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March—April, 1935

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

Another Perplexed Philosopher

Walter Fairchild

The Gold Clause Muddle

Raymond V. McNally

On the March With John Lawrence Monroe

Reports of Activities—Correspondence

News Notes and Personals

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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

WE are constantly invited to consider the Roosevelt political economy with reference to his intentions and to cultivate a kindlier spirit toward his philosophy. We would do so willingly if certain factors in any rational set-up were not, as it seems to us, deliberately omitted. A planned economy is conceivable if all existing factors were included. But in the Roosevelt programme these are omitted. Away in the background somewhere hidden is the factor of *land* which does not appear in all the welter of economic and social planning. Its relation to wages and production is nowhere indicated. That wealth is produced by labor from land is an obvious generalization, but it seems never to have occurred to him. Indeed it is expressly negatived in his talk of money and prices. It is not denied—that of course would be too obviously absurd—but it is completely ignored.

AND because it is ignored the President falls into errors which the youngest pupil in the Henry George School would be able to correct. Lately he has been reported as saying that prices are yet too low. This was denied but we know that it has been his belief for a long time. The NRA codes sought to raise prices and his devaluation of the dollar was directed to the same end. He is troubled with what Raymond V. McNally calls "the price complex." He does not seem to know that wages are not paid for in "pieces of eight," or paper printed by the U. S. Treasury Department, but in shoes, suits of clothes, barrels of flour and bushels of potatoes. Hence his almost exclusive concern with matters of money and price.

THE same curious obtuseness with regard to wages follows as a matter of course. He started out with codes to regulate wages. He seems not to know that wages are something that cannot be regulated. He is as naive as a child about it. In a letter to Senator Glass he said: "As you are aware (Senator Glass is not aware at all!) the operation of collective bargaining, plus the operation of the national recovery act, have with the majority of organized and unorganized labor, either raised wages, or prevented any reduction in wages."

COLLECTIVE bargaining may raise wages in certain industries but can have no effect whatever upon the general level of wages. Nor can government itself raise wages, for wages are not determined that way. Roosevelt's faith in the Federal Government to raise wages or keep them from falling is extended with the same simple child-like adoration to State Governments, for he writes in this same letter to Senator Glass, while denying that the payment of wages to those now on the relief rolls may result "under some theory, in a lowering of wages by private employers:" "I say this because it is an obvious fact—first that the Federal Government and every State Government will act to prevent reductions, and secondly because public opinion throughout the country will not sustain reductions."

ROOSEVELT repeats: "I have faith enough to believe that practically one hundred per cent of employers have patriotism enough to prevent the lowering of wages." Now employers are neither philanthropists nor fools. They are business men. Mr. Roosevelt is asking them either to dig down into their private pockets or to commit business suicide. And if they are as patriotic as can be, or as considerate as may be, how can they prevent the lowering of wages? Does the President really know what he is talking about? Does he still think, despite abundant disproof, that wages are drawn from capital, or in this case from the private resources of the employer? Note that he considers that one hundred per cent of the employers of the country have it in their power to prevent the lowering of wages. Did we ever have a President before who believed this? It is difficult to credit that even Mr. Roosevelt believes it.

IT will surprise the President to be told that neither the Federal Government, nor the State Governments, nor public opinion, have any effect upon wages, or any power to keep them from falling. Wages are dependent upon men bidding for jobs, and are therefore at the mercy of men out of work. If wages could be legislatively determined the question of low or insufficient wages would have been settled long ago. And as a matter of fact such regulation has been tried by kings, parliaments and congresses from the beginning of history. And always they have failed. If Mr. Roosevelt were as well informed

as he is supposed to be (popular superstition credits him with a knowledge of history) he would know that this is so. But apparently he does not.

JUST now we are all living on a lower standard. Wages are lower than in 1926, a favorite year with Mr. Roosevelt, when we were neither in a boom or depression period, which means that they are lower than they have ever been. The NRA has accomplished nothing. We are face to face with the fact that Federal action has failed to keep up wages, which no reasoning man has ever thought possible anyhow.

YET in a sense government may indeed raise wages. It may do this, not by regulating them, but by opening up natural opportunities, by declaring a free earth. "They have denied you a place to work; land is a place to work," says Henry J. Foley in Jan.-Feb. LAND AND FREEDOM. Take down the fences that bar men from employment. Every able bodied man, with every tool we call capital, will rush in when land is opened to labor. They always did. Read of the opening of Oklahoma, go further back and read of the settlement of new countries, this great country, Australia, New Zealand. And for the further benefit of our socialist friends note how little was required of capital. Mighty little they had of it, but they made it, turning prairies into cities, desolate places into imperial markets and congeries of great factories. They planted in the sparsely settled West millions of acres of life-giving wheat and corn; they did what they can do again.

THERE is no lack of land on which to begin. A continent is at our feet. Other great centers and rolling prairies, richly luxuriant for abundant harvests, await the hands of labor. There is plenty of room. But they have "denied you a place to work." They have shut you out, and you have stupidly submitted to the eviction. Is it not time you stopped to think? The only place you can work, be you farmer or artisan, is on the land. You need not go to government for relief; all you need to demand is freedom to go to work. And voice this demand in a way that will force the time-serving politicians to listen to you. The method is simple; take for public revenue the annual value of land and abolish all taxation.

NEARLY all the explanation for the muddled-headed confusion of present day economic thought arises from the failure to distinguish between what is private and what is public property. This applies to all socialistic notions and to all the professorial explanations that are allied with it, and really arise out of the socialistic conception of society. Deny it as they may, every advocate of an income or inheritance tax is to that degree a socialist, for he is advocating the taking of private property

for public purposes, which at no time and under no circumstances, save in war, pestilence or famine, is a justifiable procedure.

WE are aware of course that the income tax is urged as a means to secure greater equality of wealth distribution. It is urged not merely as a revenue project but as a remedial measure. But if swollen fortunes arise from economic maladjustments it would seem to any sensible adult that the solution is the remedying of those economic maladjustments, not in the taking of a portion of this wealth after it is stolen, if it is stolen. And when it is realized that nearly all great fortunes have their origin in the diversion, direct or indirect, of public wealth into private pockets, we are nearing a solution more in accordance with sensible procedure. An analysis of almost every great fortune will disclose this. The exceptions to it are accidental and are too few to militate against the general truth.

THERE are a few great fortunes that justify themselves. But in those cases such as Howe, McCormick, Edison, and perhaps Henry Ford, or the builders of great industries, they give to society more than they receive. Assuming that some part of even such fortunes comes from exploited labor, the remedy is not a stupid income tax, but the freeing of the exploited. In taking part of these great fortunes that originate in labor and the product of extraordinary genius or invention or management is monstrous. It is theft of a gigantic kind. It defeats itself in that it stifles productive effort and is a deterrent to progress. It is morally abhorrent, and some day will be so regarded, when we have finally determined what is public and what is private wealth, and recognize the implicit and profound injunction of the commandment, "Thou Shalt Not Steal."

WE are trying to weigh the President's words and make something out of them. He is great on phrases. Before two hundred guests at the National Conference on Economic Security he delivered himself of the following: "There can be no security for the individual amid general insecurity. . . . We cannot work miracles or solve all our problems at once." And as to what can be done, "it is to build a structure to give a measure of happiness to the individual greater than we have ever known." And looking at the 200 expert social workers, business men and labor leaders, the President said: "In this you can greatly help."

IN all of this there is a delightful vagueness. How they were to help, and what he was doing in which they might help, he failed to tell them. Miss Perkins said they left "in a state of exaltation." It is possible to become very much elated by a charming and persuasive

personality. Amy Semple McPherson has the trick and so have a number of our screen favorites. But what is it all about? How much was learned from the President at this meeting may be gathered from the report issued somewhat later by the National Association of Manufacturers which announced in effect that they did not know enough about unemployment and unemployment insurance, and urged the appointment of a presidential commission to study the subject. Just another commission and more official jobs to be paid for out of the public treasury by Roosevelt, the Lord Bountiful! This is all the exaltation which so delighted Miss Perkins seems to have resulted in.

UNEMPLOYMENT! Will they never hear or heed the great cry that goes up from the disinherited, "They have denied you a place to work! Land is a place to work!" "Unemployment insurance!" And this to be provided out of a fund extracted from the pockets of our burdened tax payers or wrung from the meagre wages of the employed!

WRITERS of the New Deal are bitter in their criticism of the Old Deal. The latter appears to have consisted of business men intent upon "chiseling" one another and exploiting the workers. From all accounts they were a sorry lot, not much above the racketeering gangsters that infest our great cities. The things that are being said about them are unbelievable. "The malefactors of great wealth," of whom we heard under another Roosevelt, appear in the descriptions vouchsafed us by the Tugwells and Richbergs to have been nearly all the business men, large and small, and it is these boys who have got us in the trouble we are in.

IT appears, as near as we can gather, that the Old Deal was actuated by "unrestrained competitive greed." Hence the depression. But competitive greed is not an economic factor. In a fair field where there are no monopolistic privilege, competitive greed is as harmless as any other personal trait. In the long run it defeats itself. Economics work through certain laws. Capital seeks its level, for one thing. If capital in the absence of monopoly yields profits in any industry above the normal return, additional capital enters in competition and the return is normal again. That is unrestrained competitive greed, or as sensible men would call it, free competition, restrained by natural economic laws. Mark, however, that we said, "in the absence of monopoly." Monopoly is an economic term as is free competition. "Unrestrained competitive greed" is just hooey.

IT is not in the power of the New Deal nor any other kind of a deal to restrain competitive greed if by that is meant the desire of business men to get a greater return. They can only do so in one of two ways, either by

putting greater efficiency into their business, or getting possession of a monopoly. And this monopoly must be a legally created one. It cannot be created by an individual, nor, save temporarily, by any combination of individuals. Tariffs, the control of natural resources or railroads and abuse of patents—these are legally created—there are no others. In other words combinations without monopolies are impossible.

WHERE did the Old Deal fail? Just where the New Deal fails. In neither instance is any effort being made to remove fundamental monopolies, the monopoly of the earth being the chief obstacle to any kind or degree of recovery. The Old Deal did a lot of useless patchworking. So does the New Deal. Only the latter differed in starting off with a lot of ballyhoo. Outside of proposed regimentation for everybody and everything not a single thing was done to remove the tendencies of which they complain, and which they make no effort to remove. There was nothing new about the New Deal really. Everything was to remain as it was—land monopoly, railroad, tariff monopoly. Just a few kind words and a genial smile were added.

WHAT about the Old Deal? Was nobody busy at that time trying to do something? Was it a period of total inactivity beginning before the World War and ending in 1932? Nobody believes that who reads the papers. A lot of things were proposed. If they failed to bring about improvement, that was because they did not touch the heart of the problem. There were a lot of labor legislation, a lot of social study, much social research. Men and women were inquiring, the Socialist party, especially in England, rose to power and put into effect a lot of nostrums for human betterment which failed again for the same reason that similar drugs and potions poured out from the New Deal medicine chest have failed. The Old Dealers asked what ought to be done—very earnestly they asked. It is not fair to say they did not ask. They did not listen to the answers because there was not a loud acclaim, only a few scattered voices telling them what to do, what they *must* do if civilization was to be saved. Now both the Old Deal and the New Deal have failed. It is curtains for both.

THE popular delusion which surrounds the subject of wages have the authority of eminent names—the inherent curse of all science and every department of knowledge. As most of our readers know, chief among these delusions now fast fading out, is the doctrine of the "wage fund," which teaches that in every community there is set aside a certain amount of capital for the purpose of employing labor and paying wages. The rate of wages depends upon the magnitude of the sum and the number of laborers who are to draw upon it. This theory

invented by Adam Smith has not gone unassailed. Thornton, Henry George tells us, made an assault upon it, as did Cliffe Leslie, but the assent to it was very general at one time and even now it bobs up every now and then.

THINK of a "science" not being able to discover what is plain to the average intelligence that wealth in the material world is wrested by strong arms from the earth, and transformed by deft fingers to human uses; and that this production is limited by nothing but these strong arms and the round globe itself; and that it is all wages, save what is due capital for the loan of tools, and what is deducted in the name of rent. There is no fund set aside for the payment of wages, save the capacious treasury of the earth's storehouse.

WAGES are paid always out of the product, yet it is astonishing what great minds have been deluded by this idea of the payment of wages by capital, which has served as the basis for the assumption of an almost philanthropic origin of wages. Even Voltaire was deluded by it, keen and analytical as was the mind of the sage of Verney. What is the truth about wages? Not only are they not paid by capital, but that capital does not even advance payment, since wages everywhere are paid at the end of the week—*after*, not before the real wages are produced by the laborer. The laborer thus advances to the capitalist the capital necessary for the payment of his wage, and only then is he entitled to receive it. It is true that the employer may not at once turn this product into cash, but as a rule it is in a partially or fully created form before a penny of wages is advanced.

IT is obvious that Congress has abdicated. It is obvious, too, that a large part of the Republican party has followed its example. And what is even more hopeless is the reflection that the people of the country in large numbers seem content to let their convictions drift with the tide of public sentiment that spells unthinking acquiescence in the Roosevelt dogma. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, has aptly summarized it: "Americans have placed their faith in Mr. Roosevelt, not in his policies. It does not matter any longer what his policies are." Is not that true, and if it is true should it not give us grave concern? A country in which the people have no convictions, or in which convictions no longer count, is in a serious way.

IF Mr. Roosevelt himself were a man of convictions this strange apathy of a bewildered people would not greatly matter. Indeed it would not prevail, for there would ensue animated debates and a press alive to fundamental questions. But when people do not know what is going to happen in Mr. Roosevelt's mind from one

hour to the next, they just wait the next turn in a curious somnolence that is like death. Even the extraordinary changes that are occurring arouse but little interest; perhaps, as Dr. Butler tells us, these have ceased to matter. Only Roosevelt matters. This strange phenomenon has occurred before in history, but it is astonishing in a people once so strongly individualistic and so jealous of their prerogatives. It is a significant measure of our decline.

Another Perplexed Philosopher

Reply by Walter Fairchild, Secretary of the American Association for Scientific Taxation, with acknowledgment to Robert Clancy of the *Researcher*, of the article by Harold S. Buttenheim entitled "If Henry George Were Writing Today."

THE thoughtful article, which appeared in the *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, February, 1935, is highly interesting, because it presents the viewpoint of one who has approached the subject of land value taxation from the direction of city planning, zoning and housing, rather than by the route of a study of the writings of Henry George.

Mr. Buttenheim is editor of *The American City*. His experience is perhaps as broad as that of anyone in this country as to the subjects in which he is particularly interested. It is gratifying to find in his article complete endorsement of the major premise of Henry George, which is that all value of land is the product of community development and governmental services and should be taken by the community for the support of government.

A student of the writings of Henry George, however, may be pardoned, upon reading Mr. Buttenheim's article for feeling that, had Mr. Buttenheim read Henry George more carefully, he would have omitted many of his paragraphs.

It is true, as Mr. Buttenheim points out, that the land speculation resulting from the opening up of new territory which was a feature of the period prior to fifty years ago is not now as rampant as it was then. It is true that the world changes, but we doubt the statement, "Had Henry George been born a half-century later, he would have lived amidst a new set of economic conditions." Details may change, but the principle remains in its simplicity and has not changed. No one can read the introductory to "Progress and Poverty," written by Henry George in 1879, without being struck with the fact that the problem of today has been outlined as though it were written yesterday. Henry George refers to "streets lighted with gas,"¹ but this is the only old-fashioned or out-of date reference to be found. But whether streets are lighted by electricity, gas, or oil lamps, the problem remains the same.

Mr. Buttenheim speaks of the slowing up of speculation in city real estate. Mr. Buttenheim does not mini-

1 "Progress and Poverty," p. 7.

mize the disasters which have resulted from land speculation. We cannot, however, agree with Mr. Buttenheim in saying that such speculation "has permanently passed its peak." At no time in history has speculation in land values reached the heights that it did in New York and elsewhere within the past decade. The technocrats of recent fame are not the only ones to prophesy from the advance of the arts a future economic crisis more acute than any we have thus far known.

Mr. Buttenheim ascribes his assumption that land speculation has passed its peak to the "slowing up in population increase in the United States." Mr. Buttenheim draws a conclusion from this that land value or economic ground-rent will cease to increase. Mr. Buttenheim fails to observe as Henry George did that the increase in land value is only partly due to the increase of population and that there may be an increase in land value even though population remains fixed or even recedes. We cannot but feel that Mr. Buttenheim would profit by a study of Book II of "Progress and Poverty," where the subject of increasing and decreasing population is worked out by Henry George. In Book IV of "Progress and Poverty" and elsewhere, Henry George discusses the effect of material progress on the distribution of wealth. He says: "The changes which constitute or contribute to material progress are three: (1) increase in population; (2) improvements in the arts of production and exchange; and (3) improvements in knowledge, education, government, police, manners, and morals, so far as they increase the power of producing wealth." Henry George then proceeds to show the effect of increase in population apart from improvement in the arts and then the effect of improvement in the arts apart from increase of population. He makes it clear that "without any increase in population, the progress of invention constantly tends to give a larger proportion of the produce to the owners of land and a smaller proportion to labor and capital."²

The facts and fears that gave such furore to the technocrats a short time ago were anticipated by Henry George by half a century—but with a scientific base of explanation which the technocrats seem to lack.³

Among minor misapprehensions is Mr. Buttenheim's reference to farm land values and the effect of the "back to the land" movement. We think statistics disprove Mr. Buttenheim's assumption that "urban areas show more of their total valuation in improvements than do the rural areas" and that the Single Tax will cause an increase of taxation to the farm in comparison with city sites. We think the contrary is true. We estimate three-quarters of Manhattan Island to be only about twenty per cent improved from the viewpoint of area as well as

of land value, i. e., \$3,000,000,000 of the \$4,000,000,000 of land value in Manhattan is under-improved with business and residence slums. The balance is overdeveloped and overtaxed in spots. As we go outward to Queens, Bronx, Brooklyn and Richmond, improvement values rise in their ratio to land value. Going out still further into rural lands, the ratio rises still further in favor of improvements. Figures on rural site value in relation to improvements are largely lacking. Interesting studies have been made by Cornell, Wisconsin, and other research bodies, which tend to show that the labor side of a prosperous, going farm exceeds site value by a ratio of at least five to one. Even "fertility," usually classed as a natural resource, Prof. Commons points out is subject to depletion and after a generation of use fertility is largely a labor product.

Nor do we agree with Mr. Buttenheim's assumption that the "differential" in rent is less acute than formerly. The facts are quite to the contrary. Improved transportation, while making outlying districts more available, has made access to centers of population more easy, causing urban site values to reach higher peaks than ever before known.

Elimination of speculation in site values will undoubtedly—other things remaining equal—have the effect of lowering selling price of land and will tend to throw much valuable land now held idle, into use. "Back to the land" is not limited to farm land but applies to all valuable land, most of which in value is in the centers of population. This would not mean that the farmers, "already impoverished by surplus production, would be constantly menaced by an army of potential competitors." Not only would farmers go back to agriculture, but builders would return to construction of homes and factories, miners would return to mining coal and iron, and so on through the entire range of industries.

Nothing is clearer in Henry George's writings than the proposition that the restoration of equal access to natural resources, coupled with free exchange, will result in an equilibrium between the basic or extractive industries—agriculture, mining, oil production, which comes first—and the dependent arts—manufacture, invention, cultural arts, which follow and are built upon the primary industries. The same law of wages applies to all. With free exchange the raiser of wheat in Dakota is in a literal sense printing books in New York and painting portraits in Paris. The dreaded "menace" of "surplus product," when limited to labor products, is transitory and never permanent.

The elimination of the speculative holding of valuable land idle will throw such land into use, but we doubt that the true or economic value will be less than is estimated today. Perhaps in a few places, like part of New York City, an abnormal development has induced the assessor to place land value at a speculative level, but

1 "Progress and Poverty," p. 228.

2 "Progress and Poverty," p. 252.

3 "Progress and Poverty," pp. 252-253.

this is not true of the country generally, where assessments are placed at about one-third of true value.

Furthermore, freer access to land and removal of barriers to exchange will bring about new uses of land which will tend to increase economic rent.

"Assessed valuation" for land may decline but—other things remaining equal—so also may legitimate costs of government decline. There may be less wars and wastes of war, less graft public and private, less tax collecting costs, less public borrowing (if any at all). Who can say that one will not balance the other? Economy in government and savings in waste increase land value or the share that goes to economic rent.

So also public "betterments" increase land value.

This brings us to the major point as to which Mr. Buttenheim seems to think Henry George would have changed his views; that is, that Henry George would now favor an income tax and an inheritance tax for social and economic reasons, even though all economic rent were taken by government. We do not think so,

Mr. Buttenheim has accepted whole-heartedly the fundamental principle that all public moneys spent for public works and public services is reflected in land value. Mr. Buttenheim will say, of course, that such expenditures must be *wisely* made in order to increase land value. In this we agree.

The basis of Mr. Buttenheim's argument for income and inheritance taxes seems to be that economic ground-rent will not furnish sufficient revenue to pay for all of the things which government "ought to incur" and that, therefore, recourse must be had to income and inheritance taxes.

Henry George was familiar with both of these forms of taxation. He recognized that both of these taxes, being levied after exchanges are complete, are direct taxes and cannot be shifted to buyers of goods. To that extent they do not share the condemnation applicable to indirect consumption taxes. There are, however, various ways in which these two forms of taxation violate the canons of taxation. They permit the holding of resources out of best use—the tax being levied on income only. The taxpayer, in the first instance, is the tax assessor—inducing evasion and avoidance. The income tax is secret—inducing fraud. It is a tax on industry—discouraging individual initiative. There can be little doubt today but that the income tax, which is now about a generation old in this country, is fast travelling the road of disrepute which was followed by the personal property tax to its ignoble ending.

But aside from these inherent defects of the income tax, there is one fundamental objection which Henry George clearly points out and which Mr. Buttenheim has overlooked in this article. This basic objection is this:

Money received by government from the income tax which is wisely spent for a public betterment or mainte-

nance service is reflected in an increase in land value. If government collects the annual value of that betterment or maintenance service from land value, then government has obtained it twice—once from the income tax payer and again from the land owner. If government takes it from the income tax payer and fails to collect the resulting value from the land owner, then the economic effect is that government has taken money from the pocket of the income tax payer and transferred it to the pocket of the land owner.

This is true also of the inheritance tax.

If we let the symbol I signify the income or inheritance tax payer, the symbol O represent the owner of land, and the symbol U represent US (that is, government), cause and effect would work out something like this:

I pays an income tax on his personal earnings;

U receives it and spends it for public betterment;

O gets the equivalent in the increase value of land.

If O keeps it, that which is left for I and U is merely a sort of IOU.

The inexorable result of this maldistribution is the piling up of an unearned excess or surplus product in O, with private debt as the status of I and public debt as the status of U, with O possessing ever-increasing power to dictate the terms of the obligation.

To say that the value of all governmental spending for public betterments and maintenance is reflected in land value is not the same thing as saying that all land value is a product of public spending. But the lesser is contained in the whole. Economic rent may be more than the total of all public budgets properly spent, but it cannot be less.

Henry George did not ascribe any "magic" to the Single Tax. On the contrary, he expressly teaches that it is not a panacea for all the economic ills of humanity. Among social problems to be solved in addition to the major one arising from the private appropriation of land values, Henry George mentioned patent laws; the difficulties of a national currency based on public debt and "farmed out" to private bankers rather than a currency based on exchanges; the creation and maintenance of a public debt; tariff walls erected for so-called "protection," even when not used for revenue purposes; embargoes, boycotts, and the like.

Recognizing all of these difficulties, Henry George nevertheless makes it clear that all human effort to correct our difficulties with respect to these other matters will be futile so long as the underlying evil, which Henry George calls the "great robber" of all, that is, private ownership of land values, remains.

All "superfluous and socially injurious savings," which Mr. Buttenheim mentions but does not define, can have their being only through monopoly of some kind. There are only two possible fields of monopoly: on the one side we have natural resources—land; on the other side we have labor products. Henry George first makes it

clear to his reader¹ that a monopoly of a labor product is an economic impossibility. The immediate effect of a "corner" or an attempted "pegging of price" of any commodity is an immediate increase in the production of that very same article. England tried it for rubber, Brazil tried it for coffee, Japan tried it for raw silk, pit traders have tried it for wheat. All failed, disastrously to themselves. The U. S. Government is now trying it for cotton and agricultural products. Its failure is already upon us.

Therefore, as Henry George points out, "if speculation be the cause of these industrial depressions, it must be in speculation in things not the production of labor, but yet necessary to the exertion of labor in the production of wealth—of things of fixed quantity; that is to say, it must be speculation in land."² Henry George does not argue for the equal distribution of the production of all wealth. What Henry George stands for is the establishment of economic freedom; that is, equal access to natural resources and an equal sharing in the product of social growth and government. Differences will remain, but they will be differences in individual character, desires, and achievements, which are personal and which he would sacredly preserve to the individual.

Pittsburgh Progressing in Economic Education

CONSTANT activity, both in the educational and legislative field, characterizes the situation in Pittsburgh in recent weeks. The Pittsburgh branch of the Henry George School of Social Science is going forward with its classes in a highly encouraging manner and, in addition to the large class conducted by Richard E. Howe, on Friday evenings at the University of Pittsburgh rooms, George E. Evans, President of the Henry George Foundation, has recently organized another strong class, which meets on Saturday in the City County Building. Both classes are making good progress and arrangements are now being made for a graduation banquet to be held about April 26, in which speakers of prominence will participate. Robert C. Bowers is acting as chairman of the committee promoting the interests of the School.

An Economic Discussion Club, recently organized under the leadership of Percy R. Williams, is holding regular meetings at dinner every Thursday evening at Chapin's restaurant with a growing interest and attendance. While this group was formed primarily for the discussion of economic problems, it is also serving as a clearing house for reporting and discussing various kinds of activity relating to economic advance, including legislation, educational classes, public meetings, etc.

MAYOR McNAIR'S SPEAKING TOURS

Mayor William N. McNair continues to devote a great deal of his attention to public speaking and is in constant demand for public gatherings of all sorts in churches, clubs, schools, colleges, conventions, etc. In addition to numerous local appearances, Mr. McNair has recently addressed important gatherings in Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Reading and Greenville, Pa., and at the present time is planning an eastern tour to include Rochester,

New York City, Boston, Bridgeport, Conn., Wilmington, Del., and Washington, D. C. During the early part of May he expects to visit a number of important cities in the Middle West, presenting the Pittsburgh Tax Plan and also discussing fundamental social and economic problems confronting the country at the present hour.

STATE LEGISLATION

Two important measures for the extension of the Pittsburgh Tax Plan have recently been introduced in the lower house of the Pennsylvania State Legislature. House bill 315, introduced by Representative John L. Powers on Jan. 28, embodies Mayor McNair's "Five-to-One" Tax Plan, which has been the subject of much discussion and publicity. This measure provides for the reduction of the building tax rate from fifty per cent of the land rate to twenty per cent, or one-fifth of the land rate, the shifting from improvements to land values to be accomplished over a period of four years beginning in Jan., 1936, and reaching its ultimate point in Jan., 1940. This would cut the present city building tax in half and would require one-fourth increase in the present land tax rate to raise the same amount of revenue now obtained.

House bill 753 introduced by Representative Alfred Tronzo, would apply the present graded tax system to the levying and collection of school taxes in the Pittsburgh school district and would give very substantial relief to the owners of improved real estate. These measures have been referred to committees in the lower house and may come up for action in the very near future as a number of representatives from Allegheny County have pledged their support.

Meanwhile, there has been a great deal of agitation concerning the "ripper" bill recently introduced in the State Legislature, which would abolish the office of Mayor and substitute a City Commissioner for Pittsburgh. While strong political pressure is being exerted in behalf of this bill, two Pittsburgh newspapers have recently conducted straw votes on the question, which have shown very strong majorities against the ripper legislation and such prominent organizations as the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, North Side Chamber of Commerce and Allegheny County League of Women Voters have passed resolutions strongly opposing this bill. Present indications are that the bill will probably be defeated in the State Senate.

Lenin on Taxation of Land Values

THE proper application of the Georgian taxation of land values is a tax upon the mentality of a people beyond the capacity of a Nation not ten per cent of whom have learned to read. They can't understand it. They can only understand socialism at present. Some day, with a higher average of intelligence, we may adopt the taxation of land values and enjoy economic freedom, but not now.—Lenin, as quoted by Raymond Robins after an interview following the war.

Globe Democrat, St. Louis, Jan. 27, 1934.

Hold the Destinies of the Community

The subject upon which I have been asked to address you is at the root of every social and economic question. We have innumerable organizations which are engaged in advocating specific social reforms—all most admirable. But they will all fail until the land question has first been settled. There is no economic or social question which is not at the bottom a land question. Land is essentially different from every other material property. It is from the land that all human needs are supplied, and if that original source is monopolized, if there are a few individuals who can control that supply, then they hold the destinies of the community in their hands.

LORD SNOWDEN in an address in London before the Women's National Liberal Federation.

¹ "Progress and Poverty," p. 267.

² "Progress and Poverty," pp. 267-268.

Report of Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

THIS month we would like to report a number of services that the Foundation office renders in its day-to-day correspondence, and we are picking certain letters from our files for illustration.

On Jan. 22, Congressman Charles Eckert of the 26th District of Pennsylvania, asked us to send him Mr. Hennessy's classic treatise on the economic causes of war and industrial depression, which was submitted to the League of Nations, May, 1927. We sent this booklet, together with other pamphlets on the subject of war and peace related to the "land question," and received Mr. Eckert's thanks for this material, which, it seems, was just the right thing for the Conference which was being held in Washington on the cause and cure of war.

Mr. Francis Neilson, author of "Sociocratic Escapades," recently asked us for a list of people who would be interested in his book. We sent him a list of about eighty names, and we understand that each one of these people received a free copy of this vastly interesting work.

Mr. James G. Blauvelt, who has been active in organizing the Ridgewood Henry George group, arranged for a donation of a complete set of George's writings and allied books for the Ridgewood Pease Memorial Library. The Henry George League of New Jersey is planning later to place books in other libraries.

The League is also endorsing a Single Tax measure which is being presented to the Legislature in New Jersey.

Mr. Henry Ware Allen of Wichita, Kan., presented to the Foundation his diary of birthday names of Single Taxers. Some of the readers of LAND AND FREEDOM will remember that Mr. Allen placed the names of Single Taxers for each day in the year in his little booklet of Henry George quotations. If you would like to have your name added to the Roster, please send your name and birthday date, and it will be placed in the diary against the time of a new printing of the Henry George calendar.

We received from Mr. Eduardo F. Belaustegui, of San Isidro, Argentine, a most attractive book entitled "Social Economic Reforms," written in Spanish, dealing with the "Land Question" from the Georgist viewpoint. It is being added to our library.

We have at hand an excellent pamphlet entitled "Unemployment and Business Depression" from Mr. David Gibson of 1370 Ontario Street, Cleveland, O. Additional copies may be had for fifteen cents in stamps, if addressed to Mr. Gibson.

On Jan. 24, we received a request from one of the teachers in the University of Chicago for sample copies of our publications, so that he could call them to the attention of his students. To those who have claimed that it is useless to do any work with college groups,

this might be an interesting item. We sent a group of books which we knew would be most interesting and helpful, and received the following letter in acknowledgment:

"I want to thank you for your courtesy in sending me the publications of your Foundation. There has been considerable interest among the students in the work of your Foundation as well as in the writings and philosophy of Henry George. I have made these conveniently available to them, and have distributed the literature which you sent me. I am sure that many of the students will follow through the interest that has been indicated thus far."

On Feb. 13, Mr. Herman B. Walker wrote to us stating that there would be a debate on a network of twenty-four stations between Westfield, N. J. High School and the East Orange High School on the question, "Resolved: That real estate taxes should be relieved by sales taxes," and we were asked to send helpful material to the Westfield High School for the negative side. We wrote to the librarian, rounded up sales tax literature from various sources, presented to the Library Prof. Brown's book "The Economic Basis of Tax Reform," which wrestles with the stock objections to taxation on land values, and sent other pamphlets with the Georgist philosophy.

A very interesting request came from one of President Roosevelt's cabinet officers, asking us to send appropriate material on Henry George and the Single Tax to his son, who is at college in Ohio. We prepared special material, wrote a letter of explanation, and donated one or two books that would be particularly needed if the young man studied the subject for his thesis. We received extremely cordial responses from both the cabinet officer's secretary and the young gentleman himself.

HENRY GEORGE CLASSES

As explained in previous issues of LAND AND FREEDOM, we are co-operating with John Lawrence Monroe and the Henry George School of Social Science in getting extension classes formed for the study of "Progress and Poverty." We mentioned the people with whom we had been in touch in the last issue. Since then the following have sent in for books and have arranged to teach classes in their respective communities: Mr. Oswald Marquardt of New York; Mr. Julian Hickok, Philadelphia, who is teaching a class of over twenty pupils; Mr. E. G. Freyer-muth of South Bend, Ind.; Mr. E. H. Boeck of St. Louis, class of twenty; Mr. Otto Dorn, who has started a class of twenty-five in Mount Vernon; Mr. L. B. Schwartz, who has enlarged his class since we last reported; Mr. L. M. Green of New York; Messrs. Tomfohr and Ellert of Milk River, Alberta, who are organizing a branch of the School in Alberta, and who sent in for large quantities of books and literature. Mr. Kaufman in St. Louis has had good success with adult groups and has sent in large lists of enrollment names. A number of books are being used by Mr. Luxton of Brooklyn, who has just started

a class. Mr. Rose of Pittsburgh has also been supplied for a class of eighteen.

We learn from Mrs. Bessie Beach Trueheart of Houston, Texas, that she is maintaining a local lending library of Henry George books. She finds that the "Story of My Dictatorship" is a popular booklet, and we are ordering for her and for others who are asking for it, a larger quantity of this very attractive new British edition which we expect will be on hand shortly. The price of the booklet, to include postage, will be thirty cents a copy, and four for \$1.00.

Mr. Tideman of Chicago is starting his second class in the "Science of Political Economy" and has ten pupils to date. Mr. Willis Malone of St. Louis has been active in distributing the new edition of the "Condition of Labor," which retails at fifty cents containing considerable additional material—especially the letter to members of his diocese, of Bishop Nulty, of Meath, Ireland. Due, no doubt, to the activity of our friends in Mississippi, we received an order from a Supreme Court Judge in Jackson, Miss., for fifty copies of the lecture "Moses" by Henry George.

From a professor of economics in the University of Illinois we received an additional order for sixteen copies of "Progress and Poverty." This gentleman orders on an average of 150 copies a year for his classes.

Prof. Darwin Smith, President of the California College of Commerce, is teaching "Progress and Poverty" to a class of twenty in his regular school work. He is contemplating another class of evening meetings, and we hope to have more to report on this at a later date. Prof. Smith has been a constant correspondent, and it will be a valuable addition to our movement in California, if Prof. Smith undertakes the work of teaching evening classes in "Progress and Poverty."

Prof. Smith writes:

"I am thinking seriously of organizing a class to study 'Progress and Poverty.' I have sent for a copy of the Teacher's Manual. The twenty copies you sent me were taken immediately by an adult discussion group connected with the Congregational Church here. I think a class for the study of this book will be worth while because so many people, who just read it, don't seem to get the idea Mr. George has to present."

Members of the East High School at Rochester, N. Y., have ordered many copies of Henry George's books. There seems to be a center of interest in that city.

Princeton University has sent its regular order for fifty copies of "Progress and Poverty."

From Prof. R. F. Wood, Department of History, Central Missouri State Teachers College, we received the following letter:

"I have enjoyed very much 'The Philosophy of Henry George' by Dr. George R. Geiger. I have been a reader of the principles of Henry George for the past twenty-five years and want to say that he has never been answered."

Through the courtesy of Mr. Fiske Warren, an adver-

tisement will appear in the magazine "Motion Pictures of the World and Its Peoples," advertising the Enclaves of Economic Rent, and incidentally, Mr. Warren has included an advertisement of "Progress and Poverty," and a special offer for a free copy of his book "Enclaves of Economic Rent," with every copy of "Progress and Poverty" that is purchased. He also calls attention to the Henry George School.

Summing up the volume of books and pamphlets that have gone out of the office since the last inventory date, May 9, 1934, to March 9, 1935, we find that 4,640 books have been distributed, 30,504 pamphlets, and an unestimated number of advertising leaflets. To those who think that "Progress and Poverty" is too long to read and that people do not want it, may we call attention to the fact that this book has always been the leader of the Henry George books, and of the 4,640 books sold and mentioned above, 2,206 represent copies of "Progress and Poverty." The next best seller is "Social Problems," of which 830 copies were distributed. Our records show a sale of 666 books to bookstore dealers during the ten months, of which 482 copies were "Progress and Poverty" unabridged, and 184 other titles, showing that the general public calls for "Progress and Poverty" oftener. We note, however, that since we launched the new edition of "Social Problems" in 1934, a demand has grown up for that book as well.

The correspondence in the office has been heavy, and we estimate that anywhere from ten to fifteen letters a day are received and answered.

ANTOINETTE KAUFMANN, Secretary.

Activities of the Manhattan Single Tax Club

1. That most effective instrument of publicity, the Radio, will be employed even more extensively during 1935 than it was in 1934.

This year President Ingersoll will broadcast more than 800 Single Tax messages, many of them over chain systems consisting of from 20 to 50 stations each. These messages will be heard by many millions of listeners.

In addition to this regular Radio campaign, the very interesting and important series of Radio interviews featured under the title "His Honor the Mayor," will be continued until every city east of Chicago will have the opportunity to "air" its taxation problems. Nearly all of the Mayors eagerly seize the chance to get on the air to talk about their beloved cities.

We get our Radio time free of charge because of the feature value of our broadcasts; nevertheless our Radio campaign entails a heavy expense. It is the modest increase in our income in recent months that has enabled us largely to expand our Radio propaganda.

MR. INGERSOLL'S CURRENT BROADCASTS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

Monday: WCNW, 2:45 p. m.; WMCA, 10:30 p. m.
 Wednesday: WWRL, 1:15 p. m.; WCNW, 2:45 p. m.;
 WBBC, 3:30 p. m.; WMCA, 10:30 p. m.
 Thursday: WLTH, 10:15 a. m.; WCNW, 2:45 p. m.;
 Friday: WILM, 3:30 p. m.; WDCL, 3:30 p. m.; WDAS,
 5:15 p. m.
 Saturday: WDAS, 10:45 a. m.; WMCA, 10:30 p. m.
 Sunday: WMCA, 11:00 p. m.

This schedule of broadcasts is subject to change from time to time but those listed above will be increased in number during the spring and summer.

2. During the year the Club will vigorously promote a campaign designed to persuade Single Taxers everywhere to connect themselves with, and to enter actively and aggressively into the work of the local organizations of the two major political parties. This is the most important field of activity than can possibly be occupied by Single Taxers today and it is a field that is wide open. The Club will act as a school for training and helping Single Taxers to meet the problems and situations they encounter in this direct-action political work.

This is the kind of work that has been so effective in western Pennsylvania, in California and in many other sections.

We have already persuaded a number of our members to engage actively in promulgating Single Tax principles in the local organizations of the two old parties here in New York City with most gratifying results.

There are so many wild, unsound economic measures now put forth by members of both of the old parties that the sane, sound, simple story of the Single Tax actually seems conservative and unanswerable to many of the political workers who can be brought to study and consider its obvious contrast to the liberty-destroying schemes of the artificialists.

3. The Club is undertaking the colossal task of compiling a list as complete as may be humanly possible of all the Single Taxers in the United States, this list, when completed, to be accessible to all Single Tax organizations, foundations, schools and publications.

Our mailing list has already had many accessions and we will keep up the work until we have a more complete list of Single Taxers than has ever before been compiled or attempted.

4. The publication of *democracy*, a Weekly Journal of Fundamental Economics, which will print selected examples of President Ingersoll's broadcasts and will contain other pungent and interesting articles as well as current economic comment. Volume 1, No. 1 of *democracy* has met with a very favorable reception. We hope to have this paper on a self-supporting basis within six months. The best Single Tax writers in America will contribute to *democracy*.

Since the above was written we have had most flattering commendation of *democracy* from many of the leaders of the Single Tax movement throughout the United States. If this enterprise receives the financial support

it deserves, *democracy* will be a great success and will operate as a powerful influence for promoting democratic thought.

5. During the year the Club proposes to sponsor at least a half dozen dinners, each of said dinners to be in honor of a Single Taxer who has attained national recognition by reason of some striking and distinctive achievement or service in advancing the cause.

At the first of these dinners, on April 6, Hon. William N. McNair, Mayor of Pittsburgh, will be the guest of honor and chief speaker.

The next dinner will be in honor of Hon. Jackson H. Ralston who is leading the campaign for the adoption of a Single Tax Amendment to the Constitution of California.

The Club will be glad to receive nominations of those considered entitled, by reason of their special achievements or services in promoting the Single Tax cause, to rate as honor guests at dinners to be staged during the coming summer and autumn.

6. The Club furnishes able lecturers to address Boards of Trade, Chambers of Commerce, meetings of Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions and other like clubs, civic organizations, political meetings, literary societies, schools, colleges and universities.

The Club has been compelled to turn down a few invitations to deliver addresses in distant parts of the country because of the traveling expense involved, but has been and will be able to respond to all calls within a distance of three hundred miles and, of course, will be glad to send lecturers to more distant points if assisted in the matter of traveling cost.

7. The distribution of the works of Henry George and of other Single Tax literature.

We do not wish to encroach upon the field of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, but we have some old, rare and odd tracts and pamphlets on hand and will be glad to furnish these to members or non-members upon application. Any inquiries regarding this old Single Tax literature will be promptly answered.

We have also a limited stock of the works of Henry George, Thomas G. Shearman, Louis F. Post, John S. Codman, C. B. Fillebrown and other elders of the movement including several editions of each of the various books.

8. Persuading and inspiring Single Taxers to write communications and timely articles for the newspapers and magazines.

We have been urged to revive and reorganize the old "Letter Writing Corps" and would be glad to receive the advice and suggestions of our members about this matter and about the whole plan of promoting Single Tax letter writing in a systematic way.

A few extracts from a broadcast illustrating one of the methods which Mr. Ingersoll employs the Radio to spread a knowledge of Single Tax principles:

From a Radio interview over WMCA on March 17 with Mr. Walter Fairchild by Mr. Charles H. Ingersoll. (Mr. Fairchild is a member of the New York Bar,

former President of the Manhattan Single Tax Club and President of the Association for Scientific Taxation.)

Q. "Mr. Fairchild, I understand you are anxious to get rid of this sales tax that has recently been placed on consumers in New York City, and I wish to ask you a few questions about it. For example, what do you suggest in place of the sales tax?"

A. "That's a fair question. I don't think anyone has a right to tell the City Administration to repeal the sales tax without at the same time showing where to get the money which the City must have."

Q. "What do you propose, then?"

A. "I propose a tax by the city on property which gets the *benefit* of the city taxes—that is, the land values of the city."

Q. "In what special form would you impose a tax of this character at this time?"

A. "I propose a special excise tax to be levied immediately on vacant land and on under-improved property; that is, on valuable land which is not used or which is not adequately used."

Q. "Now, Mr. Fairchild, wouldn't this special tax you advocate tend to increase the cost of living?"

A. "No, it would not because it is a tax on the privilege of using city services which are now wasted by the holders of vacant lands and under-improved sites."

Q. "Have you any data showing approximately what proportion of the sites of New York City is inadequately improved?"

A. "We estimate, both in area and land values, about three quarters of Manhattan are under improved. Nearly \$3,000,000,000 of land value in Manhattan is blighted with residence and business slums. This means that the city treasury loses each year more than \$50,000,000 in taxes on under-improved property in Manhattan alone."

Q. "What are the chief factors that operate to create site values in New York?"

A. "The services rendered by the City of New York through its tax budget, population, and the concentration of commercial activities."

Q. "Do you think that the sales tax is worse than many other taxes that we have?"

A. "It is the most burdensome and destructive of all forms of taxation."

Q. "How would your proposed tax affect unemployment relief?"

A. "It would raise more than \$50,000,000 a year and would lessen the need for unemployment relief."

Q. "How would it do that?"

A. "By stimulating building on lots that are now held idle, it would increase employment."

Q. "Why are you so strongly in favor of taxing land values rather than improvements?"

A. "Because land values, being a social creation, rightfully belong to the public and should be taken by the government, which is the agent and instrument of society, for public needs."—CHARLES S. PRIZER.

On the March With John Lawrence Munroe

FIELD DIRECTOR, THE HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE

SPEAKING APPOINTMENTS, JANUARY 28 TO MARCH 19, 1935, INCLUSIVE

(With the approximate attendance and the name of person by whom each appointment was secured.)

South Bend, Ind.—Economics Class, Mr. O. J. Keltner, Instructor, Central Senior H. S.; 30; Dr. E. G. Freyermuth; 10 a. m.; Jan. 28. Assembly of Social Science classes; Central Senior H. S.; Mr. C. L. Kuhn, Instructor; 80; 11 a. m.; Jan. 28. Civic Planning Assn.; 30; Dr. Freyermuth; noon; Jan. 28. Assembly, Riley H. S., Glenn S. Kropf, Principal; 600; Dr. Freyermuth; 10 a. m.; Jan. 30. Lions Club; 25; Dr. Freyermuth; noon; Jan. 30. Thomas Commercial School, Mrs. B. R. Thomas, Pres.; 30; 11 a. m.; Jan. 31. South Bend Com. College, Mr. M. D. Puterborough, Pres.; 200; 8:30 a. m.; Feb. 1. Exchange Club; 28; Dr. Freyermuth; noon; Feb. 1. Men's Club, First Christian Church, Rev. Elmer Ward Cole; 184; 9:30 a. m.; Feb. 3. Forum, First Presbyterian Church, Rev. Charles T. Baillie; 35; 7:30 p. m.; Feb. 3.

Elkhart, Ind.—Elkhart Economic Forum, James A. Bell, Pres.; 30; 8:00 p. m.; Jan. 28.

Goshen, Ind.—Elkhart Co. Farmers Union, Lloyd Martin, Pres.; 100; 8:00 p. m.; Jan. 29.

Grand Rapids, Mich.—Public Meeting, Henry George Club, Mr. M. Herman Friedrich, Sec.; 30; 8:00 p. m.; Feb. 5. Assembly, Davenport McLachlan Institute, Mr. M. E. Davenport, Pres.; 200; 8:45 a. m.; Feb. 6. Assembly, Heaney Com. College, Herbert M. Heaney, Pres.; 80; 9:45 a. m.; Feb. 8. Discussion Club, M. H. Friedrich; 6; 8:00 p. m.; Feb. 8.

Lansing, Mich.—Economics Class, Ray Robson, Instructor, Peoples University; 7; 7:30 p. m.; Feb. 11. Current Events Class, Maxwell G. Sweitzer, Instructor, Peoples University; 18; 7:30 p. m.; Feb. 12. Lansing Business University, Mr. M. F. Denise, Mgr.; 100; 10:30 a. m.; Feb. 14.

Detroit, Mich.—Civic club; 82; Mr. Lutey, Sec.; noon; Feb. 20. Society for Economic Freedom, A. Laurence Smith, Pres.; 9; noon; Feb. 21. Fellowship, Y. M. C. A., Turner W. Ross, Chairman; 18; 8:00 p. m.; Feb. 23. Economics Class, Walsh Institute of Accountancy, Archie D. Waring, Registrar; 25; 10:30 a. m.; Feb. 25. Economics Class, Prof. E. W. McFarland, Wayne University; 25; 2:30 p. m.; Feb. 27. Detroit Federation of Womens Clubs; 30; Wm. L. Palmer; 2:45 p. m.; Feb. 28. Java Club, Y. M. C. A.; 25; Henry C. L. Forler; 9:00 a. m.; March 3.

Birmingham, Mich.—Rotary Club, J. B. Howarth, Sec.; 50; noon; Feb. 25.

Toledo, Ohio.—Scott High School, Mr. R. H. Demorest, Principal; 300; 11 a. m.; March 4. Toledo Economic Forum, Robert L. McCaig, Pres.; 30; 8:00 p. m.; Mar. 4. Economic Class, Prof. L. L. McKibben, Y. M. C. A.; 10; 8:30 p. m.; March 5. Bowling Green State College, Dr. H. B. Williams, Pres.; 8:00 11 a. m.; March 6. Economics Class, Prof. Clayton C. Kohl, Bowling Green State College; 60; noon; March 6. Non-Partisan Progressive League, Thomas Oakes, Pres.; 200; 8:00 p. m.; March 6. Church Supper, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Rev. Elwood Rowsey, Pastor; introduced by Rev. W. W. Young; 35; 6:00 p. m.; March 7. Kenilworth Club, Grace Reform Church, Robert Johnson, Pres.; 200; 8:00 p. m.; March 8. Lucas Co. Federal Transient Bureau, Rev. W. W. Young; 100; 8:00 p. m.; March 9. Channing Club, First Unitarian Church, Rev. Walton E. Cole, Pastor; 20; 7:00 p. m.; March 10. Knights of the Round Table, Hal Gilbert; 30; noon; March 11. Economics and Social Science Classes of Profs. Arvid T. Johnson, C. J. Bushnell, and C. K. Searles, University of Toledo; 50; 10:30 a. m.; March 12. Y. M.

C. A. group of young men, Martin L. Hanna, Chairman; 18; 7:45 p. m.; March 12. Automotive Workers Class, Prof. L. L. McKibben; 10; 7:00 p. m.; March 13. Briar and Java Club, Lester Hunt, Pres.; 30; 8:00 p. m.; March 13.

Pittsburgh, Pa.—Mass Meeting for Mayor William N. McNair; 200; 8:00 p. m.; March 19.

EXTENSION CLASSES ORGANIZED

South Bend, Ind.—Dr. E. G. Freyermuth, Instructor. First Class. First meeting held Feb. 4; attendance 13. Meets Monday evenings in Dr. Freyermuth's office, 303 S. Michigan St.; enrollment from among Dr. Freyermuth's friends and from people interested at lectures.

Grand Rapids, Mich.—Mr. Harry C. White, Instructor; Mr. M. Herman Friedrich, Organizer. First Class. First meeting held Feb. 7; attendance 8. Enrollment at second meeting, 13. Meets Wednesday evenings at Davenport McLachlan Institute through the courtesy of Mr. M. E. Davenport, Pres. Enrollment principally from young men who heard lectures or who read reports in newspapers.

Cedar Springs, Mich.—Mr. J. S. Tindall, Class Leader. First Class. First meeting Feb. 16; attendance 8. Enrollment approximately 15. Meets Wednesday evenings at Cedar Springs High School. Enrollment mainly from farmers in the vicinity and from Mr. Tindall's fellow townsmen.

Detroit, Mich.—Mr. Frank L. Morris, Instructor. First Class. Organization meeting held Feb. 26. Meets Tuesday evenings in Mr. Morris' home, 1806 Canton Ave. Enrollment from instructor's friends.

Toledo, Ohio.—Prof. L. L. McKibben, Instructor. First Class. Organization meeting held March 14; attendance 15. Meets Thursday evenings in the Y. M. C. A. as a part of an adult educational movement. Enrollment from among those who have studied the subject under Prof. McKibben and Mr. Robert L. McCaig in a special class last year, and from among those who heard the lectures.

SUMMARY

Talks, 43. Attendance, upwards of 4,170.
Classes organized, 5. Enrollment, upwards of 60.
Copies of "Progress and Poverty" sold, 46.
Manuals sold and placed, 15.
Signed requests for literature, 350.
Publicity in all the leading newspapers.
Interviews with dozens of persons.

NOTES

In addition to the one class already started in Grand Rapids, Mr. Friedrich, secretary of the Henry George Club of Grand Rapids, has immediate plans for organizing one in his church. His goal is 100 graduates of the extension classes in this city during 1935.

* * *

Mrs. Raymond Starr, daughter of the late revered Gerrit Johnson of Grand Rapids, is greatly interested in the extension class work.

* * *

The People's University of Lansing, Mich., is a significant adult education movement. Some 90 classes are held under voluntary instructors in free places of meeting. Mr. Ray Robson, organizer of the Henry George Club of Lansing, has been conducting economic classes since the University was started.

* * *

Mr. A. Laurence Smith, president of the Society for

Economic Freedom (Detroit's Henry George organization), is negotiating with the Board of Education to secure meeting places for extension classes of the Henry George School of Social Science. He is thoroughly convinced of the value of the School method and hopes to see many classes started in Detroit.

* * *

Mr. J. L. Palmer, secretary of the Society for Economic Freedom, is Detroit's newest active recruit to the Henry George movement. His plans are ambitious and he has the capacity for making them succeed. Years of experience in the "land racket" as an executive of land speculation companies made "Progress and Poverty" appear to be more than a fanciful theory when he first read it attentively two or three years ago.

* * *

Mr. Robert L. McCaig seems destined soon to lose the distinction of being "the only active Single Tax advocate in Toledo." At any rate he has been doing his best to lose it. He arranged fifteen appointments for Mr. Monroe from March 4 to 13, which reached a combined audience of not less than 1,863 persons. The Toledo papers gave several well written reports. One extension class is already started under Prof. L. L. McKibben, formerly of the University of Toledo, who conducted a ten month's course in "Progress and Poverty" at Mr. McCaig's home two years ago. Mr. McCaig is planning to start a class which he will himself conduct in his home. Rev. W. W. Young, youthful and vigorous apostle of Social Justice, plans to start a small class at his home, drawing the enrollment from among his fellow social workers.

Following Mr. Chodorov's suggestion I am herewith giving the date on the Chicago and St. Louis extension classes. (I had nothing to do with organizing these).

Chicago, Ill.—Henry L. T. Tideman, Instructor. Second Class. First meeting, March 18. Meets each Monday night in office of John S. Swift Co. Enrollment of 8 from among students in Mr. Tideman's first class. This is an advanced course using the "Science of Political Economy" as textbook. Mr. Maurice Welty, Instructor. First Class. First meeting March 12. Meets each Tuesday evening 6 to 8. Enrollment of 12 mainly secured through members of Mr. Tideman's first class. Mr. Henry H. Hardinge, Instructor. First Class. First meeting, Jan. 18. Meets every second Friday in homes of students. Twenty-two enrolled from the Peoples Church of which Preston Bradley is pastor. Mr. Henry L. T. Tideman, Instructor. Third Class. First meeting in February. Meets Thursday night in Sherwin-on-the-Lake Hotel, 1205 Sherwin Ave. Enrollment of sixteen; irregular attendance; eight "Progress and Poverty" sold. Organized by a student in Mr. Tideman's first class. Mr. Henry L. T. Tideman, Instructor. Fourth Class. First meeting, March 22, at Chicago Labor College. Meeting each Friday night. Enrollment secured by the College.

Oak Park, Ill.—Mr. J. Edward Jones, Instructor. Second Class. First meeting, Jan. 31. Meets each Thursday evening. Enrollment of eight mainly secured through first class.

St. Louis, Mo.—Mr. Noah Alper, Instructor. Started in November and consolidated with students from a Sunday School Men's Class. Held in Temple Israel Friday evenings. Began use of Henry George School Manual about Jan. 15. Mr. Erwin Kauffmann,

Instructor. First Class. Began latter part of January. Meets Monday nights in Hamilton Christian Church, Hamilton and Julian Avenue. Enrollment of six mostly from Men's Class of the Church. Three-hour session, 7:30-10:30; continues over more than 10 weeks. The class is under the auspices of the Mo. Relief and Reconstruction Commission, working through the Board of Education of St. Louis. Mr. Erwin Kauffmann, Instructor. Second Class. Started in November discussing Current Events. "Social Problems" to be used as textbook. An average attendance of ten from among Electrical Workers Union. Meets in Electric Hall, Boyle and Gibson, Monday and Wednesday, 9 to 12 a. m. The students have petitioned the Board of Education to furnish them with textbooks.

Washington Women Active

THE monthly meeting of the D. C. Woman's Single Tax Club was held on Monday, March 4, at the hospitable home of Prof. and Mrs. Louis Cohen, 4701 Connecticut Avenue northwest.

Mrs. Marie H. Heath, vice-president, was chosen to fill the position left vacant by the resignation of Mrs. Walter N. Campbell as president.

During the business meeting, it was unanimously voted to continue membership in the National Federation of Women's Clubs, and to try to get a Single Tax speaker before one or more of their meetings.

The appreciation of the club was expressed for the contribution of Mr. Joseph B. Chamberlain of Kensington, Md., toward the meeting, in the form of artistically printed postcard announcements.

An invitation was extended by Mrs. Jessie Lane Keeley, who was unable to be present, to hold the annual Single Tax picnic at her home in Riverdale, Md., on the last Sunday in May, as usual.

It was announced that Mrs. Elizabeth M. Phillips, inventor of the "Landlord's Game and Prosperity," would shortly begin a correspondence course of study with the Henry George School of Social Science.

Mr. Chamberlain read a paper containing suggestions for furthering the cause of economic freedom, and strongly urged the establishment of a Single Tax headquarters at the National Capital.

Attention was called to President Roosevelt's tribute to Henry George as one of the really great thinkers of the country, whose writings should be better known; and also to Norman Thomas's assertion that Henry George stands high in any list of Americans who have greatly served the world, and that his position that the rental value of land belongs to society, has never been successfully disputed.

Mrs. Gertrude E. Mackenzie read a satire on crop destruction, written by a Wilmington, Del., man who, having heard of the money being paid to restrain farmers from raising hogs, had decided to go into the business of not raising hogs himself, and asked for information as to the best kind of farm not to raise hogs on, the best strain of hogs not to raise, how best to keep an inventory of the hogs he would not raise, and whether capital could be provided by the issuance of a non-hograising gold bond.

By this time the speaker of the evening, Representative Theodore L. Moritz, of Pennsylvania, had arrived, and the members listened with interest to an informal talk on the reasonableness and practicability of the land-value tax, followed by the reading and discussion of a bill which he planned to introduce into Congress in the near future.

The discussion continued during the serving of refreshments and ended only when the club adjourned at a late hour, to meet on Monday, April 1, at the home of Mrs. Daisy R. Campbell, 4915 Fourth Street northwest.—GERTRUDE E. MACKENZIE.

ECONOMIC truth is considered unsafe to teach by college economists. That is why there are more braintrusters in office than owners of trustworthy brains.

The Henry George School of Social Science

THE enrollment for the Spring term at the Henry George School of Social Science has been most encouraging. Notwithstanding that ill health in the midst of our campaign for new studnets hampered greatly, we were able, through the capable help of Mr. Frank Chodorov, to increase the roster fully twenty-five per cent over the previous term beginning in Sept., 1934. At any rate, we enrolled 227 students for the current semester, divided into ten classes.

Practically none of these even knew who Henry George was previous to enrollment. It has been a tremendous stimulus to the staff of teachers to note the increasing enthusiasm with which at each session these former strangers to George's philosophy have greeted its elucidation. The attendance has been about normal and the number who wait after classes for discussion of separate phases has been heartening to the instructors.

To carry out a policy that seemed obvious during last summer, the director has steadily tried to increase the staff of instructors so that the work of the School would be continuous no matter what befell any particular one of its staff members. The result is that to the names of Messrs. Stephen Bell, Otto K. Dorn, and Will Lessner who conducted classes last term, it is gratifying to add those of Miss Charlotte O. Schetter, Spencer Heath, Charles Joseph Smith and Walter Fairchild—all of whom conduct classes once a week and are discharging their duties with a satisfaction born of the knowledge that brand new personalities are seeing the light that only George has shed on the perplexing problems of the day.

Incidentally, the teaching staff meets every other Monday to discuss and perfect classroom technique. Readers will readily realize the value of this when it is known that it is easier to get some students onto our registration record than to hold their interest—no doubt, due to the competition of other interests.

On Jan. 28, those who had taken the course during the fall term sat down to dinner at the Old Kentucky Restaurant on East 48th Street, 122 strong. This dinner was an inspiring affair. Anna George de Mille presided and Frederick Cyrus Leubuscher gave one of his straight-to-the-point talks with Walter Fairchild and Miss Amy Mali Hicks contributing their part to the general enthusiasm. Miss Helen D. Denbigh discussed the subject of the extension courses and impressed all present with the vast importance of this work. The work of Mr. John Lawrence Monroe is reported in another column.

Perhaps those who have been believers for years got the most satisfaction when they listened to short three-minute talks from students who had just completed the first part of the course. There were twelve of these

selected out of some thirty who were eligible to speak. Time would not allow all of them to address the diners. The following were the student-speakers introduced most happily by Mr. Dorn: Mr. Edmund P. Donovan, Mrs. Madeline Swarte, Mr. Andrew P. Christianson, Miss Sally Kurz, Mr. Benjamin F. Halpern, Mr. Herbert M. Garn, Miss Marie D. Sarkar, Mr. James F. Oastler, Mr. William H. Falconer, Mr. Jesse A. Zeeman and Mr. Donald Marcellus.

A real thrill came as it was realized that these speakers passed over any discussion of the Georgean philosophy as being entirely convinced of its justice but plunged into a demand, coupled with plans, that we set about "getting" it into practice. Surely, those who had spent the necessary hours in elucidating George's proposals to them felt amply compensated.

It brought Mr. Leubuscher to his feet for the second time to remind old timers who were present that in view of this constructive work, when wills were made the Henry George School of Social Science should not be forgotten. He had it in his will.

The Keystone of this oratorical arch was put in its place by Edward Ross who recited most eloquently the entire "Ode to Liberty" in "Progress and Poverty" from memory. As Mr. Ross is an actor by profession, his rendition was an unusual treat—one that will lodge long in the memory of those who heard it.

Space presses, so this must be brief. About 47 new members will be nominated for election to the Student-Alumni Council—that body which is most closely connected with the School for its support. Those who have watched these newcomers develop believe that they are of the character that will push the School forward with vigor.

In conclusion, the extension courses are mounting rapidly in numbers. Since the last report, nearly 200 are already enrolled and more forming. These classes were formed by time-tried members of our movement:

Instructor	City	Meeting Place	No. of Students
Mr. Julian P. Hickok, Phila., Pa.		Public Bld.	15
Mr. Joseph R. Carroll, Norfolk, Va.		Office	3
Mr. E. H. Boeck, St. Louis, Mo.		Office	8
Mr. Frank L. Morris, Detroit, Mich.		Home	13
Mr. J. S. Tindall, Cedar Springs, Mich.		High School	21
Mr. John Luxton, Brooklyn, N. Y.		Commercial School	19
Mr. Richard E. Howe, Pittsburgh, Pa.		Univ. Classroom	55
Mr. Lincoln Crowell, Sandwich, Mass.		Home	10
Mr. J. Edward Jones, Oak Park, Ill.		Home	8
Mr. E. G. Freyermuth, South Bend, Ind.			7
Mr. George E. Evans, Pittsburgh, Pa.			25
Mr. Max Berkowitz, Bronx, N. Y.		High School	9

Total 193

They meet as will be noted in offices, classrooms, homes, etc., in the various cities as arrangements are possible. Their correspondence with the director is filled with most constructive suggestions and out of it all it seems plans

involving tremendous possibilities can be developed. In addition there are five or more classes already formed in England through the good office of Mr. A. W. Madsen of London, who is well and favorably known on this side of the Atlantic.

Inquiries are on file involving double the number reported, but names have not yet been filed.

The "Teachers' Manual" is used in the extension courses and while in need of revision, it serves as a splendid aid to those who are already using it. Taken all-in-all the activities centering in and around the School indicate that the enlisting of new faces and young people in our glorious cause can go just as far as we have the financial means. Cooperation of the most vital kind is evidenced both in person and in our mail. Considering our slender resources it seems as if the late Oscar H. Geiger showed us the way for the School is making progress that is most gratifying to those who have a part in continuing the work of the late inspired teacher.

NORMAN C. B. FOWLES, Director.

CALLS FOR A SANE POLITICAL ECONOMY

Christianity may soon be driven from the outside through their walls into our churches; a sane political economy may be taken up by our colleges; writers, trusted now by the public, may find it profitable to write some briefs for the truth, so that by the end of this century we shall have seen the end of land booms, the economic instrumentality for increasing the cost of living on the earth, paid by the great majority of mankind to the few beneficiaries of our rotten laws.

JAMES P. KOHLER, in *Miami Daily News*.

OUR CHAOTIC TAX LAWS

In closing it should be conclusively demonstrable to all thinkers, that if the people of a State by a majority vote decide to change the present chaotic tax methods, that insure poverty, unemployment and slums-breeding disease and crime, by relieving industry and human products from taxes, and resorting to the people's treasury, the ground rent accruing from the expenditure of their own money, that a new economic day of Justice and Peace had arrived. A day in which, from an abundant treasury, the disabled and diseased, would be given the best treatment that modern medical science has discovered: a day in which comfort and leisure could be enjoyed by all.

S. S. TABER, in *San Diego Labor Leader*.

HAS FAITH IN MAN

I am no detractor of the human race. I have faith in man. I know that he has worked his way up from ignorance, and every substantial advance has been on the crutches of pain. I am proud to belong to this indomitable human race. Man has persisted on and on, and up and up, through all the wearing, echoing centuries. I look at him through pity's tears, knowing we are only three days old, and as Victor Hugo says, "only the tadpoles of the archangels we are yet to be." I know the rough road man has travelled in working out the beast, the war-hog, the Gadarene spirit. I know that he has been burned by fever, torn by passion, checked by fear. Oh, man! My heart goes out to you.

DR. E. W. CULLEY in address at Melbourne, Australia.

TAXATION according to ability to pay destroys ability to earn.

The Gold Clause Muddle

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

By RAYMOND V. McNALLY

THE gold clause cases undoubtedly constituted the climax in the stirring drama that has gripped this country since the Roosevelt administration assumed office. The Constitution of the United States, as the central character, had been subjected to such brutal buffeting in a series of engagements involving AAA and the NRA up to Feb. 18, 1935, when the gold decisions were handed down, that the spectator had been left limp and gasping, hardly daring to take a square look to see whether his hero was up or down. The gold clause controversy entered on the scene at the psychological moment and the Supreme Court's decisions were hopefully expected to throw some light on the question as to whether the Constitution was still alive and whether it had ever been anything more than just a pleasant illusion.

A careful examination of both the majority and minority opinions leaves one with an almost hopeless feeling that the human mind, in the last analysis, when it can produce so much that is contradictory and incoherent, is a pretty dismal failure. One wonders whether Kant was right when he declared, in no uncertain terms in his "Critique of Pure Reason" that the Human Reason deceived itself and that we must depend on another kind of reason, that is, Pure Reason, if we wish to see things as they really are. Of course, the Constitution itself must be held partly responsible. Its connotations are so broad that, while they may have been perfectly clear to those honorable gentlemen who offered them as the fundamental laws of the land, when life was simple and unalloyed, they are quite meaningless to the complex society of today that has achieved a high level of material progress but little or no advance in the social sciences. One thing, however, is clear and that is that the Constitution as originally conceived for a nation of free men, is gradually being whittled away by those whose social philosophy is born and bred in a dearth of the precise definitions of words.

The case involving government obligations was in connection with a suit brought by the plaintiff as owner of a Fourth Liberty Loan $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent gold bond of 1933-1938 for \$10,000 which provided: "The principal and interest hereof are payable in United States gold coin of the present standard of value." When the bond was issued and when the plaintiff acquired it, a dollar in gold consisted of 25.8 grains of gold, .9 fine. The bond was called for redemption on April 15, 1934 and was presented for payment on May 24, 1934 by the plaintiff. When he was refused payment in coins of 25.8 grains or an equivalent in gold or in gold coins of 15 5-21 grains each, the content of the dollar at the time of redemption, he demanded

an equivalent value in legal tender currency, namely, \$16,931.25. The refusal of his request by the government was based on the Joint Resolution of Congress of June 5, 1933 (48 Stat. 113). The plaintiff brought suit because he claimed that he had been deprived of his property without due process of law.

The purpose of the gold clause, as the Court conceived it, was to provide a standard of value in order to afford protection against loss through depreciation in the medium of payment. The question was whether the Joint Resolution was a valid enactment so far as it applied to the obligation of the United States.

This resolution declared that provisions requiring "payment in gold or a particular kind of coin or currency" were "against public policy," and provided that "every obligation, heretofore or hereafter incurred, whether or not any such provision is contained therein," shall be discharged "upon payment, dollar for dollar, in any coin or currency which at the time of payment is legal tender for public and private debts."

The Court declared that the Joint Resolution was unconstitutional, because while Congress had been granted power, through the sovereign will of the people, to issue obligations for the payment of money borrowed on the credit of the United States, it had not been given the power to alter or destroy those obligations. However, the plaintiff's claim for damages was denied because no loss had been proved. The Court was perfectly within its rights in drawing a distinction between the "binding quality of the obligation" and the "question of damages." It pointed out that before the change in the weight of the gold dollar on Jan. 31, 1934, gold coin had been withdrawn from circulation and Congress had prohibited the exportation of gold coin and placed restrictions on transactions in foreign exchange. It went on to say that the power to coin money included the power to prevent its outflow from the country and to impose restrictions on transactions in foreign exchange, and that, therefore, the plaintiff was not entitled to obtain gold coin for recourse to foreign markets or to engage in foreign exchange dealings. But it was at this point that the Court seemed to experience some difficulty in reconciling the borrowing power of Congress with its power to control currency, for it finally ruled that as the plaintiff would have to determine his damage only in relation to the internal purchasing power of the dollars he had received, he had actually sustained no loss. Although the Court had declared the Joint Resolution unconstitutional and had carefully explained that Congress did not have the power to destroy the obligations it had incurred, it permitted the power over money to destroy the borrowing power by narrowing the field for determining the amount of damages. In other words, it permitted the Constitution to be violated in spite of its rebuke to the government.

That the Constitution had been violated appears to

have been the view held by the minority justices, who, in no uncertain terms, stated that "valid contracts to repay money borrowed cannot be destroyed by exercising power under the coinage provision." These powers of Congress are equal. Neither should be allowed to dominate the other. If the gold clause was to be interpreted as setting up a standard of value and not as prescribing a mode of payment, how could the Court justify its opinion that because the plaintiff had been prohibited from receiving the gold coin promised him, the government could avoid its obligation by restricting the method of determining his damages? Was its decision one of expediency because it feared the consequences, if a reverse ruling had been rendered?

On the other hand, how could the minority justices justify their judgment that the plaintiff was entitled to an additional \$6,931.25, representing the amount of dollar devaluation, if the gold clause had not been interpreted by them as providing a mode of payment but as providing a standard of value against a loss and in view of the fact that no actual loss had been proved? Obviously, this would have been an injustice to the government, but the minority justices considered this \$6,931.25 to be the amount of the loss that the plaintiff had suffered. In my opinion, such judgment springs from primitive notions of value. Gold seems to be considered as something having a natural value irrespective of the ratio that its supply bears to demand. While it does not have an intrinsic value greater than that of any paper currency, the larger part of this value is due to the demand for it for monetary purposes. The market value of gold varies when new mines are discovered, but it varies more often because of the changes in the demand for it. Monetary history clearly shows that its value has constantly changed and that this has given rise to frequent recoinages and changes of system. We cannot look upon gold, therefore, as a fixed standard of value. Reducing the gold content of money does not necessarily reduce the value of that money. A reduction in the value of money through reducing its gold content could only be brought about by increasing the supply. That this was not done in this country when the dollar was reduced in gold content, is evidenced by the fact that the internal purchasing power of the dollar is greater now than it was at the time the bond was issued and when the dollar had a greater gold content. However, in the matter of determining the creditor's loss, the value of the dollar should also be considered in its relation to foreign currencies. In other words, the external value of the dollar at the time the bond was issued should be compared with its external value at the time the bond was redeemed, through the rate of exchange. In connection with this, it should be kept in mind that all currencies have undergone considerable change since 1918. Since that time, currencies have been depreciated

and most countries have been jumping on and off the gold standard. Nor has the internal purchasing power of the various countries remained stable. Furthermore, the internal purchasing power of the various currencies do not always correspond with the external value of those currencies. It was said that when England returned to the gold standard in 1925, the external value of the pound was fixed somewhat above its internal purchasing power and when France stabilized her currency in 1928, she fixed the external value of the franc well below its internal purchasing power. Abandoning the gold standard leads to a distrust in a paper standard and this has caused also an undervaluation of the various paper currencies. In order then to determine the true value of the different paper currencies expressed in terms of the dollar, we would have to estimate their purchasing power parities. And as for the gold currencies, it can hardly be said that the dollar has been placed at a disadvantage with them since 1918 in more than a few cases. But whether we are considering paper or gold currencies, we must keep in mind that the internal purchasing power of these currencies does not necessarily correspond with their value in terms of gold, as quoted on the exchanges.

The point I wish to emphasize is this: That while I do not believe the government is within its constitutional rights in restricting the creditor in his determination of his own damages, we must not lose sight of the fact that a dollar containing 25.8 grains is not necessarily more valuable than a dollar containing 15 5-21 grains. The burden of proof to show the actual loss he sustained is on the plaintiff, and I believe that any fears that might have been disturbing the majority justices as to the consequences were groundless.

In the light of the foregoing facts, it would seem that the gold clause, as a measure of value, is limited by its very nature as a protective device against loss. Assuming that the content of the dollar had not been reduced but that the internal purchasing power of the dollar had fallen, would the bondholder have escaped loss merely because he had received gold coin or its equivalent? To think so is to ascribe some mystic quality to gold. An example of the efficacy of the gold clause that is clear-cut, is a case in which the government issued a large amount of fiat money such as the "greenbacks" during the Civil War period. The bondholder, in such an event, should have no difficulty in proving a loss.

In turning to the case of the gold certificates, we find that the principle involved is practically the same. The plaintiff, holder of the certificates in the amount of \$106,306, claimed that when he presented them for redemption on January 17, 1934, an ounce of gold was \$33.43 and that because he had been refused gold coin, he had been damaged to the extent of \$64,334.07. He arrived at that figure by stating that he was entitled to 5,104.22 ounces of gold, that is, one ounce of gold for

each \$20.67 of the gold certificates. The Court denied his claim on the ground that these certificates did not call for gold as a commodity; that they called for gold coin, not bullion and that legally he could not have retained the gold coin, even though he had received it, for recourse to world markets. Therefore, he had actually sustained no loss in receiving legal tender currency. The plaintiff had conceded the power of Congress to regulate the currency so the question was simply one of just compensation. Although the Court held that as the certificates were currency and legal tender, they could not be regarded as warehouse receipts, it is significant that the government regarded them as such when they treated them as being superior to all other currency in circulation. Furthermore, a definite amount of gold coin had been deposited in the Treasury and held there for payment on demand of these certificates and was to be "used for no other purpose." Act of March 14, 1900 (31 Stat. 45). However, this act had fixed the content of the dollar at 25.8 grains and when the plaintiff presented his certificates for payment on January 17, 1934, the currency that he received was at a parity with that standard of value, as the content of the dollar was not reduced until January 31. Therefore, as the certificates did not call for gold as a commodity, the currency he received must be considered as an equivalent value and he could not logically ask for more.

The blunt opinion of the minority justices that these certificates were contracts to return gold left on deposit and that the plaintiff was entitled to the value of this gold in currency indicates that they considered them as representing gold as a commodity. This position I believe to be untenable. Furthermore, as the gold dollar had not yet been devalued, he certainly could not claim recourse to the foreign exchanges in order to determine his loss.

In taking up the case of the private bonds, we find that the question was the validity of the Joint Resolution which had abrogated the gold clause in private contracts. This case of course, while involving only private obligations, relates also to State and municipal obligations. The plaintiffs claimed that they had suffered losses because the Joint Resolution had compelled the obligors to pay in depreciated dollars. The Court ruled that the gold clause interfered with the authority of Congress to choose and maintain a uniform currency and that therefore the Joint Resolution was valid. It is difficult to see just how the uniformity of the currency is interfered with, if we are to interpret the gold clause as a measure of value and not as a mode of payment. In connection with this, the minority justices stated that the real purpose of the Joint Resolution was not to assure uniform value to the coins and currencies but "to destroy certain valuable contract rights." They seemed to be on firmer ground than the majority when

they said that while the authority exercised by the President and by Congress to regulate the currency was not challenged, there was no authority given under the Constitution to destroy validly acquired property rights. On this point, the majority cited the legal tender cases to support their contention that the "Fifth Amendment forbidding the taking of private property without just compensation or the deprivation of it without due process of law" referred only to a direct appropriation. The minority replied that the Joint Resolution caused a direct loss, but they weakened their opinion when they said that there was no "question here of the indirect effect of lawful exercise of power." But what is the "lawful exercise of power." Surely the Resolution is no less lawful than our tariff and unjust tax laws. It certainly is no more of a direct appropriation than the tariff, but I never heard of the consumer or importer being compensated because the power of Congress to regulate commerce destroyed validly acquired property rights. Nor was the consumer or importer compensated when the President suddenly devalued the dollar. But the minority justices seemed to be in awe of gold. Apparently, when gold is appropriated, that constitutes the taking of property, but when the consumer is deprived of part of his wages through the tariff for the benefit of a few people, that does not constitute the taking of property. This is making a fetish of gold, and it is about time the Supreme Court made an honest effort to define property, so it could find out what property really is. In spite of the difference of opinion over the meaning of the phrase, "due process of law," the majority and the minority, in drawing a distinction between a direct appropriation and an indirect appropriation, seemed to be agreed that an indirect appropriation was not unconstitutional. This vague, undefined and apparently innocent phrase, "due process of law," has much to atone for. It has been invoked innumerable times to plug up the gaps in the invoker's knowledge of the science of economics.

While it would not appear that the minority justices were more logical in ruling that the Joint Resolution was invalid, the plaintiffs certainly were not entitled to any compensation, as they had not shown any actual loss.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF GOLD CLAUSE DECISION

The immediate reaction of the stock market was no indication of the real economic effects of the gold clause decisions. The sudden rise of stocks and bonds was more forced than spontaneous. It was based partly on erroneous ideas of what the effects would be on the industrial world and partly on the hysterical efforts of speculators to spread rumors that inflation would be the next step in the political drama. That the Court's decision with respect to government bonds was an encouragement to inflationists, cannot be denied. The rebuke to the govern-

ment for attempting to repudiate its obligations, sharp in tone though it was, fell flat when the Court finally ruled in effect that the power of Congress to regulate the currency could interfere with its borrowing power. This could be interpreted by irresponsible politicians to mean that the government could be sublimely free in pledging itself to unlimited amounts, because it could always depend on the currency power to pull it out of difficult situations.

The various measures adopted by the government, namely, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of May, 1933, authorizing the President to reduce the gold content of the dollar, the Joint Resolution of June, 1933, abrogating gold clauses in contracts, and the action of the President on Jan. 31, 1934, reducing the gold dollar from 25.8 grains to 15 5-21 grains, were all aimed, beyond question, at reducing the debt level. However, they did not constitute inflation in the economic sense of the word. Inflation means the increasing of the supply of the means of payment in relation to the demand for them, or, in other words, to the volume of goods in the market. Believing that the value of money depends on its metallic content, the administration expected that a cut in the gold content of the dollar would raise prices and permit debtors to pay off their debts. This would have taken place, if the cut in the dollar had led either to an increase in the money in circulation or to an increase in bank deposits. But the purchases of gold at steadily increasing prices which led up to the devaluation, were made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, not with cash but with the Corporation's own notes. Even though these notes could have been used as collateral for bank loans which would have resulted in an increase in bank note circulation or in bank deposits, comparatively little gold had been bought and the increase in the money circulation was too slight to affect prices to any noticeable degree. President Roosevelt himself finally admitted that the plan had failed. We might say that the devaluation was inflationary in spirit but not in method.

On the other hand, the Treasury's arbitrary appropriation of the sum of \$2,800,000,000 representing "profit" arising from the devaluation of the dollar, was potentially inflationary. With \$2,000,000,000 of it remaining in the stabilization fund, it is practically harmless at the present time, but the Secretary of the Treasury on Aug. 28, 1934 was reported to have stated frankly that this "profit" would ultimately be used to reduce the national debt. In that way, it may become actively inflationary. Whether the results will be disastrous or not depends on how and when and under what circumstances it will be used to reduce the debt. In fact, a move to use this "profit" has already been made. On March 11, 1935, an issue of gold certificates based on \$675,000,000 of it has been made to retire interest-bearing bonds against which national bank notes are outstanding. This naturally increases the bank reserves, but while it appears

to have the elements of inflation in it, the increase in the credit base is practically offset by the necessity of the national banks to retire the notes that had been issued against these bonds. As the gold certificates merely replace these bank notes, there will be no increase in currency circulation, at least, not immediately. However, the government is in a better position to borrow as a result, and if it does through the banks, there will be either an increase in currency circulation or in bank deposits.

When I say that the Court's decision with respect to government bonds might be regarded as unconsciously lending encouragement to the inflationists, I am not referring to the final denial of damages itself but to the reason for it. In fact, I believe that if the final judgment had been unfavorable to the government, the possibility of inflation would have been all the stronger. Federal gold clause securities outstanding have been estimated to be about \$14,565,000,000 (\$7,000,000,000 had been retired) and would have been increased by about \$15,000,000,000, if the government had been compelled to redeem them in dollars equivalent in amount to their gold value. While the total amount does not fall due at the same time, a substantial part falls due in the next few years. Increasing the public debt at this time, accompanied by an increase in interest charges, would, without question, bring us nearer to the danger of inflation. The result would either be increased taxation, or a greater strain placed on the public credit, or an immediate and possibly disastrous use of the "profit" in the stabilization fund. Recovery would then be still further retarded. Industry has at least been relieved from this uncertainty, but there is no indication that because this obstacle has been removed, it will leap ahead with unbridled optimism. There are too many other factors to be considered and industry is not showing any great eagerness to make long-range commitments.

In connection with the public debt, the \$40,000,000,000 of State, county and municipal indebtedness must not be overlooked. An adverse decision would have increased that burden by about \$28,000,000,000 and many of the local political subdivisions, almost near bankruptcy as we know, cannot afford to have their debts increased at this time without placing a greater burden on the taxpayers and jeopardizing their facilities for extending unemployment relief. As for the private obligations, which amount to about \$150,000,000,000 but which some people say run up to \$200,000,000,000, they would be increased by at least \$85,000,000,000. While all debts incurred prior to 1917, are now and have been through the depression payable in dollars of less purchasing power than those in which they were incurred, most of them were incurred during the war and the early part of the post-war period when prices were high and are now payable in dollars of greater purchasing power. All of the bonds, of course, do not mature at the same time, so there would

scarcely be any general financial disaster, if the decision had been unfavorable. Individual debtors, however, in many cases, would be seriously embarrassed, because not only would they be required to pay larger amounts when their bonds matured, but they would be compelled to pay increased interest charges out of incomes that had not increased. But then it must be pointed out that many of these debtors are also creditors holding gold bonds, and so while they might lose in one direction, they would gain in another. The country would be affected only to the extent that actual producers of wealth, whether they were industrial corporations, public utilities or railroads, were injured. Placing a greater burden on them at this time, which would curtail their credit or force them into receivership or bankruptcy, would definitely tend to retard recovery by curtailing production. But whatever value we may attach to the foregoing speculations should be considered in conjunction with this significant fact: If the stock market is to be taken as a reflection of business sentiment, the fact that the sharp gains, made immediately following the Supreme Court decisions, were soon wiped out and stocks declined to an even lower level, is an indication that business had not been materially checked by the uncertainty prevailing before the decisions were rendered.

Beyond the borders of our own country, the situation appears to be the same. While other nations were almost as vitally interested in the cogitations of our highest court as we were, the reaction was one of relief rather than one of enthusiastic hope or extreme gloom for the future. The uncertainty of the monetary situation has not been eliminated for them, because, as I mentioned previously, the liberal attitude of the Court has expanded the power of Congress to regulate the currency beyond anything that had ever been imagined before in this country. Therefore, from the foreign viewpoint, further devaluation of the dollar is an ever present possibility to stalk any effort at a restoration generally of the gold standard. But at least there was the feeling that there would be no immediate disturbance to the exchanges which would undoubtedly have followed an unfavorable decision.

However, there is no reason to suppose that stabilization of the currencies is any nearer merely because the decisions have averted immediate disaster. To think so is to ignore all other economic factors. Recovery is proceeding so slowly in these other countries that they are practically falling over one another in a greedy attempt to grab all of the foreign trade for themselves. At the same time, although trade is a mutual exchange of goods, they are trying to achieve this goal by shutting out each other's goods. In order to play this one-sided game, they elevate the monetary question to an exaggerated importance. Their aim is to export goods and to receive only gold which they bury in their vaults. Apparently they believe that they can become rich by sending goods

out of the country and taking none in. This in itself is sufficient reason why any return to the gold standard at this time or even in the near future is impossible. It tends to pile up gold in those countries that have been more successful than the others in restricting imports. Thus, France, in brutally raising her tariffs and quotas against foreign goods, has been accumulating huge reserves until now she has fully a hundred per cent gold cover for her currency. Such maldistribution of gold nullifies the gold standard as a workable system. It was the maldistribution of gold in connection with the war debts which the various creditor countries, particularly France and the United States, insisted had to be paid with gold and not with goods, that was largely responsible for the breakdown of the gold standard in the first place.

Such a policy is glaringly inconsistent. They want to increase their exports and at the same time to keep their large gold reserve intact. And so imports decline while exports increase, gold flows in and there they are sitting on top of their piles of gold trying to delude themselves into believing that they are prosperous. Then the exchange rate naturally turns in their favor, exports decline, imports increase, gold flows out and then they look with envious eyes at the cheaper currencies of other countries, wondering whether to manipulate their currencies downward or to raise their tariffs. And the impairment of their reserves also makes them tremble and so, in order to protect them and also their export trade, they resort to such devices as buying other currencies such as we are doing with our stabilization fund and England with her equalization fund. And so the silly process goes on and on, all due to the ignorance of fundamental economic principles. Now the recent sharp decline of the English pound has made the gold standard countries exceedingly jittery. This insane greed for gold springs from the superstition that the reserves have the power to infuse value into the currency, and the curious idea that exports are more beneficial than imports is a surviving relic of the English Mercantile Theory, according to which money was the only kind of wealth and the only way to grow rich was to exchange goods for money and not money for goods. The idea current in the world is that foreign trade offers an outlet for the surplus product of a country as though this surplus was made for any other purpose than as the cheapest means of supplying the country with the things it needs, in other words, to pay for imports.

As long as each country tries to obtain an advantage in trade by depressing its currency below its internal value, there will be no stabilization, and any hasty return to the gold standard will produce no permanent good. A necessary condition for real stabilization is more freedom of trade, and this no country is willing to meet. The Supreme Court decisions have left the world as it was, although from the academic standpoint, they have actually deepened the confusion.

Legislative Advances

A bill has been introduced in the Massachusetts legislature providing for a tax on the economic rent of forest lands of the State. Mr. Lincoln Crowell of Sandwich and Mr. Richards appeared at a hearing of this bill before the committee on taxation. Messrs. Crowell and Richards were the only ones who appeared in favor of it and no one opposed it.

The Committee did not treat the bill simply as a bit of freak legislation. Possibly because Richards had recently appeared before them in opposition to a sales tax bill and they were therefore acquainted with him and recognized him as being sane.

The committee asked some pertinent questions and evinced interest in the bill. An incident that amused Mr. Crowell was when a legislator asked the meaning of economic rent, our tax commissioner, who by word and deed has never indicated any knowledge of Georgist philosophy, told the representative that he would have to read "Progress and Poverty" before he could understand the meaning of economic rent or the purpose of the bill.

Knowing Richards was from the Harvard enclave the committee questioned him concerning the success of the venture and appeared interested in the favorable report he was able to give them.

Part of the bill reads as follows:

The lease shall provide for payment to the town or city of the value in or on the ground of any non-renewable natural resource situated in or on the reserved land which is removed therefrom by the lessee or the agent of the lessee, within a year of the time of its removal. It shall provide, also, that so long as the classified reserved land is used exclusively for growing trees, its economic rent shall be the economic rent of the land for that purpose and that in the event of dispute regarding the amount of such economic rent, its amount shall be determined by the State Forester by means of the mathematical formulæ of forest valuation and the decision of the State Forester in that event shall be final.

It is rare indeed that the term "economic rent" appears in any proposed legislation as it does in the House Bill 420 of the Massachusetts legislature.

MINNESOTA

A bill introduced in the Minnesota legislature provides as follows:

Section 1. All real and personal property subject to a general property tax, and not subject to any gross earnings or other lieu tax is hereby classified for purposes of taxation as follows:

Class I. All real estate exclusive of buildings or other improvements thereon. In assessing any tract or lot of real estate in which iron ore is known to exist, the assessable value of the ore, exclusive of the land in which it is located, and the assessable value of the land exclusive of the ore, shall be determined and set down separately, and the aggregate of the two shall be assessed against the tract or lot, and be considered within Class I as a unit.

Class II. All buildings and improvements on real estate and attached to and begin part of such real estate.

Class III. All other property within Section 1 and not included within Class I and Class II.

Section 2. For the years 1936 and 1937, all property included within Class I shall be valued and assessed at 60 per cent of the full and true value thereof, and for the years 1938 and 1939, all property included within Class I shall be valued and assessed at 80 per cent of the full and true value thereof, and for the year 1940 and thereafter, all property included within Class I shall be valued and assessed at 90 per cent of the full and true value thereof.

Section 3. All property included within Class II and Class III shall be assessed for the years 1936 and 1937 at 25 per cent of the full and true value thereof, and for the years 1938 and 1939, all property included within Class II and Class III shall be assessed at 15 per cent of the full and true value thereof, and for the year 1940 and there-

after, all property included within Class II and Class III shall be assessed at 10 per cent of the full and true value thereof.

A FEDERAL MOVE

A bill recently introduced into the house by Representative Moritz, calls for a tax of one per cent on the privilege of land holding of a certain value. This is the old Keller bill which Judge Jackson H. Ralston prepared years ago, but with some important changes recently made in the preamble. These put the constitutionality of the proposition beyond any doubt.

From a national standpoint this bill may form a rallying-point

Coshocton Tribune Proposes

What we propose is that all taxes be abolished, except one tax on the value of land, irrespective of the value of the improvement in or on the land.

This would not be a tax on real estate, because real estate includes improvements—buildings, fences, irrigation, ditches and so on. Thus, a man who buys a lot for \$500 and builds a \$25,000 home on it would be taxed just the same, under this plan, after he builds the house as he was before.

Nor is this plan a tax on land. There are thousands of acres of land in the United States which actually have no value at all, and would not be taxed. Most farm land has very little actual value, when improvements are deducted, and the taxes on most farmers would be less than under the present property taxes.

The plan involves the imposition of no new tax, since we already tax land values in taxing real estate. To carry it out, it would be necessary only to abolish all taxes except the tax on real estate, and to abolish all of that which now falls on buildings or improvements, leaving only that part of it which falls on the value of the bare land, increasing that so as to take as nearly as possible the whole of economic rent, or what is sometimes called the "unearned increment of land values."—Coshocton, (O.) *Daily Tribune*.

Miscellany

WISDOM FROM HORACE GREELEY

Eighty-five years ago today, Mr. Greeley was asked to speak before the journeymen printers of New York.

Referring to the depression then existing, Mr. Greeley lamented "that in this thriving commercial emporium of the New World, this trophy and pride of Christian civilization, there are at this day not less than 40,000 human beings anxious to earn the bread of honest industry but vainly seeking, and painfully, despairingly awaiting opportunity for so doing." Then he goes on to inquire.

"What can be the reason of this? Why is it that these 40,000 stronghanded, willing workers stand here thus fixed, enchained, in loathed, despairing idleness? Why are they compelled to wear out our pavements in hurrying hither and thither in anxious, heart-sick quest of something to do—with downcast looks and trembling voice, beseeching some fellow man to give them leave to labor for their bread?"

"I trust," Mr. Greeley says, "no one here gives any heed to the mumbling of self-styled political economists about overproduction and kindred phrases with which counsel is darkened. Overproduction of what? Where? Can there be overproduction of food when so many even in our midst, are suffering the pangs of famine? Overproduction of clothing and fabrics, while our streets swarm with men, women and children who are not half clad and who shiver through the night beneath the clothing they have worn by day? Overproduction of dwellings, when not half the families of our city have ade-

quate and comfortable habitations, not to speak of that large class whose lodgings are utterly incompatible with decency and morality?" But as to a dole the speaker simply said, "I have no faith in giving as a remedy for the woes of mankind."

Of that time, as now, Mr. Greeley said: "I have heard complaints that machinery and inventions do not work for the laboring classes, but rather against them." And he then made this additional observation (further using his precise words): "What the world eminently requires is some wise adjustment, some remodeling of the social machinery diminishing its friction, whereby every person willing to work shall assuredly have work to do."

SAM H. SEYMOUR, Chatanooga, Tenn., in *Herald-Tribune*.

A SLAP

Mr. Witt and Mr. Doty sincerely believe that they are Single Taxers, and we do not propose to dispute it. But the New Deal economic program leading inevitably to an increasing degree of state socialism, has had few more loyal supporters in Cleveland than Mr. Doty and Mr. Witt.

They and many other local Single Taxers have been doing some of the neatest intellectual somersaulting this town has seen, when they intersperse their Single Tax speeches with periodic huzzas and cheers for the New Deal and the Rooseveltian band wagon march toward state socialism. They would split their sides laughing at anyone who solemnly professed to be loyal at one and the same time to the political philosophies of Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt, but they profess loyalty at one and the same time to the Rooseveltian pattern of state socialism and the Henry George pattern of individualism, shielded against all forms of monopoly. The absurdity of being a New Dealer and a Single Taxer at the same time is apparent to anyone who had made even a casual study of the Georgian economics.

This is the slough of inconsistency and confusion in which most of the Cleveland Single Tax colony finds itself. But a few of them see clearly that the New Deal is not Single Tax, nor the Single Tax the New Deal, but rather that they tend to be the antithesis of each other. Such able Single Tax writers and publicists as Albert J. Nock, Francis Neilson and the Australian, Max Hirsch, have shown beyond question how the Georgian philosophy is poles removed from any trace of state socialism. The official Single Tax magazine, *LAND AND FREEDOM*, has been a most uncompromising critic of the New Deal.—DALE COX, columnist in Cleveland *Plain Dealer*.

THE ECONOMICS OF TODAY

The schools of economic thought now dominating the nation and the world are the greatest obstacle to sound economic recovery because they are without any guiding moral principle. Their judgments of measures do not turn upon the question of whether they are right or wrong, just or unjust, but upon the question of their expediency, and their Bible seems to be the Book of the Holy Statistics.

Does this judgment seem harsh? I leave it to you. Last summer a number of eminent reputed economists held a get-together meeting in New York to iron out their differences and present to the world some semblance of a united and coherent front. And the very first article in their new confession of faith was that

"Economics can consider only facts and their relations. It cannot concern itself with political, religious, racial, social or ethical considerations."

Not concern itself with ethical considerations? If a science of human relations is not to concern itself with ethical considerations, what kind of a science is it, and what is it worth to humanity?

It was a greater economist than any who walks the earth today who said:

"Fret not about the morrow, saying what shall we eat, what shall

we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed. Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all these things will be added unto you."

SCIENCE OF ABOMINATIONS

I assert that the so-called science of economics taught in high places today is a science of abominations from which the spirit of truth and righteousness is conspicuously absent. That there are truths in it I will not deny, but they are so detached, disjointed and fragmentary that by themselves they are of little worth. As a whole, the dismal science clearly comes under Isaiah's condemnation:

"Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter."

"Therefore my people are gone into captivity, because they have no knowledge; and their honorable men are famished, and their multitude dried up with thirst."

Whether we regard the Bible as the literally inspired word of God or merely a compilation of the wisdom of the ancients, there can be no doubt that there is in that book wisdom of the highest and deepest significance which the world has discarded as of no value—wisdom which the churches themselves have not even tried to keep alive and vibrant.

From an address by STEPHEN BELL in Paterson, N. J., at the Alexander Hamilton Hotel before 100 bankers of Passaic County.

Correspondence

AS TO INTEREST

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Let us forget nominal money (circulating medium) for a little while.

Roughly (enough for all practical purposes), interest is the wages of the producers of capital goods.

Interest and wages rise together. That is, the wages of the producers of capital goods rise with the wages of the producers of consumers goods. Otherwise, the production of capital goods would cease. Because competition would pull the producers of capital goods into the field of the producers of consumers goods.

A complete and comprehensive definition of interest is difficult to give. And for all practical purposes it is not necessary.

Back to nominal money:

In a complex society, which is also a free economic state, money-interest is subject to the higgling and jiggling of the market, and will quickly arrive at a point of just equilibrium.

In a free economic state interest can never be exploitation.

This is the crux of the whole matter: Interest can never be exploitation in a free economic state.

Peoria, Ill.

ALBERT HENNIGES.

MR. LUXTON ANSWERS HIS CRITICS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I am impressed with Hiram Loomis's remarks as to my failure to add anything to the clearing up of the confusion in men's minds as to the meaning of interest and money. That shows very loose thinking on the part of Mr. Loomis. I did not start out to clear up the matter, but nevertheless I did. Except for the slip of calling interest the return for the use of someone else's wealth my definition of interest will stand. It is usually some other person's wealth, but actually it is any wealth used as capital, no matter to whom it belongs. I placed money where it belongs when I said that it is one of the things invented by man to assist him in production.

He does not see the point of my remarks about "biological entity." He does not know that I wished to show that Frank Stevens was worrying needlessly about a perfectly natural state of affairs. But nowhere did I say that truth must cater to the idiosyncracies of the human mind. There can be no compromise with truth. There-

fore why should we argue with Socialists and others who change the meaning of the terms several times in a discussion? It is too bad that Mr. Loomis does not understand that in our evolution most men are still less rational than savages. Those who are slightly more rational than their fellows are those who do the exploiting, cheating, lying, stealing. Those who are more rational, and at the same time just, are still but a small voice crying in the wilderness, but taking a large view of humanity from earliest times I am convinced that we are fulfilling our biologic destiny and are approaching slowly the ideal man.

Mr. Loomis quotes Henry George to show that the selling price will not be destroyed by Single Tax. It is of no concern to me what authorities are quoted. Let us look at the facts. All land held out of use now is so held with the expectation of selling at a price. All land underdeveloped is also so held. The price expected is the highest price possible. Single Tax will certainly destroy such selling prices. Such selling prices presuppose several bidders for the land. The bidders are actuated by what they conceive to be the future demand for the land. In many cases this is pure gambling, but there are many cases in which an astute student of the trend of commerce and industry can foresee future conditions. When the holding of the land has become unprofitable because the economic rent is collected by society for social purposes no selling price will exist, since to fail to pay the economic rent would mean an ouster by the state and no man will want to pay more than the economic rent, which he would be doing if he paid some one for the privilege of taking over the land from him. To hold land then will mean to use it. To hold it idle will mean to pay for it out of wealth accumulated elsewhere. To cease to pay the economic rent will mean that one must give it up.

Now in a circumstance where a person wants a very select spot for a home or a camp and someone else is there already and is satisfied to pay the economic rent, there will arise a situation which might give weight to Mr. Loomis's contention. If the one who wants it badly enough is willing to pay the incumbent a large sum to give it up to him we might think that the sum agreed upon is a selling value of the land. But is it? Is the incumbent holding the land to collect tribute from a future buyer? The fact that he pays his economic rent for a piece of land which is not used in the production of material wealth shows that he is not holding it for that purpose. He is getting a psychic income, rest, recreation, pleasure, satisfaction of his artistic sense, a chance to revel in nature and its joys, and health of body and mind. To ask him to give up these benefits to another who wishes them for the same reasons would be unthinkable without some suitable recompense for their loss. He must forego all these comforts for a while until he can locate a place as near suitable as possible. He must have the annoyance of picking up and vacating, tear himself up by the roots, as it were. Any sum the other is willing to pay must be as equal to the comforts given up and the inconvenience suffered as is possible to compute. If he is willing to pay such a sum, and the incumbent is willing to take it, is this really the selling value of the land? No. And what is more it might be many times the value computed by capitalizing the economic rent at five per cent, depending upon how desirous the purchaser is to get it, and how desirous the incumbent is to stay. It is not the selling value of the land. It is the sum paid by one man to another to give up certain satisfactions. It does not depend upon any supply and demand in cases where others are also bidding. In this case the bidder is limited to one person but there are other parcels of land which he might have.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

JOHN LUXTON.

A TRIBUTE TO FRANK P. RAND

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Will you spare space for a brief tribute to a veteran Single Taxer, who for nearly fifty years quietly, tirelessly and effectively preached the gospel of equality, of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man as taught by Henry George?

It was at the Anti-Poverty Fair in 1887 that I first met Frank P. Rand, who was born in Maine.

In 1898 I was in Kansas City and met him again.

In 1907 when I went to Seattle, Frank P. Rand was there quiet as ever, effective, and tireless in preaching the gospel.

In 1913 I found him again, in Victoria, British Columbia, still quiet and still busy, in season and out of season.

Always ready to talk Single Tax himself he could not believe anyone else would hesitate anywhere or at any time.

In Victoria he came to me and said "You are to talk Single Tax from the stage at the Princess Theater during the performance next Monday night."

Astonished, I said "What do you mean? An audience pays to see and hear a play, they won't sit quiet to hear some one but in with a Single Tax talk."

He said "You needn't talk very long, but you'll have to talk. I arranged it with the management. They are playing 'Shore Acres' and I told them you were a friend of James A. Herne who wrote it, and whose acting made it famous. The actor who takes Herne's part will call on you in the dinner scene and you'd better sit in the front row, and be ready." So obediently, I climbed over the foot lights, talked Single Tax briefly and escaped alive. Next day Rand called on me and said "You are to talk next Thursday night at the house warming of the new Congregational Church." I went and had a delightful evening with a very fine bunch of people. There was no chance for any Single Taxer to loaf or get rusty with Frank P. Rand. around. He was always willing to sacrifice anyone to advance the Single Tax. Now for him "Out of the darkness has stretched a hand and into the silence has come a voice, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of the Lord.'" Bolar, Va.

WILL ATKINSON.

WE SHOULD BE REPRESENTED AT CONFERENCES

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

One thing bothers me tremendously.

Everywhere there are committees and commissions and individuals making investigations and reports on the tax question, and proposals and notions and bills without number are published and introduced, many of them senseless and unjust. But hardly anywhere is the land value tax proposed or considered—the only just and practical of them all.

Why should it not be possible to have an able representative of the Single Tax plan represented at some of these meetings and conferences? Alma, Wis.

THEODORE BUEHLER

MR. STEWART RETURNS AGAIN TO THE CHARGE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

My letter "As to Interest," in your Jan.-Feb. issue with Mr. Kendal's on "Some Practical Aspects of Interest" and "Note by the Editor," submitted that "The actual identifying of Single Tax with continuance of the present certain interest burden is killing its natural broad appeal;" and that natural law facts call for our standing simply on the law of supply and demand as determining interest.

As we are certainly concerned about the slow progress of Single Tax this is a proper matter to "worry" about. The fact that whatever interest there will be under Single Tax must be natural and just, has no bearing on the present importance of knowing and teaching the truth as to what it will be instead of wrongly antagonizing those whom we must convert to it in order to get it. Teaching that everybody will have capital and get interest—perhaps from the unfortunate and improvident who do not count,—simply cannot help even if it satisfies us to let it go at that.

We all agree that diverted-rent unjustly enters into "the present certain interest burden," giving it such certainty as natural values alone can give; that so far as the vote is determined by relative scarcity of capital (however normally caused) it is just and beneficial

to both parties. We also agree that nothing else than Single Tax is needed to make it just.

What is the disagreement, and how does it matter? The answers are: (1) Simply as to prognostications about what will actually enter into this automatically—just interest that Single Tax will secure; and (2) The effect of wrong prognostications in killing acceptance of the Single Tax remedy. This killing effect demands careful determination of the natural law facts on which our prognostications should rest. Henry George wanted no blind following; he and we want his remedy.

George based everything on natural laws,—on which all sciences must be based. He adopted interest as a natural law factor *because he thought* that natural values (of reproduction) entered into it as "the result of added efficiency due to capital." He found this "added efficiency" theory untrue and unjust in its application to tools, but failed to find that reproduction values are subject to the same natural laws of distribution which apply to other products. He qualified his statement that "wages and interest must rise together" by adding—"The interest ratio with wages being fixed by the net power of increase which attaches to capital." If natural laws permit none of this increase to go to capital, so that wages rise alone, then the complete science which he based on the natural values attaching to land is merely simplified.

When the diverted-rent which now falsely enters into present interest is eliminated by Single Tax, will any other natural value (that is value apart from individual labor) enter into it? If it will, to that extent it will be "the certain interest burden" we now have,—supporting such obligations as the "Perpetual Income Bonds" mentioned. If not it will inflict no such burden. Primarily we can and should determine the facts as to this. If natural laws distribute generally the natural values attaching to things, just as Single Tax will distribute the natural values attaching to land, we should know it and teach it, for it will remove a killing stigma from our cause. Nothing else can continue the menace of our present false interest.

Mr. Kendal refers to the moral theory that "it is not permissible for one man to do no labor and another labor to pay him interest," as requiring testing; and this is certainly true as to the moral theory that "equity demands a return to the lender," or that "added efficiency due to the use of capital belongs to capital." The important truth is that natural law facts furnish the proper test; for it cannot be questioned if we concede natural law morality, and that the facts are revealed to us "by ordinary observation."

We know that if "everybody" had capital (labor products—not "spurious"), the lender could demand little, and perhaps might have to pay for the safe keeping of his unused wealth. If the potential lender could convert his wealth into ownership of tools, or cattle etc., so as to secure their natural values, we would have to provide against such ownerships being monopolized. With natural laws actually distributing these values, Single Tax needs no supplementing,—it is "enough;" *the now plausible basis for Socialism, Communism, New Dealing—the fight against "Capitalism"—will be undermined.*

There is real urge on LAND AND FREEDOM and all Single Taxers to know and tell the truth as to this. Whatever else enters into true interest cannot make it unjust any more than the "profits and loss" of business enterprise can be unjust so long as they are subject to free competition, but we must appreciate that mere "somehow" theories are of no value.

Reading, Pa.

WALTER G. STEWART.

A NEW ENTHUSIAST

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I want to congratulate you on your editorials in the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

I am entirely in agreement with the letter of Robert S. Doubleday suggesting the observance of a Henry George day instead of the congress. This would make Sept. 2, the first such observance and plans should be started immediately. The large individual meetings

in important cities should have good speakers and their talks should be broadcast on a large hookup over the nation, thus more or less bringing all the meetings into contact with one another and serving the purpose of a single congress as well as doing much more good for the cause in general.

The letters of A. C. Campbell and A. Lawrence Smith were interesting to me as I believe in getting some concerted action. In the case of Mr. Smith's letter, I think that the "spot" to shoot the birdshot at is Washington, not some State or other. If you are going to bring down an eagle the best place to hit him is in the head or body, not a wing, a foot or tailfeathers! Let's hit this problem right on the head. I think that the work being done in California is great stuff and more power to Judge Ralston.

Radio is now the most effective means of advertising and the most powerful factor in forming public opinion. Partisan newspapers can suppress news but the radio can't. An advertisement in a paper is hidden away inside but a radio programme is on the FRONT PAGE with a streamer headline across the top. A national network programme cannot be missed in a single city, town or village in the country. There are millions of radio listeners. That is the key to our success. If the newspapers want to follow, O.K. Ignore those that don't, they won't be popular. The Hearst chain will be against it for W. R. Hearst has thousands of acres of land. Will Rogers will be against it for his hobby and sideline is land speculation. The brain trust will be "agin" us for the same reason (see Chas. B. Rogers' letter in Jan.-Feb. LAND AND FREEDOM). These opponents will be the biggest feathers in our campaign caps! They are some of the very monopolizers we will turn the people against in wrath. We will dig up the facts about how much land they have and expose every one of them. The people are going to tire very soon of all the sickly hit-and-miss fallacious palliatives and panaceas and the "frank experiments" of the administration. They are going to be sick of the patent medicine and want to perform a real surgical operation on our system to find the real trouble and cut it out and sew it up tight!

O.K. then. The line forms on the right. Lets get organized on the double-quick and get this job done.

I just read Frank Chodorov's wonderful article in the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM. I therefore appoint him CHIEF HIGH MASTER OF PROPAGANDA, without even consulting him about it. He said that the leader will probably be crucified. If that is meant to scare, I'm not scared for I don't believe it. I therefore appoint myself CAMPAIGN MANAGER and will step aside for a vote when we get organized. Now it is up to somebody to appoint someone as TREASURER and at the same time to have him appoint a COLLECTOR (or two) OF INTERNAL REVENUE. By "internal revenue" I mean contributions, to get this started, from members already in the movement. If we can't get their support in DOING something then we had better forget Single Tax and go jump in the river.

I hope my enthusiasm will prove contagious. You see I am an aviator and an aviator is either QUICK or dead. Let's be quick before we're dead. I am also a reserve officer in the Marines. As a Marine I believe in ACTION. So let's have some QUICK ACTION! South Egremont, Mass.

JOHN M. MILLER.

INTEREST VIEWED BY A NEW ZEALANDER

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The discussions that arise in connection with the validity of interest are becoming more numerous than has been the case in the past. Even Single Tax journals are printing controversies on the subject, and many followers of Henry George, of whom I am one, gravely question the right of any man, his heirs and assigns, to "sit down" and draw interest on his capital, *ad infinitum*.

This letter has been inspired by the reading of the discussion between Frank Stephens and John Luxton in your Nov.-Dec. issue. The latter defends interest on the plea that a lender of wealth is en-

titled to receive "a return" for the wealth he has placed at the disposal of the borrower, a proposition that no one, much less any Single Taxer, would be likely to deny. It has not occurred to Mr. Luxton that a lender may obtain "a return" without receiving any interest. Yet, that he may do so is easily demonstrated. If we think in terms of wealth instead of money, the position will be clarified. I contend that the making good of depreciation is "a return," and I believe it is the only return that can be justly claimed. If more is obtained there will always be those who can live on indefinitely in idleness, a condition which all Single Taxers should agree would be one of parasitism, and *ipso facto* contrary to justice which is the foundation of their creed.

If a man, who wears out a suit of clothes a year, makes himself twenty suits, these will not last him twenty years. The first will last a year, the second a little less, and the whole stock will clothe him for (say) nineteen and one-half years only. The odd half year is lost in depreciation. Now if he lends nineteen of the suits conditionally on receiving a *new* suit every year until the loan is repaid, it is clear that the wealth he created in the first instance will clothe him for the full twenty years so, although there is no *interest*, he still gets "a return" for his loan.

Mr. Luxton thinks he clinches the argument with his typewriter illustration, but his is not the last word. Suppose the owner of the machine has no present use for it and by loaning it obtains the return of the machine intact as it was when he lent it, has he not received "a return"? Would not the machine have suffered depreciation even if he had not loaned it? In this case a payment would have to be made to the lender to cover the invisible depreciation which it is impossible to make good by repair, but still there would be no *interest*. Supporters of interest invariably picture the lender as depriving himself of something that is indispensable to himself or his work, but the fact is that loans are usually made out of surplus wealth, represented, of course, by money. The key to the interest question lies, I think, in the system that turns perishable wealth into "imperishable" money, and thus places "capital" on the same permanent basis as land. The enormous wastage resulting from depreciation is thus camouflaged. If a man lends a machine worth £1,000 he gets "a return" until the machine is worn out; after that nothing at all. If he turns the machine into money and lends the £1,000 he gets "a return" for all time, under present conditions. The plain English of this is that after a certain limited period of time he, his heirs and assigns, levy pure tribute on current production, giving nothing in return, and are therefore mere parasites on the community.

Nevertheless I hold that nothing needs to be done about interest, other than the Socialization of Rent. The interest rate depends on supply and demand. George's plan would greatly increase the supply of wealth (and capital), a point I need not stress amongst Single Taxers, while it would, I believe, wholly eliminate the demand for loans. Our philosophy teaches that land-owners appropriate all surplus wealth, thus creating a "corner" in capital or money. The socialization of rent would prevent such appropriation, leaving the whole product of labor in the hands of the laborers. There would then be no need for the producers of wealth (capital and money) to borrow capital; they would use their own. Interest would thus die a natural death.

This is not to say that interest, in the sense of the added production which the use of capital gives, would be eliminated, but merely that the added production would go to labor as wages, instead of to idlers as interest. Interest in its economic sense must persist and grow with the advance of science, invention, organization etc., that is not in question; what is in question is the equitable distribution of what is somewhat loosely called the "national income."

Our case will be much stronger when we discard the defense of mere interest receivers. Socialists cry out against "rent, interest and profits." Profits are merely rent and (or) interest, so that our system, if I am correct, would give them all they ask, without the need of socialistic "planning," regimentation, dictatorship, etc. The

man in the street leans to socialism because he sees no difference between the interest receiver and the rent receiver. If we can convince him that the application of the Henry George plan will give to labor its full product we should get his support. We must fail in this if we sanction the receipt of interest by people who do no work.

I see a change in the attitude of most Single Taxers, and all Single Tax journals, in the direction of putting a question mark against interest, and believe the time will soon come when we will be united on this point, and show that George builded even better than he knew. Auckland, N. Z. C. H. NIGHTINGALE.

SINGLE TAX CONFERENCES

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Your criticism of the Single Tax Congresses has evidently started something. The current issue of LAND AND FREEDOM marks a very necessary manicuring of Single Tax intellects throughout the Georgist movement. It all recalls my early attempts, made many years ago, to have Single Taxers put salesmanship, business methods and organization into the Single Tax programme. It all emphasizes my recent unsuccessful attempt to again organize the Single Taxers of Massachusetts.

Personally I agree with you that a definite, business-like programme be laid down, upon which Single Taxers might well concentrate their time, money and efforts. Unfortunately, we are in the same predicament which came upon the constructors of the tower of Babel. In attempting to erect the Georgist temple of justice we find ourselves defeated by a multiplicity of notions, a great divergence of opinions, a variety of schemes, and an army of self-appointed leaders. Nothing could be sweeter for the vested interests. The monopolists do not need to give us a "licking;" we are defeating ourselves.

It all simmers down to the uncomfortable fact that ninety-five per cent of us are naught but philosophical anarchists. With most of us Single Tax is merely a subject for debate in parlors and other places where the limelight of attention may be played upon our anaemic faces as we harangue a handful of listeners. With some of us Single Tax is an excuse for attending luncheons at which the physical appetite is surreptitiously satisfied under the guise of feeding the mental appetite upon principles of justice. With a few of us Single Tax is a subterfuge for getting away from home and "taking a trip" to a conference, a congress, a "meetin'."

It is my conviction that most Single Taxers are simply lazy when it comes to working any muscles of their anatomy except those of their jaws. Show me any Single Tax organization and I'll show you one or two human horses in that association who are carrying all the load insofar as real work is concerned. The rest of the outfit invariably limits its activities to profound and puerile chatter and to the finding of jobs and programmes in which some one else does all the work. It is always a case of "let George do it."

Single Taxers simply cannot do team work. It is contrary to their eternal struggle for individual economic freedom, and this fundamental idea is so ingrained in their every thought that organization and cooperation, or any other form of limitations upon individualism, is repugnant to their pet theories. They have yet to learn that the very goal which they now seek through diversified channels and contrary notions cannot be attained except through organization and concentrated effort—unless, of course, the Creator steps in and establishes Single Tax in spite of us anarchistic Single Taxers.

Too few Single Taxers are willing to do the menial tasks of mixing mortar or carrying bricks to the foundation walls of the Economic Temple, except when it can be done within the depths of a cushioned easy-chair adjacent to a warm radiator or in a hammock under the shade of a sheltering tree.

As one of your correspondents has pointed out, those who attend congresses and conferences probably would not spend the same amount of money for other Single Tax purposes if said congresses were discontinued. However, there remains no valid reason why congresses

and conferences should not lay down a programme of business-like procedure and actually make progress to the very necessary goal of establishing social justice. If this were done, as you have very properly suggested, the number in attendance at congresses would soon dwindle to the very few who are really willing to get down to brass tacks and go to work. The actual working-ability of congressional orators and spellbinders is very easily discovered by assigning these gentlemen to committee work where actions, not words, are in order. This procedure would, of course, take all the glamor out of attending congresses and we could not then make speeches nor read papers, the recording of which might some day awaken a sense of pride in our great-great grandsons when they read what a prominent part their grandpops played in the Single Tax Congress, or in the Hicksville Single Tax Club, 'way, 'way back in 1934.

Homes, factories, skyscrapers, etc., are made by laying brick on brick, driving nail after nail, threading pipe after pipe, sawing plank after plank, etc., all done under centralized authority and systematic procedure. Workers with contrary schemes, plans or purposes are promptly fired. Buildings cannot be successfully constructed in any other manner; nor can the Temple of Economic Justice be erected in a contrary fashion, unless, of course, the Creator knocks our anarchistic heads together and does the job Himself.

It has been wisely said that "Those who can, DO; those who can't CHATTER."

More power to your pungent pen.

Fall River, Mass.

THOMAS N. ASHTON.

DOMINANCE OF WEALTH IN GOVERNMENT

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The article by Frank Chodorov in Jan.-Feb. number of LAND AND FREEDOM, to my mind, is one of the finest specimens of logical reasoning which I have met in many a day. It might be epitomized in the simple statement that the Georgist philosophy has been handicapped by "respectability" and that no leader of a Moses-calibre has risen to carry it to triumph in its complete and uncompromising form. My own impatient soul, longing for that "kingdom of heaven," urges me to say "amen." Then arises that kindly angel—Natural Law—gently warning me, "Not so hasty, my little man."

Never must we ignore the fact of the invariableness of Natural Law. Under that law we are taught that heaven is not gained by a single bound, theological offers to the contrary notwithstanding. He who is rescued from the glaring sun of a blazing desert must pass through gradual stages toward normal light. Else all is surrounding darkness. Or, to reverse the figure, after one has known naught but darkness, suddenly to be plunged into the brilliant light of midday, is to be blinded. So it is with mankind. He who has known nothing but tyranny must grow into the blessings of freedom before he may understand the grandeur of Liberty. Nature herself restrains the hasty step, because she would build her structures without flaw that we may withstand the storms of time.

We must distinguish between a compromise of principle and the details through which we must realize the fruits of it. All human progress, all individual advancement, civilization itself, is accomplished by everlasting compromises regarding the details of achievement. But all progress is stopped when we compromise with principle. This was well illustrated in the course of Lincoln as expressed in his letter to Horace Greeley. His one aim was to save the Union. If, day by day, he saw that might best be achieved by this or that policy, he did not hesitate to shift the policy. (I wish our present President could realize this.) We must advance beyond error before we can realize it for what it was. Polity must be held sacred. Policies through which it may be realized may shift with the current of common thought.

Truth has a cunning way of insinuating its spirit into the heart of all things. The heart of them is the soil in which that spirit thrives.

There it grows, it expands, and, like the tender vine that finds a crevice in the solid rock, bursts its environment to find the light of day.

Throughout all history, wealth has been the dominant power in government and all social order. I do not deprecate that fact. It is right and just that this be so. My only quarrel is that they who have, through special laws and privileges, secured that wealth, constitute just a minority of mankind. Having it, that minority has dominated the enactment of laws and their administration of government. It has grown by what it fed on. Human rights—which means natural rights—it has trampled under foot, until, even the trampled-upon (or, as an Irish friend calls them, "the submerged tenth") seem to think that such is heaven-ordained. Hardly attempting to rise from beneath the feet that press them down, they peek about in worship of the power that oppresses them. They praise those above them, for "giving them work"—as if "work" is the want of man. Poor sodden masses! But, at least, the majority of those above them know that they are oppressors. Therefore are they guilty, not so much in taking what is surrendered to them, but in false instructions to the underlings and in their cruel determination to maintain the fiendish system through which their diabolical cruelties are effective. The relentless hand of Natural Justice always has and always will, in time, scoop up that parasitical group and hurl it into oblivion.

Now, if the "submerged tenth"—which in fact is about ninety per cent of the population—are willing to persist in their own ignorance, Nature is no more disposed to spare them from the effect of their own stupidity than she is to spare the leaches who suck their blood. They must learn—leaches and leached alike—that the highest obligation of life is to be intelligent. Then to be intelligent, intelligence will see to it that every form of privilege is stamped from out our social life. When that desired event shall have arrived, men will understand that Nature gives to toil, and to toil alone, her boundless riches. Beggars and thieves—both above and below the crust—will be no more. Cunning shall no longer thrive at the expense of MANHOOD. Wealth, created by toil and enterprise, will be in the hands of its creators. Being in the hands of the many, its force still will dominate the making of laws, together with their interpretation and administration. Then shall LIBERTY prevail over all.

Yes, I agree with Mr. Chodorov, that, to realize this happy state, a Moses must arrive, for it must always be that the mass of men will follow the strong, the masterful. But, when all is said, this truth shall remain: That unless the followers be intelligent, their lack of it will mean—as it did with the Moses of that other day—that their leader shall not himself reach the promised land, and with his personal failure so to do, neither shall the followers—again as of old—realize the glory of his dreams. Or, as in the case of the later Nazarene, lacking intelligence, they buried the beauty of His teachings under the debris of superstition and theology, making His crucifixion endure through the ages.

Let me repeat: The highest individual and social, moral and ethical obligation of life is to be intelligent.

Hollywood, Calif.

LAURIE J. QUINBY.

THE DISADVANTAGES OF OUR NAME

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The Single Tax is a means to a very desirable end. But the end is the important thing. The chief end to be attained is the Abolition of Landlordism. I suggest for consideration and discussion the question whether we should not emphasize "Abolition of Landlordism" more and Single Tax less.

When human slavery was the major political question in this country the discussion was direct, and on the question of Abolition of Slavery. Everybody knew precisely what the argument was about; and it is putting it mild to say that the argument was full of life and electricity. But to those who have not studied the Single Tax, and they are the great mass of voters, it is just another kind of tax more or less irritating than what we have.

We have all heard those foolish performances called a "Single Tax Debate." The debaters on either side may make all kinds of unwarranted assertions, and ninety-five per cent of the audience will not know fact from fiction. The debater with the best voice and manner, and most pleasing street argument about preserving the great American Home, always wins in the opinion of the average audience. It requires some elementary knowledge of fundamental economics to judge the merits of a Single Tax argument. And that is something not possessed by the average voter any more than by the average editor. A street argument on the Single Tax is mere confusion. It is much the same with most Single Tax lectures to the average audience.

But write on your banner "Abolition of Landlordism," and run your banner to the top of the highest flagstaff, and I think you can stir up the enemy. It is such stirring up of the enemy that will stir up the friends of justice. "Abolish Landlordism" will have a real and definite meaning to the man in the street. It may not be the true meaning, but he will be put on active inquiry. The best means of abolishing landlordism will follow in proper order.

Oshkosh, Wis.

JOHN HARRINGTON.

FROM THE EDITOR OF LAND AND LIBERTY

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I noticed today your quip at "Townsend" and you will be interested in the February *Land and Liberty* article on him. He may be daft but his daftness is no madder than the schemes that the politicians are putting over everywhere in the name of national policy. If a Townsend did not exist, decent nature would have to produce him in order that all those policies should be ridiculed out of court.

As I write, here comes a letter from Mr. Crowell of Sandwich, Mass., who is interested in one of the extension classes under the auspices of the Henry George School of Social Science in New York. He asks if "Progress and Poverty" has been translated into Finnish. The answer is YES and I am sending Mr. Crowell the brochure of the translations we got out in 1910, to which however sundry additions have since been made—such as the Dutch translation of "Protection or Free Trade" and new Spanish translations of everything. From Australia I had inquiry for the French translation; from another country for a Japanese translation (not existing) and the other day came an air-mail letter from Burma all in a hurry from two able scholars there who are translating the book into Burmese. Still another correspondent, this time from Bagdad, writes he is busy translating one or more of the addresses (and I think "Progress and Poverty") into Arabic.

Are these "straws in the wind?" I think there is more than that in it. Judging by our own experience and the immense amount of correspondence that reaches us from all parts—the kind of correspondence that calls for information, for answers to questions, for explanatory literature, with reports of local activities—the movement is marching along in very good health and confidence. And here we have to deal also with letters, journals and reports in many languages—German, Danish, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and sometimes Norwegian. When it comes to Russian and Magyar and Bulgarian, we are stumped. As to such matters, it has been a great compliment to know that that Russian article of mine has been translated and published in Danish, Spanish and Bulgarian.

London, England.

A. W. MADSEN.

FROM ONE OF THE AUTHORS OF "UTOPIA DAWNS"

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In your review (Jan.-Feb. issue) of John Pratt Whitman's "Utopia Dawns," have you not missed the important point that this author has sketched in his own Utopia, in chapter twelve, a society in which the Henry George principles are put into practice? Here every citizen obtains his land from the Central Council, and builds his house on his life-time lease, paying no taxes. Out of this basis the good

things of Utopia grow. You say you do not like Utopias but they stir the imagination of the people who want *Progress without Poverty*. Why not use every possible chance of stirring people to action? Neither the Single Tax principle nor Utopia can be said to be yet realized on the earth but the ideas have to come first, do they not? Boston, Mass.

ELEANOR WOOD WHITMAN.

REFUSES TO TREMBLE BEFORE THIS FRANKENSTEIN

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Perhaps I am just a trifle dull; not apt enough to recognize a "problem" when I meet it; for to my mind all this tempest in a teapot (I say this with diffidence) concerning this problem, interest, is conjured out of such stuff "as dreams are made of." A very proper subject, to be sure, to engage the valor of Socialists and NRA champions and their ilk *ad nauseum*, but scarcely a matter for debate between men who have knowledge of the *science of economics*.

Is it, or is it not, true that there are three factors concerned in the production of wealth, or are there but two? If the former, is one of these factors, one of the partners in the enterprise, if you will, to secure a lesser and lesser proportion of the product while each of the others receives more and more until his share reaches the point of extinction? If so, I cannot comprehend why he shall consent to stay in the firm; I should think the poor fellow would withdraw and set up for himself. If the latter, why keep up the fiction longer? If Friday, fashioning nets, spades, slings, while Crusoe fishes, digs and hunts is to get no part of the increased fruits of Crusoe's labor I cannot exactly understand how he is going to keep on making them, nor why he should consent to do so if he could accept that he acquiesce in his status of slave and be content to take what will keep him alive so he may serve his master.

Surely Mr. Stewart's Frankenstein monster which makes \$20,000 "the equivalent of a never-dying live worker is of the nature of those horrid monsters, half serpent and half man with which our childhood Bibles were embellished to frighten the unrepentant sinner unto righteousness, meningeal vapors from a poorly digested dinner, mayhap. Is capital indestructible that its growth is never arrested until, on this hypothesis, it must finally swallow the earth? Then let us join the Socialists in their ceaseless attack upon so portentous an enemy. Have we, indeed, at last discovered immortality and find it attached to the products of our own hands?

I have to have cars (Fords, to be sure), in which to get about to do my work; and would you believe it, they just keep wearing out. I want to be put wise as to where I can get hold of this self-perpetuating capital. I shall be glad to contract, tomorrow, with some capitalist at eight per cent on the price of a car, I to take care of all upkeep and he merely to furnish me a new car when this is worn out and upon the same terms. And I shall save many good dollars over my present necessity of buying new cars with my own money.

I suspect that this terrible Frankenstein is born of the illusion that money is capital (It is pretty difficult to get rid of this child of our early "education"), when in fact it isn't capital at all, and no one would pay interest to get it except that it is a recognized draft upon the wealth he proposes to secure with it and for which wealth he is glad to pay interest because in using this wealth, which becomes his capital, he will have more wealth of his own after paying this interest than he could produce without it. I have heard of no Georgist who proposes, when this reform has been accomplished, to compel men to borrow whether they think they shall profit by it or not. Men refrain from borrowing if they find they do not need to do so. And if one employ one's own capital instead of borrowing, is there any crucial issue at stake whether he decompose his earnings into wages and interest or lumps them together as total income? The assessor will not then be prying into the matter.

Your columns of Comment and Reflection are the choicest draught I get from the feast of good things found in every issue of LAND AND FREEDOM. I can put away the other articles to a more convenient season, but I have to read these first choice pages as soon as I get

the cover off your never disappointing collection of gems. The immortal Omar's "book of verses" could not have out-sparked them. Marathon, Iowa.

T. J. KELLY, M. D.

THE STATE WHERE CULTURE REIGNS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Some forty years ago I had the two last years of Henry George's *Standard* carefully bound in one volume and appropriately identified with gold letters and then presented same to the public library of Northborough, Mass., having confidence that that was the safest possible place for what would come to be valued more highly year by year. Northborough was my boyhood home and the library was an excellent one. Recently the library generously agreed that this volume might be forwarded to the Henry George School of Social Science in New York. Your readers will readily understand that the hundred and four issues of the *Standard* contained numerous contributions from Henry George together with a graphic story of the Single Tax movement in the early days, all of which rendered priceless value to this volume. But it then developed that the State of Massachusetts had sent to the library in Northborough an "efficiency expert" to weed out such matter as might be eliminated and therefore this volume had by the customary intelligence of "efficiency experts" been thrown away. This should be a warning to everyone to place no faith in public libraries of Massachusetts or other States where "efficiency experts" are employed.

Wichita, Kan.

HENRY WARE ALLEN.

A BILL IS PENDING IN CONGRESS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I may have submitted the following query to you before; I am not sure. If I have done so I have not in any event had your answer.

What specific and effective thing can the present Federal Administration do to stop the diversion of economic rent into private channels and how could it go about doing it?

It is easy enough to find fault with the administration, and it is easy enough for the administration to drift into Socialistic practices. Mistakes are always easily made. But how can the Federal Administration do the right thing and the needed thing at this time.

Newton D. Baker tells me the administration cannot constitutionally do anything that he knows of looking toward the collection of economic rent.

Tacoma, Wash.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

JAMES F. BELL, chairman of the Board of General Mills, Inc., said the other day in Minneapolis: "Liberate enterprise and we shall soon create the new wealth necessary to bring us out of the depression. We are not going to make any real progress toward recovery until this is done."

A NUMBER of friends of the movement have departed since the January-February issue of LAND AND FREEDOM appeared, among them Thomas Ryan of Brooklyn. Mr. Ryan was over seventy and was a friend of Henry George. He had been ill for a long time.

CORNELIUS LEENHOUTS, of Milwaukee, Wis, is another friend to have passed away. For a long time he was secretary of the Wisconsin Single Tax League. In a communication to the Milwaukee *Sentinel* Herman Reel pays Mr. Leenhouts a deserved tribute. He had been a subscriber to LAND AND FREEDOM almost from the beginning.

FROM the *Christian Century* we learn of the death of J. H. Whitley, chairman of the British Radio Broadcasting Company, on Feb. 3 at the age of 68. He was formerly Speaker of the House of Commons

and a follower of Henry George. When he ceased to be Speaker he declined the peerage, which is always offered to ex-Speakers, and in 1930 he accepted the chairmanship of the Governors of the British Broadcasting Company. He was head of the commission that prepared a monumental report of the condition of labor in India.

JAMES MALCOLM, of Albany, familiarly known as "Jim" Malcolm, editor since 1917, of the *Red Book* and a devoted Henry George man, died at his home in Albany on Jan. 30 at the age of 75 of a sudden heart attack. He was editor of the *National Single Taxer* at Minneapolis for a period. He was a native of Edinburgh and came to the United States when a young man. It is a coincidence that on the very day of his death the *Red Book*, published by J. B. Lyon Company of Albany, was issued with a number of articles from the pen of Mr. Malcolm. The *Red Book* is a legislative encyclopedia and a valuable book of reference. For a number of years he was a friend and correspondent of LAND AND FREEDOM. His son Harvey Malcolm has inherited his father's convictions and is a frequent visitor to this office. Our sympathy is extended to him and other members of the family. Mr. Malcolm leaves also two daughters.

ABOUT two years ago a young man living near Arden attended a lecture given there by our friend Chas. H. Ingersoll. He believed in a vague way that socialism offered a remedy for conditions, but Mr. Ingersoll's answers to questions following his address aroused his interest, and further study made him an enthusiastic Single Taxer. Young Mr. Megginson is a musician and has had little opportunity for education, but several admirable letters have appeared from his pen in the Wilmington papers. Mrs. Ross of Arden sends us the clippings containing Mr. Megginson's letters and comments on the encouraging nature of such incidents as these. We may say that the Henry George School furnishes many similar examples.

A SINGLE TAX letter appears in the *Swedish Tribune News* of Chicago from the pen of our indefatigable friend Frank G. Anderson of Jamestown, N. Y. This journal is the most widely read Swedish newspaper in the United States and Canada, and is largely circulated in Sweden.

OUR old friend George White of Long Branch celebrated his eightieth birthday in February and the *Monmouth American* said: "For 46 years Mr. White has been a close student of political economy and has brought his ideas to the public in letters to the papers and correspondence with nationally known figures."

A LETTER received from Edward P. E. Troy of San Francisco, says: "If our militant Single Taxers would only look about them they would find that while quibbling and splitting hairs, the enemy is making headway against them through schools and colleges. A few weeks ago I spent some weeks in Salt Lake City and visited the Normal School opposite the Mormon Temple. I was informed that Ely's book on Economics was the only book used in the economics class. I found the same condition existing in schools and universities in other states I visited. There is great opportunity for our militant Single Taxers. They might get out hundreds of circulars containing extracts from Emil Jorgensen's book in which Prof. Ely is so mercilessly exposed."

ROSS C. HOLLEY of Lockport, N. Y., has recently written well considered letters to President Roosevelt and Father Coughlin. It may be in the oceans of letters sent by Henry George men to the President and the radio priest some will be read, but we are not hopeful. However, one can never tell and we would not discourage this wide-spread habit. Mr. Holley is a good friend of Mr. C. A. Lingham of Lockport and a recent convert to the cause.

JOHN C. ROSE and George E. Evans, the latter president of the Henry

George Foundation, have started a branch in Pittsburgh of the Henry George School with eighteen active students. In addition to these activities there has been organized the Rose Bureau of Research, the object of which will be to collect statistics and data relative to economic matters. The Rose Bureau is an idea of the late Francis W. Maguire. We are particularly shy on statistics and we welcome this activity. Mr. Rose in addition to all this work keeps up his ten letters a day minimum and is besides engaged in writing two books, one a Dictionary of Terms in the Social and Economic Sciences and "The Philosophy of William N. McNair, a Psychological Study of an Honest Politician."

CLASSES of the Henry George School have been started in Philadelphia. These classes will be under the instruction of Julian P. Hickok.

A CLUMSY connotation by the editor of LAND AND FREEDOM on page 31 of the January-February issue of LAND AND FREEDOM might convey the impression that our old friend Pavlos Giannelia, Greek representative at Vienna, had passed on. We are glad to report that we had no intention to hurry Mr. Giannelia away. He is still active in the movement and in perfectly good health.

W. A. RULE of Chicago, one of the bright outstanding lights of the Henry George Congress last autumn, reports that 1,900 copies of Otto Cullman's book "Twenty Million Dollars Every Day" have been distributed and 3,800 letters have gone forth from the Committee of Business Men on National Recovery. Representatives from the committee have addressed 36 meetings with well over 150 average attendance. It has been arranged to place Mr. Cullman's book in the hands of every member of Congress. This has been carried out through four or five interested members of that body.

J. OWEN GRUNDY of Jersey City advocates a "round robin" appeal to Governor Hoffman of New Jersey for a land value tax. He thinks that the population of the State is very evenly divided against the proposed sales tax and income tax advocated by the Governor and this furnishes an exceptional opportunity to promote the stock of the Single Tax. He suggests that the land value tax advocates should call upon the Governor with some definite proposals in lieu of what he recommends.

CHARLES S. PRIZER, active in the affairs of the Manhattan Single Tax Club of this city, writes: "I have just read your Comment and Reflection in the latest issue of LAND AND FREEDOM and wish to express my praise and appreciation of those keen, able and interesting comments on current economic events and problems."

M. J. VAN LEEUWEN of Franklin, Mass., writes us in appreciation of the article in January-February issue by Henry J. Foley, as follows:

In the form of questions and answers, the reader's interest is carried step by step and the subject is presented in a way which makes it easy to grasp and readily understand.

It is the kind of literature in which the truth is brought out in an A, B, C, sort of a way which opens the minds and creates a desire to learn more of what might have heretofore seemed too complex a question for the ordinary minds to cope with.

Therefore more power to Foley and his pen. This article should be put in pamphlet form and freely distributed.

THE "Economics of Henry George" is a well written pamphlet of 16 pages and cover by John C. Rose, of 725 Bakewell Building, Pittsburgh, Pa., sold for ten cents.

DR. W. E. MACKLIN recently celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his first mission and hospital opening in China.

INDIANAPOLIS wants more land for gardens. Over 1,300 persons have applied to the Community Garden Center for garden plots. Seeds will be distributed from the office beginning this month. Over \$100 worth of food stuffs was raised on a single garden plot last year.

"UNEMPLOYMENT and Business Depression and the Remedy," by David Gibson, is a 24-page pamphlet. It is published at fifteen cents and those who know Dave Gibson know it is worth it.

P. W. SCHWANDER, tells us in the *Dallas News* of Feb. 23, that Texas has 301,660 tenant farms throughout the State, though Teaxs is a new country with a territory larger than the German Empire. A letter from Mr. Schwander appears in a recent issue of *Liberty*.

THE New Hampshire Senate has approved a bill to allow new buildings a five-year period of tax exemption.

HENRY WARE ALLEN of Wichita, Kansas, writes:

"Wise old King Canute undertook before his courtiers to combat the force of natural law, but his experiment met with dire defeat, as he knew it would. Not so wise these modern sages. By imperial edict they essay to fix wages, hours of labor, prices, the crops of the field, even prosperity itself! They would reconstruct the universe on the basis of State Socialism, ignoring completely that supreme natural law which provides public revenue from ground rents and makes unnecessary the imposition of those multitudinous taxes which now crush all business enterprise and rob the citizen of his rightful property."

MR. A. E. DIETRICH, of Bay Shore, L. I., has addressed a letter to Congressman Bacon of New York in which he pertinently says: "Those who do not seek to increase the equality of opportunities for the citizens, and leave to them the results, but look rather to income and inheritance taxes as expedients while we are in the transition stage, have, it seems to me, the wrong perspective."

MR. M. VANVEEN addressed the Greenwich Historical Society on Feb. 12, his subject being "The Way to Abolish Unemployment and Poverty."

FRANK BERMAN, a Henry George man of this city, who is too seldom heard from, appears with an admirable letter in the *New York Herald-Tribune* of recent date.

HAROLD SUDELL of Brookline, Pa., is one of our most indefatigable letter writers. In a communication to Governor Earle of Pennsylvania he points out the effects of taxes interfering with production as distinct from taxes that fall upon the value of natural resources.

DR. FREDERICK W. ROMAN of the Associated Forums of California sent for two hundred copies of January-February LAND AND FREEDOM. He writes: "For next week I have asked some of my groups to make a special study of the educational philosophy on page 3 (Comment and Reflection). Also I am asking that they make a special study of the doctrine of Secretary Ickes on page 5 and then again I am inviting a special forum to consider the article beginning on page 9 and ending on page 14, (Henry J. Foley's article).

AGNES DE MILLE, daughter of Anna George de Mille, appeared in a dance recital at the Guild Theatre in this city in February, before an appreciative audience.

DONALD MACDONALD of Anchorage, Alaska, has issued a large page circular on Alaskan minerals and farm lands in which he advocates

the remedy for conditions. He says: "Very little money or organization would be required to put this over. The Alaskan problem is simple and obvious."

HERE is light from an unexpected source: Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt found that only in rare cases do persons refuse jobs because they are on the relief rolls. On the other hand she says that she found instances where communities had taken advantage of the fact that people were on the relief rolls to lower the wage rates.

A Single Tax enclave organized by Fiske Warren is situated in the republic of Andorra. In a circular just issued he tells us that Andorra has no customs tariff, that in one thousand years not one life has been lost in battle, that there is no public debt, no depression and no unemployment. This oldest and smallest Republic in the world is beautifully situated and an ideal place to make a small demonstration of the Henry George philosophy.

HERE is a joke said to be current in Soviet Russia: "Mother, the tax collector is here." "All right, darling; give the comrade a chair." "But, Mother, he wants all the furniture."

"THE Great Economic Delusion, an Answer to the Townsend Pension Plan," by Don L. Thompson, is a crushing expose of this stupendous fallacy. Mr. Thompson's address is E. 2527 Illinois Avenue, Spokane, Wash.

Real America is a large illustrated magazine published at Mount Morris, Ill. The April number is before us. In it is an article on "The Memphis Machine" in which occurs this mention of a friend of the movement whom we all love:

"One young assistant city attorney, A. D. Waldauer, frequently remained in his office all day and far into the night to discuss with anybody the matter of taxes.

"If a citizen kicked, said the taxes were outrageous, Waldauer didn't argue with him. He told him that it was not the taxes that were outrageous, but the whole tax system. Then he handed him a tract on the Single Tax, and offered to lecture on the subject! That always ended the discussion. You can't argue with a man who agrees with you."

"A SOCIAL Democratic Manifesto" is a pamphlet consisting of eight pages from the pen of Howell Clopton Harris of Cordele, Ga., which is well worth studious perusal. Mr. Harris will send a copy to any one asking for it.

"FORCE Into Use the Land Held to Ransom," is the title of an article by J. W. Graham Peace in the London *Daily Herald* of March 6, written with the vigor and persuasiveness that characterize everything he writes. The *Daily Herald* has a circulation of 2,300,000.

A RATHER unusual pamphlet in the form of an open letter to President Roosevelt by S. W. Simpson, 1165 Broadway, has reached us. We should disagree with some parts of it, but it is effectively written, and the author is an old member of the Manhattan Single Tax Club and an earnest advocate of the Georgean philosophy.

A CLASS of the Henry George School was established in Newark, N. J., on March 1 with thirty members including eight or ten lawyers. It will be under the leadership of Dr. Bowen who will use the *Teachers' Manual* of the Henry George School. The place of gathering is 17 Academy Street, Newark, N. J. Meetings are held weekly. Opportunity for discussion is afforded and a lively interest is manifested. "Progress and Poverty" is the text book. There is no expense incurred save one dollar for the purchase of the text book.

THINGS are happening at Fort Lee, N. J. The Fort Lee Club will

back the Single Tax as a means of attracting new buildings and homes. The *Bergen Record* gave a column report of the Eastern Bergen Italian-American Club's recent meeting to endorse the plan for the taxation of land values and exemption of improvements. Mr. Richard C. Pagliuchi is a leader of the club who announced that he had been a Single Taxer for twenty years. He made an argument for the application of the principle

Grundskild, Henry George organ of Denmark, published at Copenhagen, gives a translation of the article by Charles O'Connor Hennessy from *LAND AND FREEDOM* which bore the title of "Henry George and Henry Ford."

STEPHEN BELL, foreign editor of *Commerce and Finance*, a Wall Street organ of the cotton trade, delivered an address in Patterson, N. J. before one hundred bankers of Passaic County, N. J. recently. Mr. Bell is a teacher at the New York Henry George School and a life-long disciple of our cause. The *Paterson Call* gave a full-page report of Mr. Bell's great address.

ROBERT O. NILSON of Teaneck, N. J., has addressed a letter to Governor Hoffman of that State advocating an emergency land value tax in lieu of the sales and income tax which the Governor recommends. He closes his letter by stating: "I would consider it a great pleasure to discuss this plan with you or one of your representatives at any time and place you may designate." Mr. Nilson has sent copies of his letter and his admirably sustained argument to the press and members of the legislature.

THE second edition of the pamphlet "The Mayor McNair Five-to-One Plan," which is dedicated to the memory of the beloved Francis Maguire, is available at ten cents a copy, and may be had by writing to John C. Rose, 725 Bakewell Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

THERE is no Single Tax paper that comes to our desk that is more welcome than *Tax Facts*, edited by Miss Norma Cooley, at 333 North Madison Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif. Miss Cooley has an unusual gift of writing clearly and attractively. She is a mistress of the art of incisive phrasing with surprising little turns that make one stop and listen. We know of no one writing today who is anywhere in her class

WE learn with deep regret of the death of our old friend John Emery McLean, author of "Spiritual Economics," former editor of the *Arena*, *Mind* and *The Metaphysical Magazine*, and life long disciple of Henry George whose teachings he had done so much to popularize. We were in intimate touch with Mr. McLean when he was editor of the *Arena* and contributed a number of articles to that periodical. Mr. McLean died at Fairhope where he had his home. He was born in Ontario, Canada, in 1865 and was always interested in Canadian affairs. He is survived by his wife Caroline, a brother, Dr. W. T. McLean of St. Petersburg, Fla., and a step-daughter, Mrs. Rita S. Thompson, and a number of cousins in Canada and the United States.

WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS, of Toronto, writes us: "I wish to take this opportunity to compliment you on the exceptionally well edited edition of your magazine for January-February. It is really a wonderful issue and it is a case of "he who runs may read."

ANOTHER death which it is our sorrow to record is that of Walter C. Kempton, for many years an active Single Taxer in San Francisco, who passed away March 6, 1935. Mr. Kempton was born in 1860 and had been a subscriber to this paper for many years. He was employed at the Brooklyn Navy Yard until the breakdown of his health. He was a radical democrat and outspoken in his convictions. He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Walter C. Kempton.