. As the land is communal, it can be redistributed whenever desired by the executive committee which always takes care also to assign the best lots to themselves and friends. In entire states, like Morelos, the folks were in poverty and clamoring for any kind of work providing a living wage; they had land and yet they were dying of hunger, in a similar way to the tales we got from Russia. Then, notwithstanding that the people had land, the prettiest labor laws, and leaders ever ready to save the fatherland (for a consideration) the workers fled in masses to the United States, in such a rapid manner that it soon became necessary to hunt them on the frontiers, to keep them from leaving their saviors, or to get the United States government to send them back.

As president of the National Agrarian Commission, I tried to increase production on the egidos, against the opposition of the politicians who only wanted ever more egidos, until I finally suspended altogether the donation of egidos in very rich regions while we could study the cultivation problem.

Unfortunately, our national president began to look with disfavor on his minister of Agriculture and (notwithstanding that both men were playing with agrarianism for future political advantage) so our proposed law with its wise provisions was rejected. Since then, the frenzy for destroying the haciendas and abolishing all security for rural betterments has raged worse than ever and pushed us toward the dreadful economic crisis of today.

At present we are dedicated to open Single Tax propaganda in the conviction that our present disaster is solely due to our wretched economic system which fosters a greedy bureaucracy and a voracious army and tends to discourage any honest capitalists who might wish to invest here; while the monopolistic concessions and the natural resources either continue in the possession of their former owners or have fallen into the hands of those newly enriched as a result of our new revolution for "restoring the rights of the People."

In 1920, we founded the club of Social-Economic Studies, where local students of political economy could meet for discussion and we could preach the true method of social reconstruction in spite of the opposition of the daily press which fights us ferociously at times but generally maintains a conspiracy of silence. Personally, I founded a review, *El Hombre*, and published a book, "El Desastre Municipal," in which was spent a part of the patrimony of my children; who will forgive me whenever they shall understand how ardently their father has

worked to create a better country for their future use.

#### PRESENT SITUATION OF MEXICAN AGRARIANISM

Millions of acres of land have been given to the villages, mostly Indian, in the form of egidos which have been taken by force from the former holders. This procedure has created an agrarian debt which is now not less than 500 million pesos and will reach 1,500 millions within a short time; this debt must be paid by the federal taxpayers from whom the last crust may soon be taken by an infinity of taxes which are getting constantly more unbearable. The calamity is further aggravated by the fact that this debt was all unnecessary, because the simple device of a land-value tax would have soon forced the haciendas to return all their unused land, gratis, to the public domain. Agricultural production has declined so alarmingly that we are even importing maize from Africa. In place of urging actively the output of the egidos, where acclimated colonists are now established, the national money has been spent on auto roads for tourists (though there are no hotels for them to stop) and on irrigation projects for desert zones, where there are no colonists, but plenty of irrigable land owned by politicians. The great landlords, since they have long been constantly exposed to arbitrary dispossession, have been unwilling to risk further investments for making needed betterments or renewals, and thus far their output has also declined.

#### DESTRUCTION OF INDUSTRY BY TAXES

On the other hand, the revolutionary governments, (federal, state, and municipal) have constantly increased their budgets, which must be wrung from a people whose resources are diminishing. The federal budget is now thrice what it was under Dictator Diaz, though the national population has only increased by ten per cent. and poverty prevails all over the country in places where formerly were abundance and security.

As our taxes were never based on any scientific system, they have now been increased by a multiplication of the ancient indirect levies on consumption, while the protective tariff rates have been raised to an insupportable level. The final result is that manta (cotton cloth) the dress of the masses, now costs three times more than in 1910, and the greater part of the folks' wages are taken in the form of indirect taxes levied on food, clothes and housing, making them more than ever the slaves of a brutal and rapacious exchequer. The revolutionary bomb of egidos, for saving the peasants, has so far only proved a dud which has aggravated their present impoverishment. Meanwhile, the urban workmen have killed the goose of the golden eggs, since there are no longer any new factories and the existing ones try to flee if they can. Finally, the security of both life and property, outside of the few policed cities, has been decreasing steadily as a result not only of the aftermath of a long civil war but of the class-struggle which both our agrarian and syndicalist politicians have stimulated for their own selfish ends.

## ABUSES UNDER DIAZ

Under the Diaz regime many abuses of power had been committed, like the despoiling of the public lands and of some of the ancient egidos by unscrupulous speculators, both native and foreign. It is true that the Indian serf has often striven to free himself by securing a plot of land for himself, and this fact was demonstrated when President Juarez, an Indian, took away the great estates which the Church had been monopolizing to the prejudice of the people. As long as unjust economic regimes exist here which deprive the peasant of his natural right to use the earth, it will always be possible for agitators to start revolutions by recruiting ignorant Indians as cannon fodder. But neither the forced distribution of land by Juarez, nor the wholesale one of today, nor any other similar attempt can prosper as long as the prevailing scheme of irresponsible bureaucratic government, sustained by indirect taxes on consumers, remains in vogue.

Let us look for example at the state of Morelos, which possesses a small but very rich semi-tropical valley which, under Diaz, had fallen into the hands of a few landlords, mostly Spaniards, who had not hesitated at extending their sugar estates by robbing many of the adjoining Indian egidos. The Indians on these estates were maintained in ignorance and serfdom, in defiance of the constitution of 1857, and the revolution of 1910 brought a terrible retribution. Under the leadership of General Zapata, a small farmer and once a sergeant in the Diaz army, the bolder serfs, and many of the wilder free Indians of Morelos and adjoining states formed guerilla bands and ravaged everywhere with fire and sword. All the Morelos plantations were destroyed and their great modern sugar mills were burned, and where formerly was immense productivity, from the close cultivation of rich irrigated lands, we see now large areas covered with weeds.

Porfirio Diaz never responded to popular need and, when the tempest burst, fled to safety across the ocean. Nevertheless, his regime was always loudly applauded by the American press which mistook appearances for reality and were blind to the future menace of a whited sepulchre. The frightful sequel of the latter reality in Morelos is reflected, more or less, throughout the country. When our foreign friends inquire, why we have acted like a nation of lunatics, I may venture to offer the following explanation: The social wrong existed under Diaz and the revolution did not begin merely because his political tyranny became insufferable, but because of the Indians' desire to recover their despoiled lands. But mere confiscation of real estate from some of its former holders for the purpose of popular distribution has done more harm than good, because it has been effected without rhyme or reason, involving neither justice as between landlords (some have lost everything, others nothing) or between beneficiaries (some peasants have got valuable improved land, others wild or sterile tracts) while the urban peons have got none,

though they will have to pay their share of the national agrarian debt by taxes on consumption. One of the scandals of the distribution has been the acquirement by many "revolutionary" politicians of great estates and the consequent rise of a new class of landlords.

The populace was driven to frenzy and committed crimes and excesses, after the treason of Huerta in 1913, which had been almost unknown during the first or Madero revolution, when the more civilized and honest leaders were still able to control their savage and bandit auxiliaries. Even the present agrarian fiasco has not been due so much to bad faith, on the part of some of the dominant revolutionaries, as to ignorance of the correct solution of this economic problem. We should not be too hard on them therefore, in view of the fact that our upper and intellectual classes either could not or would not point the correct way to reform, when peace and order still prevailed, and the question had to be tackled by the half-educated under the stress of the Anarchy and civil war which gave birth, in undue haste, to the national constitution of 1917 at Queretaro and its crude agrarian article 27.

## A GOOD WORD FOR THE EGIDO SYSTEM

Perhaps a good word can be said for the egido system when applied with reference to its original purpose of protecting, economically, those Indians who are still living in the middle stage of barbarism of pro-Cortesian Mexico, where private property in land was unknown, according to the "Ancient Society" of L. M. Morgan. In fact, the idea that the Indian egidos had all been destroyed by 1910 is quite erroneous. According to figures given by Lic. J. V. Estanol, in his work of 1920: "Carranza and his Bolshevik Regime," there were in 1877 still 5,213 egidos and of these only 330, embracing 583,287 hect., were legally divided between 1877 and 1906; while a later investigation showed that the undivided egidos in 1912 still occupied nominally 120,000,000 hect. or six per cent. of the total national territory. I say nominally, because in some cases the adjoining landlords were maintaining, through their political influence, an illegal occupation of some of the egido property. It is thus clear that both justice and expediency would have been simply satisfied in those cases by restoring a few hundred egidos that had been legally divided to their original villages, and evicting the trespassing landlords from their illegal occupations. There were a third class of egido losses, arising under the so-called survey laws of 1883 and 1894 which had authorized favored politicians to seize all the demasias (excess land) held by Indian villages beyond what were conceded by their original grants. As these ancient grants had never previously been mapped or marked by monuments, the surveyors often succeeded in reducing an egido to its exact nominal size of a Spanish square league, though for centuries it had been defined by natural boundaries making it several times as large. All that was needed to do justice, was to revise the egido boundaries by reestablishing them as they prevailed before 1883.

### DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN MORELOS

Disregarding the historical analysis of the last paragraph, the present Agrarian "reformers" are attempting to give every group of peasants an *egido*. This means the bestowal of communal *egidos* on thousands of groups who long ago advanced beyond the condition of barbarism and are consequently unsuited for living the primitive life of their ancestors. This scheme would be comparatively harmless, economically, if the new *egidos* were formed of wild or unimproved land; but unfortunately the practice has been just the opposite, for the best cultivated land was seized, including that under irrigation which had cost millions of pesos to develop with funds secured mostly from mortgages to the banks or investment companies.

As a consequence, the many middle-class investors in rural mortgages have been impoverished, by this presentation by the government to Indian paupers of the security for their loans.

If you ask me, How can an investor be ruined, when his mortgage security is purchased with agrarian bonds? I will answer: The bonds at par only compensate the fiscal value of the real estate, which means about 40 per cent. of true value. As his mortgage covered 50 per cent. of real value, this means first that the par of bonds, only, equals 80 per cent. of his loan. But present market value of bonds is only 15 per cent. of par, which means that investor can sell them for only 12 per cent. of his loan. On irrigated lands, where betterments may represent 80 per cent. of selling value of real estate, the bonds, on quoted basis, cover only 6 per cent. of the cash expended on land-betterment.

Another evil of the new *egido* formation has been the distribution of timberland which, formerly conserved by intelligent farmers, has now fallen into the hands of reckless peasants whose only ambition is to quickly harvest the lumber, irrespective of forestry considerations.

In his recent book, "Mexico's Capacity to Pay," G. Butler Sherwell estimates that already half of Mexico's total cropped area of 12,000,000 hect. has been taken from its experienced owners and given to incompetent peasants, and the end is by no means in sight. In Morelos, of a total of 24,568 hect. of irrigated land, 22,341 hect. or 91 per cent., has been given to the villages gratis, though its selling value in 1910 was between 1,500 and 3,000 pesos a hectare. The land distribution in Morelos has now been officially terminated.

### ECONOMIC DISASTER

Aside from the economic disaster, caused by the complete perversion of the ancient *egido* since 1915, this mistaken agrarianism has been a violent encourager of rural disorder. Among a barbarous population, the new agrarian scheme of conferring gratis on irresponsible peasants, the best improved arable and forest land of the country creates a state of moral anarchy. Why should anybody improve land, or plant and harvest it by hard labor, when he need

only be bold and will acquire gratis the best land, already improved for cultivation, and often also with a harvest ready for the reaper? Then, when such land has once been secured and its first cream skimmed, comes the difficulties of apportioning its future benefits to suit the unbridled desires of the more greedy and unscrupulous villagers; soon this causes the splitting of a village into factions which often resort to blows and maybe a massacre of their fellow peasants.

### FUNDAMENTAL REFORM DEMANDED

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize the fact that even the reform of the *egido* policy on a rational basis would not itself solve our agrarian problem, which is much broader than the protection of a primitive race from economic oppression. Besides our 40 per cent. of Indians, we must consider also the more civilized mestizos (half-breeds) and whites, the former numbering 60 per cent. and the latter 10 per cent. of the total population in the census of 1910. While the new *egidos*, bad as they are, may often represent more liberty and consequently a more hopeful future for the whilom Indian serfs, their foolish method of acquirement and the decrease of the agricultural production they have caused, have helped to impoverish the Mestizos and whites, who are the principal producers and consumers of the nation. A mestizo, competent to become an independent farmer outside of an *egido*, who wishes to work the land finds always as many obstacles to success as under Diaz, and usually more because of the added risk from rural disorder and the tripled burden of taxation, along with the multiplication of fiscal and labor inspectors who beset him on every hand. Even the tariff on his needed imports, which was placed on a protective basis under Diaz for the profit of influential politicians and their foreign capitalistic partners, is now much higher than before the Revolution on the specious plea of encouraging "national" industries, mostly owned abroad.

I have tried to explain fully and frankly to you, members of the Georgist brotherhood, our true agrarian situation without any false shame as a patriot. We Mexican Georgists have long been earnestly spreading our doctrines, with little apparent result to date, but I do not consider that our future is at all hopeless.

We shall continue the work of national education as far as our modest means allow and will always welcome any additional aid from abroad for cultivating what I believe to be one of the most propitious fields for the early establishment of a Georgist republic. At least, we ask that you will extend always your spiritual sympathy in order that we may all strive together for the abolition of our present false economic frontiers in a world federation of Georgist nations. Until then, I salute you, apostles of the international church militant, in the name of our revered apostle, Henry George.

Send in any names of likely subscribers to LAND AND FREEDOM. We will forward sample copies.

## Observations and Reflections

MARK MILLIKEN AT THE HENRY GEORGE  
CONGRESS

IT may be that other reforms have something that the George movement lacks: the economical appeal of old age pensions; the democratic appeal of proportional representation; the anti-monopolistic appeal of public ownership; the humanistic entreaty of pacifism; the invocation of free trade. These are very definite and can be comprehended by any man on the street. But the phrases "abolition of taxes," and "ground rent," and then to confuse the hearer or reader the more, the expression "Single Tax," are benumbing to the ordinary brain. Men know that they pay rent and taxes and sometimes a good many kinds of the latter. The vast majority look on land as a commodity which can be held without violation of ethical principles. As means of leading men to a comprehension of Henry George's ethical and economic principles these very plans which Georgists hold in poor repute are valuable. They are familiar, living, growing and unequivocal. Those who subscribe to them are put in the category of libertarians.

It is amusing the care that some Single Taxers take of their brains. They don't want to take up with any schemes that might, in their opinion, divert brain energy from the Georgan economics. Imagine a Professor of Greek saying that he did not care to delve into the Romance languages, for fear it might distract from his Athenian fantasies. And consider this sad statement: we only use about one tenth of our brains. It is a pretty good guess that a large part of this activity goes into thought rumination.

The recent definition of revolution as "accelerated evolution" has probably impressed and appeased the all-at-once group, for there was no clash between them and the Step-by-steppers. Progress would no doubt be made could we shoe both with seven league boots instead of their present day ground grippers. But the Henry George Foundation gave evidence by the large number of resolutions passed that it is moving. Resolutions are the crystallized sentiments of the meeting. Sent to the proper persons, namely, those with power or unusual endowments resolutions may do some good. A resolution and amendment with great potentialities was passed to the effect that a telegram be sent to the President urging him to proceed with the construction of public works as a means of lessening unemployment. The amendment, which I introduced, was that a committee be formed of those who could go to Washington to make personal appeal to the President for a land tax. This should be the method of approach whether the suggestion be made in the White House, the governor's office or federal, state or city legislatures. I have now the names of about twenty men and women who live in close proximity to Washington, who, as representatives of our cause, may be asked to make some such request of our President. They would make a

group of lobbyists averaging in annoyance about midway between the Anti-Saloon and the High Tariff gangs.

Relatively our plan seems less important than those socio-economic schemes formerly mentioned. But even they appear only in spots; and where they are absent, those communities in some instances seem to show a high degree of development and contentment of the hundred per cent. variety. After all, if we could or would abolish our stupid, criminal tax system the benefit to society would not be comparable to that derived from the banishment of fear sanctioned by religion. The free administration of justice as a state function, which it undoubtedly is, seems to me more important than a tax on land values as a source of all our revenues. Universal health insurance would compel the medical and dental professions to abandon the much criticized plan of charging according to ability to pay. This accomplished, there would not then be the precedent of paying taxes on the same plan.

But there, I must not strain my brain. The faults of the three professions, plus the five other schemes discussed make eight subjects, and that means as a Single Taxer I have given eight tenths of my intellectual activity to pagan ideas, leaving only two tenths to the Georgist philosophy. Such strenuous apostasy is not mitigated by expressing a belief that the latter philosophy is only a part of the humanistic movement with its increasing mass and momentum. But observe this: could any of these reforms be partly or completely accomplished that would be good in itself; and it would accelerate our movement.

If as economists we could get away from the tacit belief in heaven with its compensatory rewards for a bad social system, what a heavenly time we would demand for ourselves right here, right now, during our short stay. This would mean the adoption of some ameliorative methods in contradistinction to the radical one we propose. But amelioration thrives on radicalism. It functions before, during and after a surgical operation, the purchase of a fur coat, the going into battle, the payment of taxes, yes, even up to the time the noose is adjusted.

Frank H. Rice, President of The Liberal Church of Denver, was to have read a paper entitled "Why We Should Establish a Henry George University." What an excellent suggestion. If this is attempted I wish to direct attention to the early days of Johns Hopkins University. That institution stressed the idea of paying high salaries to professors who did their work in small, sometimes rented buildings. Dormitories and architectural dreams come true are no criterion of a college's excellence. Why could not our Foundation undertake to finance this?

Some predict a conflict between the rank socialism of Russia and the capitalism of occidental Europe and America. It appears that the profile look we give Russia is a good way to engender hate and ignorance of her people. It might require some awful conflict like this to show capitalism the wisdom of Henry George. What a travesty it would be to behold two mobs at war, when their patron



saints, Karl Marx and Henry George, would like nothing better than a chance to sit down and talk over the ills of their fellows.

## Recent Activities of the Schalkenbach Foundation

THE activities of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation for the last few months have centered in the publication of the out-of-print books of Henry George, the promotion of a new book by Louis F. Post, the advertising of Henry George and his books in weeklies and newspapers, and the wide distribution of the pamphlet "Causes of Business Depression."

Finding the "Social Problems," "The Land Question, Etc." and "The Life of Henry George" by H. George, Jr., were the books most in demand at the present time, it was arranged with Doubleday, Doran & Company for a reprint edition of one thousand copies of each title. The edition, paid for by the Foundation, is now ready for distribution at the Foundation offices, 11 Park Place, New York. With attractive jackets, and uniform blue binding, these books should be especially interesting to both old friends of the movement, and those who, new to the teachings of Henry George, seek acquaintances with his ideas and philosophy.

It should be noted that the book "Land Question, Etc." contains besides the title work, the brilliant passage-at-arms between the Duke of Argyll and Henry George, entitled "Property in Land," and the letter of Henry George to Pope Leo XIII, entitled "Condition of Labor," wherein Henry George set out in masterly fashion the arguments previously developed in "Progress and Poverty."

The "Prophet of San Francisco," by Louis F. Post, published by Vanguard Press, has been marketed by the Foundation at a price somewhat less than that of the publisher, in accordance with a special arrangement between the publisher, the Foundation and Mrs. Post. Proceeds of purchases obtained by the Foundation through its direct-mail advertising of this book are returned to Mrs. Post. Some 2,500 professors and libraries were circularized, with the result that many libraries and schools purchased copies for their reference shelves. Some books remain unsold and those who have not had opportunity heretofore to purchase copies, may still obtain them by writing to the Foundation.

That timely essay, "Causes of Business Depression," first written by Henry George in 1894, and reprinted from time to time, was printed once again by this Foundation in August, 1930, and we are happy to announce that 61,000 copies have gone out into all sections of the country during the last few months. Indeed, friends in far off Australia have sent for copies; Congress has received a copy each; libraries, schools, colleges have used them, and we cannot tell in how many other advantageous places friends

of our cause have placed the words of Henry George.

It has long been the thought of members of the Foundation that persistent advertising, first in a small way and perhaps later, when funds are available, in larger ways and mediums, is the best means of obtaining the interest of new people in the philosophy of Henry George. To this end a small but persistent campaign has been kept up in the weeklies and liberal magazines, the reviews and certain more or less friendly newspapers. One advertisement tells about the pamphlet "Causes of Business Depression," and invites inquiries for the pamphlet. As a result some nine hundred persons have written into the Foundation for the essay by Henry George, and many of them have become seriously interested in George and his books. In another advertisement, we ask people to write in for information about Henry George and our booklist. This too bears fruit, as evidenced by the number of people who follow up the subject by asking for more material or for some of the Henry George books.

This kind of work is silent, steady and rather un spectacular, but we feel that the contacts that are being made, the horizons that are widening, are encouragement enough for us to go on in this endeavor to build up a group of newly interested and earnest students of Henry George.

—ANTOINETTE KAUFMANN.

## Death Of George H. Sinton

GEORGE H. SINTON passed away September 15, 1930, at his home in Pasadena, California. He was born in Gowanda, N. Y., 1858 and went to Pasadena in 1917. Like his father, Jesse Sinton, he took up the cause when first advocated by Henry George.

George H. Sinton was what might be called a progressive conservative in his politico-economic views. Years of experience in the exacting retail milk business, both in developing the internal structure of the business and its relations to the public he served, had taught him that people are slow to change their views, because the pressure of present events must inevitably absorb the larger part of their intellectual capacity, and it is only what is left that can be devoted to the larger problems of governmental policies. Consequently he was firmly of the opinion that proposals to be placed before the public for its approval should be mild enough to avoid stirring up violent passions and unfounded fears of the unknown. During the struggle for the adoption of municipal Single Tax in Colorado Springs in 1912, he was opposed to the adoption of land value taxation for the city in but two steps to be completed in two years. Nevertheless, he acquiesced in the views of the majority, and supported the campaign to the best of his ability and purse, notwithstanding the fact that his business suffered the loss of many good customers among whom feeling ran high against what they considered our confiscatory proposition. The result is history. Wealthy people and others land-poor from over-speculation in lands

of a very slowly growing community became highly alarmed at the prospect and raised a campaign fund that was very large considering the size of our small city, and overwhelmed us with their opposition. Those who did not understand the proposition voted no to avoid dangers "they wot not of." The result was a seven to one defeat.

The collection of aphorisms was a hobby of George Sinton. One of his favorites was "Nothing succeeds like success." He felt that were the Single Tax adopted in small doses, be they ever so small, it would be a success, and that they would lead to larger doses and larger successes, until it spread all over the earth in one great and final success.

George Sinton is survived by a brother, Melvin M. Sinton, a sister, Mrs. Margaret Sinton, Otis and two sons, Herbert G. and Ernest A. Sinton. His two sons are still engaged in the milk business which he and his brother Melvin founded.

—ERNEST SINTON.

## The Mystery of Hard Times

**W**ILLIAM GREEN, head of the American Federation of Labor, predicts that twenty million people will be in acute distress this winter.

Of this number, a fair estimate of non-property owners might be 19,999,000. These have no legal right on earth, and they could be legally ordered off, as trespassers. The fact that they are not so ordered off is a touching tribute to the innate kindness of the human heart.

The worst thing they are likely to encounter is arrest for vagrancy, and, as a matter of fact, thirty vagrants are being released today, (Nov. 1), in New York City, for another try at finding work. This is a little hard on the 20,000,000 already entered in the race.

It is to be hoped that the 19,999,000 will be resigned to the conditions. As they have no right to a spot on the earth, leaving them powerless to work for themselves, and as the "work providers" have failed to provide, there is obviously nothing to be done.

When the benighted Indian roamed the continent, he sometimes starved when a calamity of nature shut off his food supply; but as long as corn would grow, there was no "acute distress." (The country is now so overstocked with wheat that the farmers are in danger of joining the "acute distress" section.)

A band of shipwrecked sailors once landed on an uninhabited island. The strongest swimmer, who got there first, took title in the approved fashion. He employed them all, paid reasonable wages, exported the produce, and everybody was well fed while export lasted.

The outside country finally raised its own produce, and the export business stopped. The proprietor, having accumulated a competence, and being familiar with the law of supply and demand, decided that a period of re-ad-

justment was in order. The inhabitants entered upon a period of acute distress.

The proprietor, a kind-hearted man, immediately called meetings and organized community chests so that those who were not yet starving might have an opportunity to assist those who were.

Being a man of vision, he also called in from the outside world famous economists, efficiency experts, and elder statesmen to search into the mysterious causes of the depression.

The economists concluded that it was the inevitable working of the law of supply and demand, the elder statesmen laid it to the revolution of the cycle, and the efficiency experts showed how each worker could be pushed a little harder, thereby speeding up production.

The workers, overawed at the profundity of knowledge thus freely placed at their disposal, went back and sat down to await the happy day when the economic laws would start the wheels of industry.

Meantime a band of savages on an adjoining land, ignorant of both economic laws and work providers, led lives of laziness, and ate when they were hungry enough to induce them to work.

When the mystery of unemployment can not be solved by the experts, it is evidently hopeless for the common people to hope to solve it. Unless the common people are moved by acute distress to the uncommon use of common thinking.

—AMERIGO.

## Emsley's Campaign In New Jersey

**S**OME political candidates have hesitated to come out strongly for site-value taxation because they considered it an unknown factor in vote-getting. At the last election in New Jersey, William R. Emsley, of Merchantville, was one of the three candidates (all candidates running as a bloc) for state assembly on the Democratic ticket in Camden County, a Republican stronghold. With no chance of election, he made a vigorous campaign exclusively on site-value taxation because he is a strong believer in that system of collecting public revenue, and wants to have it adopted. He made numerous speeches, some of them to large audiences, and wrote numerous letters advocating site-value taxation, which were printed in all the newspapers in the county. His two confreres on his ticket knew nothing of the subject and did not campaign on it.

In the election party lines were closely drawn, and Morrow, the Republican candidate for the United States Senate, carried all the Republican candidates along with him. However, Emsley ran ahead of the other two assembly candidates on his ticket in the industrial centers, such as Camden City and Gloucester City. In the remaining

34 towns in the county he led his confreres in 17 towns, was even with them in 6 and in the remaining 11 received a few less votes than they.

An analysis of the vote shows that a candidate who runs on a site-value tax platform and makes a vigorous campaign on it carries not only his full party vote, but in many municipalities gains votes from the opposition party candidates.

## Campaigning for Single Tax in Oregon

J. R. HERMANN AT HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

JACKSON H. RALSTON yesterday stated that he did not know whether the reading of "Progress and Poverty" caused a failure in his life or a success. Herbert Quick handed me a copy of "Progress and Poverty" thirty-five years ago and he often apologized to me for it because he said he was responsible for my failure.

George B. Herron, Professor of Applied Christianity of Cornell College, Iowa, delivered a series of addresses in Thomas' Church, Chicago, years ago, entitled "Between Jesus and Caesar." His last address was on the subject of "Failure of Success," or "The Success of Failure," in which he showed the standard of success in the world was quite different from the standard of the success of Jesus. The great daily papers of today symbolize material success. They point with pride and declare that they voice the demand of the people and that their success shows it. This same philosophy may be applied to the highwayman whose six-shooter is current coin. We see him successful on the daily pages of the papers every day, We must all agree that his success is failure from our standpoint and everyone in this movement who is not willing to sacrifice what the world calls success for the ideals of spiritual success, has no place in this movement as a leader, nor will he remain in it long.

I have taken active part in nearly every Single Tax campaign from the time of the Delaware campaign thirty-four years ago. Henry George was philosopher, statesman, scientist. In practical politics he was obliged to use the tools he found as Moses did. The Initiative and Referendum was not a part of American law in his time and so he associated with political parties and politicians, and often made mistakes. He admitted he made a mistake in supporting Grover Cleveland and, I believe, if he were alive today, he would admit that he made a mistake in supporting Bryan because of his educational and economic policies. James W. Bucklin, of Colorado, went to Australia and brought back a report and got the Legislature of Colorado to submit a constitutional amendment to the people permitting counties to raise their revenue for local purposes from land values. The campaign lasted two years. I was sent to Colorado by the Ohio Single Tax League when Tom Johnson was its leader in Ohio,

to campaign for this measure in Colorado. Senator Bucklin told me to talk Single Tax the first year of the campaign and not mention the measure to be voted on only incidentally. His purpose was to acquaint the people with the Single Tax first, because he knew the opposition would call his measure the Single Tax which it was *not* and they would have a chance to show that it was not. But a shrewd real estate speculator listened carefully to one of my speeches and he instinctively connected it with the Bucklin Bill. He aroused the realtors, and they got the Governor to call a special session of the Legislature to repeal the submission of the measure to the people.

The Legislature did not repeal the measure and it went before the people, but it was counted out by the coal barons of Southern Colorado. During the campaign the enemy accused the Single Taxers of camouflaging or dishonesty by constantly referring to Henry George's proposition of taking the full rent, calling it confiscation and every bad thing they could think of to frighten the people, claiming that the Bucklin Bill people were Single Taxers in disguise. Later Colorado got home rule in cities which permitted the same provision which was in the Bucklin Bill. Campaign after campaign has been made in the cities of Colorado to submit exemption measures and each time they have received fewer and fewer votes, and the last vote was a small one. Oregon had essentially the same experience with exemption measures.

I joined the great adventure in California because it raised the land question just as Henry George did. Oregon was in sympathy with such a campaign. I went to Oregon and there found them ready for a full Henry George Single Tax measure and they started a campaign to submit the following measure:

### PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

"Section 1 of Article IX of the Constitution of the State of Oregon shall be and hereby is amended to read as follows:

Section 1. From March 1, 1931, to and until March 1, 1935, all revenues necessary for the maintenance of state, county, municipal and district government shall be raised by a tax on the value of land, irrespective of improvements in or on it, and thereafter the full rental value of land, irrespective of improvements, shall be taken in lieu of all other taxes for the maintenance of government, and for such other purposes as the people may direct. All provisions of the Constitution and Laws of Oregon in conflict with this section are hereby abrogated and repealed in so far as they conflict herewith, and this section is self-executing."

It will be noticed that this measure takes all of the economic rent now and provides for the increased rent for the future of not only taxes but for any purposes which the people may direct. This means that when labor-saving machinery takes the place of labor, which we hope it will sometime, that the increased rent of land will be the method of distributing wealth if it must be done through a pension

system ultimately. This may be called the Natural Socialism, which would abolish both taxes and labor as we now understand those terms.

This measure received 37,000 affirmative votes in 1920 and 40,000 votes in 1922 with a decrease in negative votes in 1922, thus showing that the real Single Tax gained by repetition and discussion and now the opposition finds no other way of opposing it, except by profound silence. The measure is like a cube; turn it in any direction and it alights face up. Our continuous educational work has at last reached the man in overalls, and I stand on this platform today, probably the only delegate whose expenses to this convention are paid by the man in overalls. Our lack of funds in Oregon during this campaign has overcome the prejudice entertained heretofore that the Single Tax Movement was backed by millionaires like Joseph Fels, and others. And thus a natural growth is taking place in Oregon. Some labor leaders have succeeded in sidetracking us to some extent, but that we hope we will overcome at the next convention.

Henry George pointed out clearly that the time may come, not only in the United States, but in the world when it will be too late to save a democratic society. Therefore, it behooves us to present our measure in its fullness and let others do the compromising. For compromises will be offered, to prevent our progress in that way as fast as we become dangerous.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, in the *New York Times*, of Sept. 21, reviews Hamlin Garland's "Roadside Meetings." We quote one paragraph:

"The name of Henry George was much on Mr. Garland's lips during the '80's. In the midst of battling for realism in literature, for Ibsenism on the stage, for impressionism in painting, Garland kept preaching the Single Tax to whosoever would lend an ear. Land monopoly, he considered, was at the bottom of all the ills of the world; the Single Tax would do much to lift the burden from the shoulders of the insulted and injured. Because of his Single Tax obsession, Mr. Garland could not go the road with his friend, William Dean Howells, in visioning utopian socialism. He was, and he evidently has remained, an individualist."

Early disciples of Henry George were ardent and probably had the tendency of all propagandists to claim too much. Or they were misunderstood by careless hearers. We have never heard of one, however, who claimed that "all the ills of the world" were attributable to land monopoly. What was claimed was that it was the primary cause of our economic ills.

Chamberlain's use of the word "obsession" is unworthy of the careful reviewer.

The individualism of the early Single Taxers did not blind them to the social side of man's needs and nature. The Henry George philosophy provides for individual freedom first, and for socialization of transportation,

water supply, parks, etc., second. The abolition of land monopoly would make it easier for government to perform these natural functions of government. But things that individuals could do for themselves, singly or in cooperative groups, were to be forbidden to the government to touch. In that respect Mr. Garland was individualistic, and we are glad to learn that he still is.

THAT taxes on automobiles are evaded is unquestionably true. But so are taxes on pianos, jewels, securities and other classes of personal property.

The issue raises the whole question of the soundness of taxation of personal property or improvements—the products of labor—and suggests the wisdom of taxing land values only.

Los Angeles *Record*.

## Double Taxation Again

OREGON SAVANT EXPLAINS CAUSE  
OF DEPRESSION

HALF a century ago Henry George started a warm discussion, which apparently, is not yet ended. He promulgated a theory with regard to political economy that assailed one of the pillars of the temple.

It had to do with "rent." Into this bin was dumped too great a proportion of the wealth produced by labor. As a result the other bins, "interest" and "wages", were not properly filled. Mr. George proposed his land tax program as a remedy. Now popularly known as "Single Tax," this theory survives.

At the meeting of the Interprofessional Institute's national convention in Omaha on Friday, a speaker reverted to Henry George in his endeavor to explain existing depression. W. B. B. Wilcox, head of the agricultural department of the University of Oregon, said the basic cause of the present business situation is that \$13,000,000,000 is annually paid to the landlords, while another \$12,000,000,000 is paid in taxes to the government to cover the same costs. That is, the professor argues, the landlords have raised rents because of public improvements which have been paid for out of money collected by the government.

Mr. George taught just that. He pointed out that as population became congested, the amount paid as rent correspondingly increased. So, too, he found that poverty also increased. This gave him the title for his monumental work, "Progress and Poverty." His remedy was the land tax, which would take from the rent fund the money needed to support the government, without diminishing the interest or wage funds.

Some advance has been made in the matter of wages. Adam Smith's iron law, bolstered by the Malthusian doctrine of population, has been supplanted by what is admittedly a wiser concept. A greater proportion of created wealth goes to wages, and this proportion is likely to be

increased. That which goes to rent, though, has not been diminished, so the increase in wages evidently comes out of interest.

If this conclusion is justifiable, then the assertion of the Oregon professor takes on new value. It would be interesting if, after all these years, the Henry George theory would come in for serious thought on part of those who teach taxation at the schools.

At present a change has been worked in one phase of land value. A few years ago bankers discovered that land is not a liquid asset, and far more serious, that the value of land is subject to violent fluctuation, and consequently not the dependable basis for credit it had been held. Along with which goes the revolt of the land owner, especially the farmer, against the burden now laid on the land in the form of taxation. Seligman's dictum, that the tax should be laid where it can be most certainly collected, with due regard to ability to pay, marked land as the primal object of the tax gatherer.

Now, with an effort general to shift some of the burden of taxation from land to other forms of property, and particularly to income, the statement of Dr. Wilcox adds importantly to the discussion.

—Editorial, Omaha *Bee-News*.

IT is unendurable that great increments, great additions, that have not been earned by those to whom they accrue, and have been formed by the industry of others, should be absorbed by people who have not contributed to that increase.—JOHN MORLEY.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### VALUE AND PRICE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Your issue for Sept-Oct. contains a letter from George White in criticism of James R. Brown's booklet, "Pyramiding Land Values." Mr. White's apparent position is so curious that I must be cautious in assuming that I have understood it rightly. His thesis seems to be as there is no way of escaping the payment of economic rent it may as well be paid to landowners as to the community treasury; in other words, that it makes no difference to the worker whether he pays economic rent in addition to taxes, or instead of taxes. If I am wrong in my interpretation I may be doing an injustice to Mr. White, but if I have correctly stated his position, then I must distrust his mental processes.

I think Mr. Brown's pamphlet is open to one criticism, but upon an entirely different basis. He calls it *Pyramiding Land Values*. I know of no way in which this can be done; but speculators can and do pyramid *land prices* to the incalculable damage of labor and industry. The confusion of these two terms is a common and serious obstacle to the understanding, and hence to the progress of our cause; and I am surprised that a veteran expounder like Mr. Brown should have been guilty of it.

New York City.

CHARLES T. ROOT.

### KIND WORDS FROM AUSTRALIA

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I look forward to every issue of *LAND AND FREEDOM*. The record of your activities is an inspiration to us here as no doubt it is to colleagues

all over the globe. Here, as never before within my memory, we are getting a hearing. The request for information and literature continually grows.

Our delirious protectionist policy has landed us in acute difficulties. The promised land of the protectionists recedes with every wild rush we have made towards it. While the great mass, unfortunately, is still wedded to its idols, an increasing number of dupes are awakening to the absurdity of the superstition.

The world generally exhibits the bankruptcy of the politicians and again supplies irrefutable evidence of the futility of trying to disregard natural economic laws.

May you long be spared to carry on the valuable educative work in which you have been engaged for so many years.

Homebush, N.S.W., Australia.

STANLEY V. LARKIN.

### HOW INGERSOLL WOBBLED

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

A little while ago, I came across a lecture delivered by that great agnostic, Robert G. Ingersoll, in 1886. Here are some of the things he said. They are interesting in view of the conclusion that he reached.

"No man should be allowed to own any land that he does not use."

"I have owned a great deal of land, but I know just as well as I know I am living that I should not be allowed to have it unless I use it."

"Now, the land belongs to the children of Nature. Nature invites into this world every babe that is born."

"What would you think of me, for instance, tonight, if I had invited you here and when you got here you had found one man pretending to occupy a hundred seats, another fifty, and another seventy-five and thereupon you were compelled to stand—what would you think of the invitation?"

"Every child of Nature is entitled to his share of the land, and he should not be compelled to beg the privilege to work the soil of a babe that happened to be born before him."

"It is not to our interest to have a few landlords and millions of tenants."

And then he says:—

"I would not take an inch of land from any human being that belongs to him. If we ever take it, we must pay for it—condemn it and take it—do not rob anybody. When a man advocates justice, and robbery as the means, I suspect him."

Here is a strange mingling of thought and thoughtlessness. What he said in substance is this: Every one is entitled to his share of the land provided he buys it at the market price from a fictitious owner. "Don't rob anybody" may be good advice, but the present owners of land trace their titles to men who were not so particular.

Whoever advocated taking land away from the ones it belongs to? The question is, "To whom does the land rightfully belong?"—land that Nature created and that the presence of people made valuable.

Thomas Paine was regarded by Ingersoll as a most profound thinker, but apparently Ingersoll is not willing to follow in his views on the land question. Paine, at least, was consistent. He trod the path that reason lit and was not frightened because it led to a conclusion that run counter to the prevailing prejudice.

Here is what he said:—

"The Deity created the earth. . . and any one who would show good title to land must trace his title to the Deity."

And then he added,

"So far as I know, the Deity never opened a land office from which title deeds were issued."

The fact of the matter is that no one wants to take any land away from anyone. All we say is that payment of a so-called purchase price to an illegitimate owner is no reason for failure to pay legitimate owner—the community—the fair rental value of the land used.

Cleveland, Ohio.

JAMES EUGENE OLIVER.

## YES, SHAKESPEARE WAS OF US.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Your article on "How much did Shakespeare Divine," is good. Its complementary quotation to those in my article (which you quote) show how our great poet realized the evils of taxation. I think we may enroll him in our roll of honor. Do you not think so?

I often think of the old guard I knew long ago. Crossdale in his shirt sleeves at the *Standard* office, Benjamin Doblin, and others. Also I heard Henry George at Cooper Institute on his birthday when he arrived home from Australia just in time to be at the Single Tax Convention. Louis Post made an admirable chairman. Shearman, Maguire, Jerry Simpson (the "Sockless Senator") Garrison, Ralston and other noble workers of the past roused us to a heat which even now still to a degree remains.

Melbourne, Australia.

F. T. HODGKISS.

## NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

A. LAWRENCE SMITH is an envelope manufacturer in Detroit, Michigan. Besides he is a well known and devoted Single Taxer. From his business house he has recently sent forth some unique and well printed literature. One is a four page leaflet dealing with so-called over-production. Another is one treating of unemployment. Still another is a six page pamphlet, "Corn Laws and Starvation," with tariff matter culled from the life of John Bright and original comments by Mr. Smith himself. Concluding these pictures of famine, our friend says: "What the tariff is doing to us here and now is exactly what it was doing to the English in 1842."

MAX W. LORENZ of Portland, Oregon, made arrangements for Dr. James Richmond, of Coquille, Oregon, to address the Knights of the Round Table, October 21, at their noon luncheon at the Multnomah hotel.

Dr. Richmond's father, a coal miner of Scotland, came to America many years ago to better his economic conditions. Dr. Richmond has been a Single Taxer for over 17 years.

There were about 50 present at this meeting. Dr. Richmond stressed the points: that all children who come into the world have a right to live; that in order to sustain life they must have the right to natural opportunities: land is the only natural opportunity, and that land must be free. He spoke against private property in land values. He said that the Single Tax would collect the rental value of natural opportunities; that rent is a community value, and that free land would solve the labor problem. He poked fun at the republican and democratic parties for the solutions they have to offer on economic problems. He made the distinction that what is paid for the use of a house is interest and for the use of land is rent. Dr. Richmond's boldness and fearlessness are to be admired.

A HEARING was held in this city by the Senate Committee on the Sales Tax at the Lawyers' Club, West 44th Street, and a number of Single Taxers spoke in opposition. M. Van Veen and Henry Donovan, spoke against it and advocated the tax on land values. So also in somewhat milder fashion did John J. Dillon, editor of *The Rural New Yorker*. Norman Thomas, while advocating incidentally a tax on inheritances, stressed the need of land value taxation. About 300 were present, and the hearing was well reported in the newspapers of the city.

A RECEPTION to Mr. Ashley Mitchell, of England, one of the stalwart Henry George men of Great Britain, was given by Mrs. Anna George deMille at her home in this city on the night of Nov. 20. Among

those present were Hon. Charles O'Connor Hennessy, Mr. Fred Cranford, Miss Charlotte Schetter, Mr. and Mrs. Oscar H. Geiger, Mrs. Henry George, Jr., Mr. Charles T. Root, and others. Mr. Mitchell gave an interesting account of happenings in Great Britain. It was a very enjoyable gathering of the friends of our distinguished visitor.

LAND TENURES and Economic Justice is the title of an interesting and important article by P. D. Plain running serially in the North Wichita (Kansas) *Times*, a local weekly.

ARTHUR HOOPES has written the following letter to President Hoover: "Referring to your talk at Kings' Mountain several weeks ago, is it correct to speak as if there were equality of economic opportunity when the resources of nature are legally in the hands of a small minority of the people? Many able minds think not."

J. R. HERMANN worked with C. J. Ewing in James Hill's machine shop in Peoria 33 years ago. They met for the first time since that date at the Henry George Congress in San Francisco.

THOMAS COLEGATE, of Rome, Ga., talked over the radio on the Single Tax at the rate of 25 cents per minute. He talked 30 minutes. This good work was made possible by a generous contribution from Harry Willock.

CHARLES H. BAILDON, well known Single Taxer, passed away at Ludlowville, N. Y., on October 11, at the age of 69. He worked as a young man for O. H. Wilmarth at 40 Nassau Street, N. Y. City. He became interested in the Single Tax and was instrumental in bringing Mr. Wilmarth into the fold. O. H. Wilmarth was a brother of the better known L. E. Wilmarth. When about 24 years old Mr. Baildon moved to Marlboro, N. Y., and engaged in fruit and poultry farming. Here the editor of LAND AND FREEDOM was accustomed to go on his summer vacations and met Mr. Baildon on many occasions. He wrote a number of articles for this paper and other periodicals, and expressed his thoughts clearly and with force. He was loved and respected by his fellow townsmen and was active in the civic work of his village. He leaves a widow and one daughter. Charlie Baildon was a gentle, retiring man, possessed of a fine sense of justice in his personal dealings and social outlook.

The *Christian Science Monitor* contained good reports of the Henry George Congress.

JOHN M. MOORE, of Lancaster, Pa., writes us under date of October 13: "During the summer months I visited the British Isles and Northern Ireland, but found conditions very bad, with many of the Tory papers clamoring for Protection and Empire Free Trade. The evil effects of private ownership in land are more apparent in those countries than one can realize, unless they pay a visit to them, and then the effect seems startling."

WALDO J. WERNICKE, of Los Angeles, Calif., is a tireless letter writer. So is M. Van Veen of this city, who finds time from his regular out-door meetings to write short crisp letters to the *World*, *Telegram* and other New York papers. James B. Ellery, of Erie, Pa., is another indefatigable Single Tax letter writer. A rather lengthy letter appears from the last named in the *Erie Dispatch-Herald* of that city. Another letter from the same hand finds place in the *Christian Register*, which is read by Unitarians all over the country. This called forth a letter of commendation from Brother Newell, of the U. S. Engineer's office at Vicksburg, Mississippi.

"How Third Party Tickets are Put Up" is the title of a four page

leaflet by Barney Haughey which discusses very intelligently the modus operandi and propaganda value of independent political action.

C. H. MOLL and C. N. Anderson have letters in opposition to the Malthusian doctrine in the *Los Angeles Record* of Oct. 12.

AN Open Letter to Governor Emerson of Illinois appears in the *Peoria Star* from the pen of R. Emerson Green. It is an admirable statement of our principles, connecting them up with the present day problem of unemployment.

JAMES F. MORTON writes us: "I had a delightful visit in Fairhope, and am tremendously impressed with what is being done there. It is better by many degrees than I had dreamed of finding it; and we may quote it with perfect safety as a conspicuous success—despite the propaganda that has sometimes been spread abroad by some disgruntled individuals."

ON October 7, of this year, a Henry George Commemoration Dinner was held in London, at St. Ermin's Restaurant.

CASH prizes to the amount of one thousand dollars have been offered by the Henry George Foundation of Great Britain for essays on "Progress and Poverty." The contest will close March 24, 1931.

"SINGLE TAX, THE REMEDY FOR INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION," by Alexander Pernod, appears in the *Daily Calumet*, of Chicago, as an editorial. It is well and forcibly written.

THE *Referee*, of London, England, prints an editorial comparing Lord Rothmere's remedy for bad times, Empire Free Trade, with Henry George's proposal, and imagines, with curious fatuity, that there is a close connection between the two. W. L. Sinton wrote a rather lengthy explanation of the difference but the *Referee* did not print it.

F. C. GRIERSON, of Ottawa, Canada, send us a sixteen page pamphlet, "The Seeds of Revolution." Its sub-title is "An Array of startling facts on social and economic conditions in Great Britain, the United States and Canada." It was prepared for use by the independent candidates for the House of Commons. Mr. Grierson accompanies this pamphlet with the following complimentary reference to LAND AND FREEDOM: "I am a constant reader of your publication, for which I subscribe indirectly as librarian of one of the government departments. I wish to express my appreciation of, and sympathy with your endeavors to educate the masses of the people."

THE *Commercial Appeal*, of Memphis, Tenn., pays a glowing tribute to the late Alexander Y. Scott, whose death was chronicled in our last issue. Editorially the *Appeal* says: "He was a brilliant lawyer, a finished scholar, and a gentleman in the truest and highest sense of the word." A distinguished jurist of Memphis, Judge Alexander, says of him: "He was one of the last of the finer strain of Southern gentlemen."

CALVIN COOLIDGE may be getting "warm" as the children used to say in their games. At any rate he comes close to the object hidden in the following: "If monopolies were permitted a few men in key positions they would soon control our economic and probably our political destinies. Open opportunity would be gone. About the only remedy would be revolution."

THE *Ingram Institute News* appears every week with inspiring accounts of the activities of the Institute under the supervision of F. F. Ingram. W. N. McNair is the new director.

OUR old friend Poultney Bigelow has a fine article in *The New Church Messenger* for November on "The Prophet of San Francisco." It is a splendid tribute from an admiring and kindred soul. Bigelow calls George "the most spiritually minded man it has ever been my fortune to meet," and concludes his interesting article with the following: "God bless the memory of Henry George, for he sought the truth and loved his fellow man." Elsewhere in this issue of the *Messenger* appears a review of Louis Post's book, "The Prophet of San Francisco," and a portrait of Mr. Post serves as a frontispiece. In a note to Mr. Bigelow's article the editor says: "The philosophy of Henry George has undoubtedly appealed to a larger proportion of students of the New Church teaching than any other of the so-called radical social programmes."

STATEMENT of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc. required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of LAND AND FREEDOM, published Bi-Monthly at New York, N. Y., for October, 1930, State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOSEPH DANA MILLER,  
EDITOR.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of September, 1930.

[Seal]

LOUIS D. SCHWARTZ, Notary Public  
New York County.