

January—February, 1937

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

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

## Causerie

Thomas H. Ashton

## Privilege For Everyone

Frederick S. Arnold, A. M.

## The Church and Charity

Henry Ware Allen

## First the Blade—Then the Ear

Helen D. Denbigh

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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

THOSE who are inclined to regard with complacency, if not altogether with favor, those governmental experiments which lean to socialism are to be reminded of the dangerous road they are treading. For socialism contemplates the abolition of private property. So every one of the halting steps whether they be undertaken by Russia or the Roosevelt administration leading in this general direction, are concessions to the ultimate doctrine that private property must be destroyed.

THIS doctrine has subtle ways of injecting itself. It may manifest itself in social security acts in which private property is to be seized for an ostensibly laudable purpose. Or it may appear in lachrymose mood, though not so intimately connected with the main object in view, and shed a few tears over child labor which nobody really believes in, of course, but is an appeal sure of general approval.

POLITICAL economy is not a science of benevolence. It is not enough to bewail the poverty of the poor, nor can any legislation be found that will be kind to them. It is very fine to feel as Lord Houghton wrote:

"A sense of earnest will  
To help the lowly living  
And a terrible heart thrill  
If you have no power of giving."

That is all very pretty and looks well on Christmas cards. But it does not answer the question as to why the poor are poor and how their poverty can be cured. And the incentive to benevolence typified most successfully in the Rooseveltian personality does not get us anywhere in particular.

THIS theory of benevolence leads us by indirect routes straight to socialism. Such sloppy phrases as "We must put human rights above property rights," is not merely indicative of an underlying fallacy, but is a perfectly meaningless injunction, for property rights are human rights and thoughtless conservatives in their careless acceptance of the fiscal stupidity that taxes should be levied in ac-

cordance with ability to pay lend themselves and such authority as they possess to the extreme of communism.

DR. THOMAS ARNOLD, Master of Rugby, and father of Matthew Arnold, tells us that he rose each morning with the conviction that everything was an unsettled question. This may not be a wholly satisfactory way of looking at life and its problems. But it is infinitely superior to the smug certainty which many modern educators regard economic problems. The only thing that is certain is not the dicta of professional theorists in the field of education, but the laws by which these theories must be tested. Those who find their principles in text books and believe that no further examination is needed are anchored in a dead sea.

THERE are vital truths in political economy. They are not the inventions of professors, nor phases of social planning, but are as immutable as the movements of the stars. Hence the folly of experimentation which does not seek for the natural laws. If, for example, capital flows into the most profitable channels it is not in the power of government to direct it; if it attempts such direction disaster is inevitable. If it is a law that men seek to satisfy their desires with the least exertion, this law must be left free to operate, for to it we owe every invention that lightens toil.

IF it is a law that every tax upon a commodity tends to lessen that commodity, every effort should be made to reduce or abolish all taxes, and if the removal of these tends in turn to increase the value of land going into idle hands, we should not only rid ourselves of taxes but transfer them to the community-produced rent of natural resources. This is to confer on society both a correlative and positive benefit.

IF there is a law of human progress that calls for "association in equality," then it follows that every man-made law that does not conform to this natural law must wreck society. You cannot overlook a social injustice done to the meanest of God's creatures, you cannot discriminate against any social class or racial group and hope that your own class will be immune from its consequences. It is of the nature of injustice to propagate itself through every vein of the body politic, selecting quite indiscriminately its victims for punishment.

HOW important then is it to realize that the laws that govern society are not the inventive machinery of statesmen and politicians but are the eternal principles that, as Hooker says, "have their seat in the bosom of the Almighty." And so there is a sense in which Dr. Arnold was right. The machinations of men are in a state of flux and are forever unsettled. Only the laws remain as the rock upon which beat the winds and waves of shifting conditions.

SPEAKING of "taxation in accordance with ability to pay," was not this a practical maxim with Dick Turpin? "From each according to his ability to each according to his needs" was the practice of this chevalier d'industrie and the group that followed his example. Acting on this principle he closed innumerable transactions on the highway and rode gayly on his way. He was something of a gallant figure but came to an inglorious end. So, too, will governments that imitate him.

## The McGlynn Monument

THE greatest supporter of Henry George in his independent candidacy for mayor of the City of New York in 1886, was Father Edward McGlynn, pastor of St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Church, one of the largest churches in New York, with over 25,000 parishioners.

When Henry George was to address a political campaign meeting at Chickering Hall, Dr. McGlynn was also invited to address it, but he was warned by the Archbishop that if he did so he would be excommunicated from the church, as the Archbishop held that the teachings of Henry George were in violation of the principles of the Catholic Church. Dr. McGlynn disagreed with the Archbishop and said there was nothing in the teachings of Henry George contrary to the tenets of Catholicism. Father McGlynn made an eloquent address, and was excommunicated. Rev. Dr. R. L. Burtzell, a Catholic priest, and an intimate friend of Dr. McGlynn, took up the defence of Dr. McGlynn with the Vatican at Rome. The Pope sent his Papal ablegate, Monsignor Francis Satolli, to the United States to investigate the case. In December, 1892, after a few years' investigation, he laid the facts before four Catholic professors of the Catholic University of Washington, D. C., and they declared that Dr. McGlynn did not violate the tenets of the Catholic Church by advocating the principles of Henry George. The Pope then restored Dr. McGlynn to the Church.

After Dr. McGlynn died, the Rev. Sylvester Malone, a Single Taxer and a friend of Dr. McGlynn, started to collect a fund to erect a statue of Father McGlynn to be placed in a public square or park in New York City. The funds were collected and the statue made by a prominent sculptor named Edward T. Quinn, but when the

authorities of New York were asked to permit the statue to be put in a public place, they failed to give their consent, and the statue was temporarily placed in Woodlawn, a non-sectarian cemetery in the upper part of Bronx County, N. Y. City, near the Jerome Avenue entrance. The body of Dr. McGlynn is buried in Calvary, a Catholic cemetery.

Many prominent clergymen and layman eulogized Dr. McGlynn at a public meeting held at the Academy of Music after his death, among them being the Rev. Burtzell, Rev. Mgr. Jos. F. Mooney, V. G., Rev. Stephen S. Wise, Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, Rev. Dr. Heber T. Newton, William Lloyd Garrison, et al. Poems eulogizing Dr. McGlynn were written by Joseph Dana Miller, Edward Markham, Ernest Crosby, Richard LeGallienne, et al. Rev. Sylvester Malone published the "Life of Dr. McGlynn" in 1918, which is most interesting and instructive. Tom L. Johnson, Joseph Fels, Louis F. Post and a host of other prominent Single Taxers paid glowing tributes to the great priest.

Among a few of the things Dr. Rainsford said is the following: "It is the price men are prepared to pay for the truth that should be the standard by which we honor their memory."

Father McGlynn gave up everything for what he believed to be right. Dr. Wise said, "If the world were made up of Father McGlynns, intolerance, persecution and tyranny would cease to be; toleration, justice and love would rule at last over the earth."

Among the very many thousands of Single Tax expressions Dr. McGlynn publicly made, a few are as follows:

"We have no quarrel with the payment of rent, but we have an eternal war with the payment to the wrong man."

"Our object is to have laws enacted by which the rental values of land shall be taken by the community because they are created by the community and rightfully belong to it."

"The monopoly that is the parent monopoly, the gigantic monopoly, is the monopoly of the natural bounties."

"Where a human being exists there is a brother to be loved."

Now that there seems to be a friendly Board of Estimate, it has been proposed that renewed efforts be made to have the statue placed in a public place. The Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, and the Henry George School of Social Science, have been asked to appoint joint committees to obtain permission from the Board of Estimate.

The statue of Father Duffy, who was a Chaplain during the World War, is being erected in Times Square, and as Father McGlynn was a Chaplain during the Civil War, appointed by President Lincoln, then he also should have his statue erected in New York City.



The following inscriptions are inscribed on the statue of Dr. McGlynn;

Doctor Edward McGlynn  
Priest Patriot Philosopher  
Born September 27, 1837

Ordained a Priest in Rome March 24, 1860  
Died January 7, 1900

Erected by the Doctor McGlynn Monument Association,  
Sylvester L. Malone, President; Thomas J. McMahon,  
Secretary

On a small sign in front of the statue is the following inscription:

Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn  
Appointed Chaplain during the Civil War  
In the Military Hospital  
Central Park, New York  
By President Lincoln

## The Bootleg Coal Industry

### AS AN ECONOMIC ISSUE

THE "bootlegging" of Pennsylvania anthracite coal has grown to such proportions as to make it something of a political problem and strikingly raise a fundamental economic and ethical issue.

This alleged "plain stealing" of coal-in-the-ground, by thousands of previously unemployed miners and marketers, is plainly out of line with ordinary "stealing." Their previous involuntary unemployment made their dependence on public or private charity worse than that of the former slave upon his owner, and the need of employment and of its output forces questioning as to the justice and economic policy of coal-in-the-ground "property," just as property in slaves came to be effectively questioned.

The claim that a price was innocently paid to a somehow legalized possessor, does not settle this "present" questioning any more than it did the questioning of chattel slavery, for coal-in-the-ground "property" is similarly questioned ethically even more generally than its legal status as "property" is. But the constitutional wiping-out of similarly based ownership of slaves, and the unquestioned public control of monopoly grants generally, do obviously bring this legal status up for proper determination.

It is certain that this persistent "plain stealing" of coal-in-the-ground, with practical immunity from ordinary legal prosecutions because of overwhelming public sympathy with the "thieves," must be brought to a definite issue and fundamentally settled; for the present lawless "bootlegging" of coal cannot be lightly tolerated without inviting anarchistic conditions generally. And such settlement is more essential to the safeguarding of our civiliza-

tion than the settlement of the slavery question was, for it goes to the vital problem of opening up opportunities for employment,—without solution of which involuntary unemployment must persist with all its inevitable hardships and inherent dangers. Therefore the issue should be squarely raised, not side-stepped; and it should be pressed with all the force that public spirited counsel and executive ability can furnish, and with the adequate backing of public-spirited citizens generally.

Whether the issue is strongly developed by strenuous defense of a humble "bootlegger," as the slavery issue was by like defense of a mere slave in the Dred Scot case, or by defense of a legislative enactment affecting "property" rights in nature's gift of coal-in-the-ground, is a minor matter; and whether consistent interpretation of the Federal Constitution, or required amendment of it, will ultimately attain the essential result, is not vital. But the need of actually freeing Nature's gift from private monopolization as equitable "property," must be impressed upon the minds and consciences of our people to insure the maintenance of self-government and secure a sound civilization. That coal-in-the-ground and like gifts of nature are not private "property" as products of human beings are, must be lawfully established, or our civilization must logically fail as others have.

This brief viewing of the "bootlegging case" as involving a vital economic issue, is submitted with the desire to promptly invite expert legal and administrative counsel into needed action about it; a purpose that of course calls for your own and other influential support.

WALTER G. STEWART.

SYDNEY, N. S. W., Australia—The Georgeist proposal for social land value taxation in order to abolish the quasi-monopoly of all natural resources now existing has been endorsed by *The Commonwealth*, a monthly issued by the Australian Church and published by the Rev. Dr. Strong of Melbourne.

*The Commonwealth* is quoted by *The Standard of Sydney* as follows:

"The land of the world should be made accessible to all persons who want to make use of it. There should be acknowledgement of the fact that the earth is provided for the children of men of all generations. How can this be done in any better way than that proposed by Henry George and others, viz., by each user paying rent to the public for the land he uses?"

HENRY GEORGE NEWS SERVICE.

WHEN the slaveholders of the South looked upon the condition of the free laboring poor in the most advanced civilized countries, it is no wonder that they easily persuaded themselves of the divine institution of slavery. —PROGRESS AND POVERTY.



## Social Credit Summarized

THE Social Credit Plan is based upon the belief that "private finance, operating together with a monopolistic system of capital, causes poverty and depression by constantly increasing prices." This effect is superinduced by the bankers' practice of giving overdrafts—that is, by making loans beyond what is justified by the assets of the borrower. Now, the borrower pays his laborers and creditors and stockholders (who pay *their* laborers, etc.) with this credit, which will then, in the form of money, come into the market for consumers' goods. But as the consumer's goods, which must be the ultimate result of the borrower's efforts, are not yet in the market, there is an increase of consumers' credits (money) without a corresponding increase of goods. Then prices must rise for the demand for goods in terms of money (credits) will increase. Thus is the consumer's dollar continually lessened in purchasing power.

Of course, we would eventually get the goods to the consumer, but could hardly lower prices thereby, since the desire of the banker for interest leads him to issue overdrafts with continuous abandon, thus generating an always rising rate of flow of credit. The flow, and the rate of it, are given considerable attention by Douglas, who says that credit flows out from the bank and back into it, via the monopolistic producer, who, having borrowed from the bank, and distributed his borrowings to his laborers and creditors, fixes his price to get back, in addition to a profit for himself, the amount of his loan, plus interest, for the banker. This goes back into the bank and then out again, swollen by overdrafts. Such is the flow of credit, and the rate of flow (rapidity of circulation of currency to the vulgar) is continually increasing faster than the production of goods.

So wages, salaries, and dividends, which Douglas speaks of as the forms of consumers' credits, are continually being weakened in purchasing power by the rise of prices. They cannot ever expand in purchasing power by the lowering of prices because even if no overdrafts were issued, capitalists would still fix prices to get back all the credits which they had paid out. And the normal increase in production to be expected in a progressive society would merely enhance the flow of credit controlled by the banker, for, Douglas says, a modern factory produces credit as really as it does tangible goods.

This last is a very interesting point. It is common in metaphysics, when philosophers make arguments with undemonstrable premises, to give such premises greater validity by first offering proofs of a sort, and then by declaring very vigorously that they are *real*—that is, that people should have the same faith in their existence as I have in the existence of the chair on which I sit. Such a belief is the one of Plato that only mind is real—that the chair is the result of an idea in the mind,

rather than what most people find obvious, that the idea results from the sight and feel of the chair. To convey a sense of reality in ideas apparently unreal, great vigor and frequency of declaration are necessary, and Douglas does not spare himself in this when he confers upon what he calls Real Credit (the capitals are his) the dignity of an equal actuality with tangible wealth. It functions, he thinks, at least coordinately with, if not more importantly than the actual production of goods.

Real Credit (as distinguished from ordinary financial credit) is defined as a correct estimate of a nation's ability to produce during a given period. It is based on all the factors of production as they exist in that nation. If this is done by experts of publicly owned "People's Banks" who will issue financial credits in accordance with the limits of this estimate, controlling the rate of flow of credit for the people's good, then we can abolish poverty and depression, and create prosperity.

The method which these experts will follow is most intriguing. They will not only fix prices for the producer, but will require him to *sell below cost*, so that he will have to come to them to get the difference between the actually selling price and the price authorized by the bank. This plan is designed to give the bank complete control over the producer, whom its experts can punish by withholding the difference.

The People's Banks, one to each industry, are to be controlled in matters of broad policy, though not in detail, by the people themselves. Each worker will have an equal vote as to what purposes increases in production shall be devoted—whether to capital, expansion, or for consumption goods for themselves. The experts will determine how much to lower or raise prices to secure the desired effect. If the people wish to heighten their standard of living, for example, prices should be lowered on consumption goods, and the experts will have to juggle prices until consumption goods are cheaper. Douglas thinks that this system will make for real democracy, for he believes that the people cannot judge of the technical questions with which politicians now merely confuse them, but that they are capable of determining what they want in their economic lives, if the issues are broad and simple enough.

The price-fixing is not to be according to the arbitrary opinion of the experts, but is to be based upon a definite formula—the ratio of consumption credit to Real Credit. A proper fraction is supposed to always result, since Real Credit (the correct estimate of production in the future) will always outrun the consumption credit issued on present production, inasmuch as men working in social cooperation get an increasingly greater "unearned increment" (everything above what a single person could get entirely by himself), from the division of labor and the use of capital. Next year's production will always be greater than this year's—if rising prices do not prevent



the people from buying the goods which now pile up into surpluses.

The banks will make the profits (the present owners of businesses after paying all credits into the banks of their particular industries, will get only a flat rate of interest on an assessed valuation of their properties) as well as direct the industry, re-investing such profits in the industry. These capitalizations of profits will be represented by interest bearing shares which the bank will hold on account for the workers, equally dividing the interest among them. Eventually, with the increase of the unearned increment, efficiency of production will rise to the point where a few workers will be able to supply all the desires of the people. By that time the constantly re-invested profits will supply the technologically unemployed population with the necessary purchasing power to keep the system running. Major Douglas expects that this happy consummation would come about not long after the adoption of his plan, for he thinks it probable that the potential productive power of modern society, if allowed to operate efficiently, is already equal to the full supply of men's wants with little labor. Moreover, it would not be possible under his system, to hold back invention for the purpose of saving private vested interests when everything would be controlled in the private interest. And men and money would be eagerly devoted to developing the direct use of solar energy when society would have the means to purchase its project, and evidently considers its success of prime importance to social economy.

\* \* \*

I hope that all of the above is clear to the reader, but I doubt that he will easily master the subject from this brief summary. It is more likely that it will master him if he tries to grapple with it seriously. The author himself barely emerged from the study of it with his sanity, and his head is bald from tearing out his hair in a fine frenzy of confusion over the difficulties of "Credit Power and Democracy," Douglas' magnum opus. However, he has pulled through with sufficient strength to present the reader with the main elements of the Social Credit Plan of Douglas. If that reader is still uncertain what those main elements are, I will leave him with this final word: Douglas has had some popular success because he attacks a real and notorious evil, though a minor one, in the practice of bankers of issuing credit on false values, and because he promises something for nothing with a vengeance. His finer-spun theories are not at all understood by most of his followers, who are content with a Devil and a Paradise.

—DAVID J. CHODOROV.

I DO not like the English landed system, with its absence of peasants and its predominance of squires.

CHESTERTON.

## "First the Blade—Then the Ear"

SOME of the students of the Henry George School of Social Science have lately been interested to discover in an old number of the *SINGLE TAX REVIEW*, what was undoubtedly the germ idea of the School as it is developing, in a paper by Oscar Geiger, read at a Conference in Buffalo, September, 1914. Their idea is to present this paper in full, and then show, by comments on its contents, why they see it so clearly to be the H. G. S. of S. S. in embryo.

(The points especially commented on in the article have been italicized and are taken up in order.)

### READING CIRCLES

BY OSCAR GEIGER

Fundamental Social Betterment, to be lasting, must come in response to a demand from the people, and the people must understand before they can demand. If we are ever to get the Single Tax on the statute books so that it will stay there, we must first get it into the minds of the people. We must get the people to want it and to get them to want it we must first get them to know it.

It is proper for us to try to get whatever measure of justice we can by such legal enactments as with the present state of the public mind we are able to obtain, but we must not delude ourselves into believing that merely direct effort toward legislation in the people's state of mind will secure fundamental justice, or if by chance it does, that it could be maintained. The people themselves would soon undo or sanction the undoing, passively if not actively, of any law, however just or right it may be, which they did not understand. Vested interest would soon proclaim the sacredness of contract, the inviolability of predatory and time-honored institutions, and successfully show how their sacred rights were being violated.

The people are not proof against resounding phrases, against the wiles and cunning of the political boss and the corporation hireling. They must be educated. There is no enduring short cut to freedom. The path of democracy lies through education.

This accepted, there remains only the selection of effective methods of educating the people. There are many ways, most are expensive, while many are fraught with the requirement of undue effort, and therefore wasted energy. Most methods of educating the people are a sort of hit and miss affair, more often missing than hitting.

This wasted energy we should try to overcome, and I believe the method I am about to propose in great measure does this. I hope you will give it your consideration.

Our propaganda should be separated into two component parts. First, publicity, by which the Single Tax is brought to public attention sufficiently to stimulate the curiosity and the interest of the individual to want to know something about it; and, secondly, educating that aroused interest.



How publicity can best be promoted is not my purpose to explain in this paper. We have among our membership experts in the art of publicity, who, I am sure, if called upon to do so, will ably and willingly plan a State-wide campaign of publicity that could be carried out with economy and produce results.

My purpose is to interest you in one method of educating the individual. Like the fellow who wanted fried fish and conceived the happy idea that he must first catch his fish, so to educate the individual we must first get him.

Individuals merely are not hard to get, but not all individuals will serve the purpose of our propaganda. We must get the individual who wants the light and having got the light is able and willing to spread it. The Single Tax cannot be forced on any one. When we think we have accomplished such a feat we have merely wasted energy. *We must draw from the ranks of those who want to learn*, and I believe the Reading Circle lends itself as the best instrument for the purpose.

*One's willingness to join a Reading Circle is also the touchstone of his quality; of his fitness for the Single Tax.* This man is willing to learn. *He is willing to go somewhere to listen, to ask questions, to argue, perhaps to read and then in turn to instruct.* In short, it is his action that proves his quality. Our duty is to supply the *place to which to go, the things to hear, and the person of whom the questions may be asked.* I know of nothing that so effectively supplies these as the Reading Circle, conducted, of course, as is intended with subject matter and formula carefully prepared.

Furthermore, the Reading Circle soon becomes the meeting place, the clearing house of idealism and philosophies, and what attraction is there greater than a crowd mutually met to talk?

One of the great advantages of Reading Circles as a method of propaganda is the ease with which they are started, and, once started, the ease with which they are kept going. In fact, once started, they cannot be stopped.

As in describing any circle, however, we must have a centerpoint, a place from which to start, so in a Reading Circle we must have the point around which the circle can be described. This point is the reader or leader of the circle. These readers must at first be chosen from ourselves, nor should the choice be limited. These readers must be ourselves.

We are not teaching a philosophy merely. We have a gospel to spread, and we should not delay longer what should have been done years ago.

What a difference it would make today if "Progress and Poverty" were known and understood throughout this State as only Reading Circles can make it known and understood. What would be the possibilities at the coming Constitutional Convention if for twenty years the Single Tax had been systematically and positively taught?

It is not too late now. This league has been organized for the purpose of bringing about the Single Tax. It has among its members those who have done much for the Single Tax, many who want to do more, all who can do something. Each and every one can help. Holding meetings and conventions is not enough. It is the work that we do among the people that counts. And nothing will bring us closer to the people than the Reading Circle, and I have spoken on street corners for years and button-holed people wherever I could find them.

The Reading Circle gives you a grip on your audience that nothing else can give. *It creates a feeling of fellowship that tends to break down the bars of prejudice and bigotry* and puts the reader into sympathetic relation with his hearers.

Perhaps the most important advantage of the Reading Circle as a method of propaganda is that it does not require great skill, or, in fact, any previous practice whatever on the part of the leader. Of course, any experience in public speaking that the reader may have is that much gained but no previous practice in teaching or public speaking is necessary. What most likely will result is that not only the reader but also the other members of the circle will eventually be able to express their thoughts in public if they were not able to do so before.

Not least among the advantages of the Reading Circle as a propaganda method is the fact that money is not an essential requirement for its success. Meeting halls are not necessary. Meetings can be conducted in the home of the leader or of one of the members. In fact, the home as a meeting place has many decided advantages. Some may prefer school rooms, where such can be obtained.

The only thing that is needed to successfully conduct Single Tax Reading Circles is a guide, a primary book such as Rusby's "Smaller Profits, Reduced Salaries and Lower Wages," or "The Story of My Dictatorship," followed by some such book as "Social Problems" and leading eventually to "Progress and Poverty." Or as has been suggested, starting with a series of questions and answers made up from such a book as Rusby's, and filling a session of about two hours. These questions and answers are intended to direct the discourse and not necessarily to be used in stereotyped fashion, unless that method for obvious reasons may be deemed the best.

All that is needed is a beginning. The League, or some one authorized by the League, should prepare and have ready new matter for this purpose, and be ready to direct and advise when such advice is needed.

There is no limit to the possibilities. Men congregate naturally. It is in the nature of things for them to do so. Our mission should be to use this tendency to induce men to gather to talk the philosophy of Henry George.

I believe Single Tax Reading Circles can be made a custom. The reading circle spirit, once properly inocu-



lated, is catching, being both infectious and contagious.

*The possibilities are unlimited.* Each Reading Circle will, in the natural course, draw to it some person from a more distant neighborhood, who in time will form the center of a new neighborhood circle himself. Whoever has once been part of a Reading Circle will readily serve as the nucleus for another.

*It will be part of the work of this League to keep in touch not only with the readers or leaders of the various Reading Circles, but also with each member of such circles, and to help and encourage this work.* It will give the League a list of names (if indeed not a list of members) that could not be otherwise obtained. And who does not see the possibility of an endless chain of circles each ever prolific of further increase?

I can see only one outcome to the proper expenditure of effort in this direction on our part. *The people will respond if we are in earnest and our work will be crowned with success.* We will lay the foundation of justice and democracy so firm and true that it will not be dislodged, and that Freedom, Social and Economic, will be served.

\* \* \*

In the foregoing address delivered by Oscar H. Geiger nearly twenty-two years ago, we can see his thought then turning in the direction, which, nineteen years later resulted in his establishing the school which he named the Henry George School of Social Science.

As we read this appeal of his, that consideration be given to this idea of "Reading Circles"—as the best way then evident to him for educating people towards social and economic freedom,—and as we ponder upon the development of the work of this school which he began, we seem

"To sail with Arthur under looming shores,  
Point after point, till on to dawn, when dreams  
Begin to feel the truth and stir of day."

Let us examine some of these points of similarity between the idea of the Reading Circles, then promulgated, and the reality of the School he later founded.

"We must draw from the ranks of those who want to learn."—was to be a principle of the Reading Circle.

The School seeks to do just this by its plan of offering widely by means of its triplicate postal, a free course which shall give the individual a clearer understanding of

Why Poverty Persists with Plenty

Why Depressions Recur

Why Nations Go to War

Why Labor and Capital Fight, and a host of similar questions of vital interest.

"One's willingness to join a Reading Circle is also the touchstone of his quality . . . He is willing to go somewhere to listen, to ask questions, to argue, perhaps to read, and then in turn to instruct."

Those who actually respond to the postal sent out

by the School by their presence in the class room, are those who thus prove their quality by their action.

Next, we learn from this address given so many years ago, that it is

"Our duty to supply the place, the things to hear, and the person of whom the questions may be asked."

Years afterwards, when this idea of the Reading Circles had become further clarified in his mind, Oscar Geiger provided a classroom, and a logical set of questions on the teachings of Henry George as set forth in "Progress and Poverty," and became himself the devoted teacher of eleven classes meeting weekly in that room. In this we see him united at last with his thought. From that unity a greater unity has sprung! There are in this country alone one hundred and eighty-seven instructors now, in over one hundred cities of this broad land using offices, homes, or class rooms, thus following his lead. At present writing, these instructors are about to make use of the third revision of his teaching manual, which many of them worked upon recently in order that it should become a more perfect teaching instrument. This body of instructors has largely been developed from those who came to learn, and stayed to teach!—as was Oscar Geiger's hope in contemplating the Reading Circles.

"Furthermore the Reading Circle soon becomes the meeting place, the clearing house of idealism and philosophies" . . .

Here we see the direction where our great leader would have these students look, and it behooves us to keep it ever in mind. A wider vision, and then a journey to further heights, should be our aim, as it was his.

As one of the steps we have our Part II Course. Of the power of such a circle, we note—

"It creates a feeling of fellowship that tends to break down the bars of prejudice and bigotry."

Nineteen years after this, Oscar Geiger was to say to one of his pupils, "I have always dreamed there might be a Henry George Fellowship," and his students catching the vision were to establish it, in his own class room, on a memorable evening, April 19, 1934, two months before he left that little band of loving and grateful students, who thereupon determined to continue the work he had so well begun.

"It will be a part of the work . . . to keep in touch not only with the readers or leaders of the various Reading Circles, but also with each member of such circles, and to help and encourage this work."

In the steadily expanding work of the school with its extension classes this part of the work has been going patiently forward,—the aim being to record at the School's headquarters the name of every student in the country as he or she completes the course in "Progress and Poverty,"—together with the name of each instructor, with a record of the classes and students taught by him.

"To help and encourage this work," as suggested, there are constantly going forward from the Main School, letters explaining the method, with all necessary material—helps for conducting the classes, such as lesson assignments, teaching manuals, and copies of the Henry George News Service, a weekly message serving fifty-four Georgeist publications throughout the world, for use without cost.

"The possibilities are unlimited."

True—of the School, indeed. There are extension classes now in England, Denmark, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, as well as over one hundred in the United States, all appearing since September, 1933, when Oscar Geiger began to put to the test the idea he had presented in its germ form as "Reading Circles" nineteen years before. Through the years, he had come to see that for his purpose of making clear the philosophy of Henry George and spreading the gospel of that message, no book approached "Progress and Poverty" in its power to convince the student—so he devised a method of question and answer following logically through the book, which was the basis of the present Teachers' Manual. He said of the Reading Circles:—

"The people will respond if we are in earnest, and our work will be crowned with success."

What must have been his inner joy as a sign of the coming fulfilment of his God-like purpose, to help men to free man, after establishing the School—to find strong, young lives rallying to the task beside him!

Of the School, developed from this idea germinating slowly during those years, we have a fervent faith the words last quoted will prove to be prophetic. It was the faith and work of Oscar Geiger that produced the ear following the blade; to produce the full corn in the ear will require no less faith and work on the part of his students and friends in the movement.

HELEN D. DENBIGH.

## Just Ignorance

IN the unabridged dictionary that is being offered by the *Post* of this city there is a definition of Single Tax as follows: "A form of taxation advocated by some, consisting of a levy on land, irrespective of its value, and on no other form of property."

This is a good definition of what the Single Tax is *not*. It may be said that most of the dictionary definitions of economic terms are "cockeyed." A plan has been worked out to examine these definitions in various dictionaries and communicate with the publishers of these lexicons. A newspaper article could then be written which might be syndicated and find publication in farm papers and elsewhere. There are possibilities in this suggestion, which originates with Mr. Ellenoff of Brooklyn, author "How to Create More Jobs than Men," and other widely circulated pamphlets.

## Privilege for Every One

FREDERICK S. ARNOLD, A.M.

LIBERALISM is a word that seems to be used loosely for almost any change in public affairs, from the administrative reforms and the suppression of ecclesiastical abuses by the Emperor Joseph II, in the eighteenth century, to Communism and Atheism. We can't get anywhere with a term as loose as that. It ought to be defined. European Liberalism historically came to mean individualism, freedom, justice, and equality of opportunity. In the nineteenth century it meant equality of all men before the law, religious toleration and freedom of speech and person, a reformed civil service based on merit, representative government, universal suffrage, a secret ballot, Anti-slavery, Free Trade, and the abolition of special privileges. In the British Islands and in America it came to include local self government, home rule, and States Rights. As great monopolies developed in modern business, Liberalism came to mean Anti-monopoly. Therefore, where monopoly is natural and necessary to the business, but nowhere else, Liberalism came to mean Government Ownership. In this sense of the word, Fascism, Socialism, and Communism are not Liberalism, but its antithesis. In Russia, Communism is explicitly regarded as opposed to Western Liberalism. Defined in this way, Liberalism becomes something definite enough to discuss. It is a philosophy of the complete freedom (*libertas*) of the individual, based on the ethical and metaphysical value of personality.

Our last Democratic president of the Liberal school was Grover Cleveland. Perhaps the last old-time Liberal Prime Minister in England was Campbell-Bannerman. The last Liberal Roman of antiquity was Tiberius Gracchus. His own brother, Gaius, introduced the dole and Julius Caesar was a Fascist Dictator. That was the final defeat of ancient Liberalism. Liberalism has failed to win a good many times, since Gracchus, B. C. 133.

When Grover Cleveland was president and Governor Russell administered Massachusetts and Bayard, Breckinridge, Mills, Schurz, and many others were leaders of the Democratic party, Democracy meant about what it had meant under Thomas Jefferson, George Clinton, Martin VanBuren, Thomas Hart Benton, and Samuel J. Tilden. It meant States Rights, Free Trade, local self-government, the gold standard of sound money, and thrift. Grover Cleveland himself added the principle of the merit system, or civil service reform. All that is nineteenth century Liberalism. The economics of this philosophy began with the French Physiocrats, Condorcet, Turgot, du Pont de Nemours, du Quesnay, who deeply influenced Thomas Jefferson. This *laissez faire* economics developed through Adam Smith, Ricardo, John Stuart Mill and others in England. It became the philosophy of economic Liberalism. These are the his-



torical principles of the Democratic party in the United States.

The Republican party also began as a Liberal party. It was anti-slavery and Liberalism must be anti-slavery. The Republican party, however, began also as the heir of the Whig and Federalist doctrine of centralized government. Therefore the Republicans fought the war for the Union. The Democrats sympathized with a state's right to secede. The issue was settled on the battlefield and the Democratic party was outcast and discredited from 1860 until 1884. For almost a generation of men, Democracy was regarded as standing for slavery, treason, and disunion.

In American history the forces of evil captured each of the great parties in turn. The party of Jefferson, Van Buren, Benton and others stood for States' Rights. Slavery was not recognized in terms by the Federal government. It was protected only by the states. So the slave-holders first joined and then captured the great party of American Liberalism. They pushed States' Rights to the limit of secession and they and the party were ruined by the Civil War. Yet the Liberal Republican party, that arose to punish and overthrow them, fared little better. Partly as a result of the war for the Union, partly because of principles inherited from the Whigs and the Federalists, the Republican party was the party of a strong central government. Those were the days when Plutocracy, or the rule of wealth, and monopoly, the plutocratic form of special privilege, were coming into existence. The Plutocrats wanted a Protective Tariff to guarantee special privileges and to make it possible for trusts and combines to erect profitable, artificial monopolies within our borders, through tariff protection. They wanted the great natural monopoly, the railroads, kept in private hands and subsidized by enough government grants of free lands to build those railroads for private monopolists. So, just as the slave-owners once joined the Democratic party and captured it, in 1861 the rising Plutocrats joined the Republican party and captured it. They supported the Union on the condition that the Union should give them the high tariff and the railways and the land-grants. That was their price. In return for that price, the Plutocrats helped the American people to defeat the slave-owners and to win the Civil War. Then, under the administration of a great general, Grant, who never really understood either politics or business, they pocketed their gains. Henceforth America was doomed to monopoly and the rule of wealth.

Before Plutocracy could enjoy its gains in quietness, however, Liberalism had to be beaten. For Liberalism had been very strong in America. It was strong in the South almost until the Mexican War and it was still strong in the North until the World War. John Fiske, whose books on American history and civil government were very popular in the nineties, was a zealous Liberal. So were many of the authors and public men of the North

until the World War. Grover Cleveland was elected president in 1884, more or less by political accident. He revived the old Liberalism of the Democratic party and, in the campaigns of 1888 and 1892, made that the issue. This Democratic championship of Liberalism failed.

As a result of issues connected with the war and the negro-question, the southern part of the Democratic party held a large number of persons who were not Liberals at all and these Illiberals fought against President Cleveland from within his party. In the North, because of the same issues, a great many persons of Liberal views hated the Democratic party and joined the Plutocracy in fighting the Cleveland-Liberalism. Later on, President Theodore Roosevelt, who also attained the highest office through accident, the tragic accident of McKinley's assassination, tried to revive the old Liberalism of the Republican party. It may be that Theodore Roosevelt was rather more successful than Grover Cleveland. His approach was, of course, very different. Nevertheless, the Plutocracy maintained its hold on the party. When Theodore Roosevelt attempted a Progressive revolt, he finally failed. Whatever Woodrow Wilson might have done, the World War took up all his time. After the World War, at least from 1921 to 1933, the Plutocracy had a free hand to rule America.

Individual members of the Plutocratic party may have always recognized that the Plutocratic theory could not be realized, but publicly a theory, true or false, had to be presented to the people to win them to Plutocracy. For America was politically a democracy. The Plutocratic theory, then, was somewhat as follows:

Granted that the private ownership of all the natural monopolies and of the unearned increment of land values, as also the privileges given by the Protective tariff, is a great complex of inequality and special privilege; nevertheless, if we are going to have individualism at all, there must always be some rich men and some poor men. But the arrangements of monopoly and special privilege hitherto have made and always will make business good and business will take care of everyone. That is better than to ruin every one for the sake of Liberalism, in any of its varied forms. True, the few will be very rich, but that is the reward of their ability, an ability necessary to exploit the continent and to give America prosperity. Special privilege, tariffs and monopolies, have created prosperity and every one shares it in proportion to his business-efficiency. Business is good. There is work for every one. Wages are generous. Prices are low. The demand for labor was never so great and the standard of living was never so high in any country on earth. Compared with England and Western Europe, where everyone is poor, or with Russia, where every one is starving, our America of monopoly and special privilege and prosperity is the paradise of humanity.

This argument converted the American people. Times were good, so the argument seemed realistic. The great



American democracy came no longer to care for doctrines, like freedom, justice, and equality of opportunity. They came to care and only to care for material things; high wages, high standards of living, privilege, and prosperity. Some have charged that materialism and the abandonment of such ideals as liberty and justice is the result of the teachings of the so called New Deal. In fact, this unprincipled Materialism was the argument by which the Plutocracy won the support of the people and especially of youth, disillusioned by the futile and self-seeking termination of the World War, for the plutocratic programme of monopoly and privilege.

The theory that Plutocracy and monopoly create prosperity and that prosperity takes care of everybody certainly had its day. From 1921 to 1929 under Harding and Coolidge we enjoyed boom-times. Everyone was working for good wages and everyone had automobiles, radios, and moving pictures. Mechanical toys, however, are a poor substitute for the great spiritual goods of liberty, justice, and equality of opportunity. Retribution came under President Hoover. The depression was all the more hated, because it was loaded with prohibition, to which Hoover seems to have been devoted. Prohibition aside, the depression ruined the Plutocratic theory of things. The rich were very rich. Monopoly and special privilege held business and labor by a strangling grip. But the great people, with the power of the ballot in their hands, were fooled, deluded, robbed, impoverished, starving, and out of work. There rose a great cry. They had been taught to reverence privilege as the source of prosperity. Prosperity had come to an end. The vast multitude now demanded privilege for themselves.

When there is a great demand there will generally be some able and enterprising persons to attempt to arrange for the supply. The answer of the demand of America was the New Deal. It is not anti-monopoly, the abolition of special privilege, Free Trade, nor freedom of any sort. It is privilege, only it is privilege made democratic: relief, artificial employment, minimum wage, old age pensions, national security; all the things that the Plutocracy had promised for a generation, under other forms and in a quite different way, and which, after 1929, the Plutocracy had failed to deliver. It is what the people were taught to ask and what they now are determined to have. So, in election after election, enormous majorities are rolled up for the New Deal. It appears that it must be tried.

Suppose that the new theories of privilege for everyone prove just as impossible of realization as the plutocratic theory, that special privilege will make prosperity for everyone. The Liberalism of Cleveland and Theodore Roosevelt may be as completely forgotten as the Liberalism of Tiberius Gracchus. But suppose that the New Deal fails to fit into the universe. Then the experiment will prove just another, even if more generous, illusion. What will happen then?

## Causerie

BY THOMAS N. ASHTON

### BOSTON'S BEST

**S**EVEN outstanding law firms—"Boston's Best"—publicly are charged with promoting a racket in real estate valuations and abatements.

The gentlemen, who comprise the seven firms, are not interested in Single Tax whilst they alibi their challenge activities by asserting that "real estate" is over-assessed.

Several years ago a very few enterprising members of society—quite adept in legal conniving—secured the enactment of a statute creating a Board of Tax Appeals. The purpose had an air of bigger and better "justice" for owners of real estate—the programme was palatable and potable—it was easy to swallow. Single Tax was not necessary.

Comparable to all reforms of expedient nature, the BTA scheme immediately disclosed, upon functioning, its mechanical defects. Among these it was found that the cost of appealing at once placed the department beyond the reach of all but wealthy petitioners who—it now transpires—annually have reaped a harvest in tax abatements. Legal fees ran into sizable sums for the members of "Boston's Best" who secured satisfaction for their clients and for themselves. As to who must carry the tax load, which these gentlemen avoided under a tax system which they favor, was of no legal concern to them, and legalities are as far as "Boston's Best" go in the matter of economics. Single Tax is of no moment.

During only one calendar year these wealthy petitioners have secured abatements totalling more than six millions of dollars in *their* few cases.

It now transpires that in each succeeding year the Board of Assessors, complying with their oath of office, consistently has marked up the valuations of property concerned. With equal consistency, in each year, "Boston's Best" successfully has secured abatements from the BTA. Perpetual motion has been discovered and all parties concerned are profiting by the mechanical procedure involved.

The welfare of the uninitiate, the guileless, the illiterate the ignorant, the uninfluential taxpayer—and he is legion—is of no importance. He is unable to think, he cannot afford to connive toward "legal justice," he is at an almost insurmountable disadvantage in this game of tax-dodging under our vicious system of taxation.

Of course, "Boston's Best" are far too busy to engage in social ethics—their business lies in law. Morals and ethics must not be permitted to jeopardise "legal justice," and as long as the influential can legally evade their "ability-to-pay" share of taxes they can still afford to advocate ability-to-pay methods.

As a thief I favor wholesale pocket-picking as long as I

can out-smart you—as long as I can pick your pocket whilst defeating your attempt to pick mine. Such is the degree we have reached in I. Q. ratings. As a pioneer State, in culture and cleverness, we still aim to lead.

Patiently, seven leading law firms—such as “Boston’s Best”—are far too busy to be concerned over civic virtue, scientific analysis of both silly and sound theories of taxation, and about the welfare of their fellowmen who, either cannot afford or do not possess knowledge for this sort of tax-abatement “justice.”

Our *modus operandi* is to grab a life-belt and “to hell with the leaks” in the hull of the Ship of State; our ability-to-pay theory is right and, consequently, economic chaos is beyond our control and responsibility; Single Tax is the Utopian vision of impractical dreamers. Oh! Yeah?

### THE POWER OF SPOTS

Wonders will never cease.

The most complex problems eventually are solved for us in the most simple manners. Simply stand back and let the high foreheads of our polished professors butt into the jam.

Collegiate intellects again have been clicking.

This time we are engulfed in a scientific, astronomical treatise which bids fair to prove that sun-spots, positively or negatively, may pull us out of our “depression.”

Why not?

There’s power in them thar spots.

Take gravy spots, f’instance. Time out of mind, since the cave wife introduced economy by saving savory juices which formerly splashed in utter abandon around the cave door, spots have put humble husbands “on the spot.” From infantile naivete to four-score-and-ten senility, spots subtly have changed the course of human events.

You remember, do you not, your doting mother’s early morning inspections? Her dulcet tones yet ring and echo in your ears.

“Wallace, wipe the egg spots off your chin before you start for school.”

Again, in the springtime of your manhood, your father’s gruff but idolatrous rumble comes zooming into your day-dreams.

“Sam, the spots on your spats are not compatible with the purpose of spats. Spats aim at tonsorial refinement; spots serve the purpose of emphasizing the lack of culture.”

Yes, indeed, spots can easily plunge us into the veriest depths of mental depressions—spots such as do not readily yield to benzine, gasoline or other active agents.

So why can’t sun-spots do as much with our 1929–1936 spot of economic depression?

There’s power in them thar spots.

Oddly enough, these solaristic negations are said to act contriwise to their positive state—sort of a female-of-the-species attitude.

It’s this way, “At the times of sun-spot maximum the earth’s receipt of heat from the sun increases over normal

and, when the sun-spots are at a minimum, the heat received is below normal.”

But . . . “Increased heat radiation from the sun entails a higher degree of warmth of the earth. High temperatures are, however, conducive of increased evaporation from the water covered areas of the earth with a resulting higher water vapor content of the earth’s atmosphere.”

Furthermore . . . “Both evaporation and rainfall are cooling phenomena.”

It therefore transpires that the sun’s positive spots, acting negatively, teach us that

“A correlation of great human interest is that of sun-spot activity with stock market transactions and with the price of grain, wheat, cotton and other major items of exchange . . . that the stimulating effect of ultra-violet radiation upon humans should have much to do with the periods of prosperity and depression, and with the flux of prices, not only of stocks and bonds, but of staple commodities.”

It’s all so simple, once you see the solution. Of course to get a more comprehensive analysis of the phenomena you should read the Harvardian dissertation involving maxima and minima sun-spots idiosyncracies which send the stimula, resulting in the *Astronomische Mitteilungen* dating back to the year 1610. Also, what sun-spots resulted in Henry George’s writing of “Progress and Poverty” in 1879—and what sun-spots affect our mentality with such a depression as our present one. Then possibly those of us who are denied equal rights to the use of the earth may be induced to fix our eyes on the sun-spots.

### “ACCORDING TO EXPERTS”

“According to experts” (in Brainy Boston) real estate is valued at 100 per cent, “whereas other major cities in the country only assess at anywhere from 20 to 50 per cent of the legal value of property.”

Chicago is held up as an outstanding example as to how ability-to-pay advocates know when to apply the disability-to-pay rule. Chicago, it is alleged, assesses property at only 37 per cent of its value.

The experts forget to inform us, however, that Boston real estate is now assessed at full value (in some instances) because the market value has dropped down to the level of the assessed value; the condition has not come about due to any deliberate fixing of assessed values at the original market-value level.

Despite Chicago’s have-a-heart attitude toward real estate owners, that illustrious city’s tax rate is only \$26.34 as against Boston’s rate of \$37.00, but again the Boston experts fail to inform us as to the tax load on other forms of wealth in the mid-west metropolis. Eastern experts, like all other experts who wish to merely move the load on the donkey’s back, have good memories on points they choose to stress, as well as good forgetteries on points which disprove their assertions.



Whilst the landlords are fighting to substitute the disability-to-pay rule for the ability-to-pay principle, the industrialists are winning parliamentary battles in another fight to reduce the tax load on machinery in the State of Massachusetts' Monumental Mentality. "Work for thousands" is promised *if* this machinery tax bill is enacted; foreign manufacturers have packed their factories into their satchels, at their home ports, and are "ready, willin' and waitin'" to sail into Massachusetts where machinery will be practically exempt from taxation.

The experts again forget to remind us that the indirect tax load, formerly carried by Massachusetts' products to all parts of the world under the machinery-tax law of passing-the-buck to the consumer, must be matched by another source of, or additional, taxation upon the remaining wealth in Massachusetts; and the income tax field seems to be the goat in view. With grand gusto, our legislators hail the abolition of taxes on machinery as a most necessary hyperdermic for strangled business; having one-way, one-idea, one-track minds—they give no thought to the thus-shifted burden under the old, vicious order of tax methods. With loud acclaim they cheerfully cut the throats of income-owners so that non-resident operators of machinery may enter our State and profit at the expense of other victims.

Perhaps this is progress; progress by vicarious atonement. Anyway, it's all "according to experts"—experts educated in a university now covered with three hundred years of moss—experts who have been reared on the greatest of brain-food, the sacred cod—experts without ability-to-think who believe in ability-to-pay taxes.

### THE SCIENCE OF BEFUDDLING

None but the best is good enough for our "best universities"; accordingly our best-by-far university of these United States has imported the fruits of the best British mind in the matter of text-books on the subject of "The Science of Prices."

"The Science of Prices" is a book replete with revelations. All that one needs is the price of the book. One is then ready to absorb a complete course of instruction in the science of becoming befuddled.

We reach the second paragraph only, on page 1, when we are readily informed that "The principles of economics are now well established, but they have to be applied under conditions which vary from one country to another, and are constantly changing." This professorial pronouncement gives us pause. The principles of economics are now well established, but . . . canteloupes and ice cream, or any other food; breech-cloths versus scanties or other "shorts"; grass huts versus Empire State buildings; in fact, any form of food, clothing or shelter, which are the fruits of human industry, gravely modify the now well-established principles of economics contingent upon which country is under scrutiny. We must therefore enter into the field of economics with our fingers crossed.

The honorable John A. Todd, M.A. (Oxon.), B.L. (Glasgow); principal of the City School of Commerce, Liverpool; sometime lecturer in economics, Balliol College, Oxford; late professor of Economics and Commerce, University College, Nottingham; formerly of the Khedivial School of Law, Cairo; and author of divers books, informs us that his master's expositions (the late Alfred Marshall) "have unfortunately proved very difficult to young students. . . ." hence Prof. Todd's "Science of Prices."

We feel assured that "The Science of Prices" will be plain sailing, though we are advised that notwithstanding that "Economics has been taught as a science or preached as a gospel for at least 150 years, its teachers do not seem even yet to have agreed upon a definition of the science, nor even upon its name, for the old name of Political Economy and the new name Economics or Economic Science seem still to be used indifferently." Todd's master, the late Alfred Marshall, offers the following definition:—

"Political Economy or Economics is a study of man's actions in the ordinary business of life. It enquires how he gets his income and how he uses it."

This definition may account for the house-wifely custom of watching the spouse's weekly pay-envelope and of strictly checking-up on his two-bits spending-money. It is very interesting to learn the origin of housewives' habits which seemingly pass from mother to daughter without effort or intent.

In order to clarify Marshall's definition, Todd informs us that "The subject matter of the science of economics is (elliptically) wealth . . ."

It must be elliptical; not circular, nor square, nor rhomboidical, nor of an icosahedronical form. We shall consider it only elliptically. It is well to cling to simple methods.

As we get fairly into our stride we find that "Money measures human motives." Again the old custom of allowing the spouse two-bits for spending money comes to mind. In fact, Todd uses man and his weekly tobacco to illustrate the money measurement of human motives. "It is impossible to tell *how much* any man wants any particular thing, such as a pound of tobacco . . . but it is comparatively easy to find out how much that man is prepared to *pay* for the tobacco."

Reverting to Marshall's definition of Political Economy—"It enquires how he gets his income and how he uses it"—we find that perhaps the housewife is the original political economist. *She* knows, before the week begins, just how much her spouse is prepared to pay for a pound of tobacco; because not only his tobacco, but his beer and ale, his attendance at the cricket games, his frequenting of the "shifting picture" music halls, as well as all his other boisterous and rioterous extravagances, *must* come out of his two-bits or, we should say, "one bob."

Having thus demonstrated that "Economics becomes



the science of measurable motives, and as the means of measurement is price, it becomes by implication the Science of Prices, or the Theory of Values." Q. E. D.

Knowing where we stand, at this point, we may now sink a little deeper into the subject matter.

"Man's wants include a great deal more than food, clothing and housing. To take only the question of housing, it is not enough that he should have a house to live in. He must also have some one to keep his house for him, to cook his meals, make his bed, and so on . . . " To say nothing of putting out the cat, ordering extra milk, paying the paper-boy and being ever ready to receive Single Tax literature from the postman when he rings twice. All these details must be borne in mind by the student of economics, though they are not specifically mentioned, if he would master this much simplified treatise.

"The duty of the economist is to inquire into facts, not in the first place to discuss the right or wrong of things . . . This danger of the scientific accuracy of the economist's conclusions being spoilt by moral or political bias is well illustrated by the disfavor into which economics fell during the nineteenth century, through its coming to be identified in the minds of the working classes with class interests. They felt, and with some reason, that the economists were always on the side of the capitalists and employers . . . "

"The economist, as such, therefore, must not take sides. . . . "

If Tom White, on the right of the professor of political economy, says that Single Tax is sound economics, while Bob Brown, on the left of the professor of political economy, says that Single Tax is not sound, then the professor should remain discreetly silent because morals should not be permitted to enter the debate (assuming that the professor knows his morals).

As a further aid to simplification, in the Science of Prices, it is advisable to consider the inductive and deductive methods, economics as distinguished from political economy, intention and extension, subjective values, intrinsic values, relative values, personal versus national wealth, production as distinguished from negative production, and labor apart from services. With all these factors at our disposal, and knowing that "economic laws are not exact," we shall have no difficulty, in becoming scientifically befuddled.

"All wealth consists of desirable things or 'Goods,' but not all 'Goods' are to be reckoned as wealth." Goods may be either *material* or *personal*, and personal goods may be *external* or *internal*. Goods may also be *free* or *exchangeable*.

"Clearly, personal internal goods must be excluded (from wealth) because they are entirely personal to the man himself, and cannot be transferred to any one else."

Scotch and soda clearly falls into the category of "personal internal goods."

Again, *free* goods must be excluded from wealth. Free

goods are the gifts of nature. One cannot sell ice to the Esquimaus.

Round by round, the Science of Prices is thus far a knockout.

"Man cannot create matter; he cannot make anything except out of something else . . . " This includes confusion. It would be impossible to establish the Science of Befuddling without the prior existence of collegiate political economy.

There is much more to be gleaned from "The Science of Prices." Up to now we have briefly surveyed naught but the preliminary definitions. The next chapter, on the Puzzle of Value, is a choice product.

Yes, indeed, much more might be said, but we have already said enough on the Science of Befuddling.

### MASSACHUSETTS' MACHINATIONS

With its customary keenness of intellect—with its customary promptness and dispatch—after 300 years of throwing monkey-wrenches into Massachusetts' economic machinery—the Commonwealth of the Sacred Cod now issues a mandate drastically reducing the tax on machinery from 4.2 to  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

It just simply *had* to be done. And the reason? |

Machinery marches on! It marches out of our factories—out of our cities and towns—out of our State—out into distant lands and onto foreign soils—out where the west begins—down where the south a-sings—out into the far east.

"Somethin's gotta be done," sez the Legislature—in its wisdom. "The ability-to-pay operation wuz a success but the patient died."

Hence the reduction of taxes on machinery.

Right away the cities and towns squawk to Papa Legislature about their "loss of revenoo," and Papa sez he'll "*contribute* to make up the loss, so that the burden of the rebate will not fall *entirely* upon other taxable property of the communities."

'Aint our Papa just grand? The old rascal has socks and socks of wealth hidden away somewhere. Where?

So we're starting our last round-up. We aim to corral our wandering looms, lathes and linotypes—we aim to bring back them all to the fold—back to proud, old Massachusetts and its quaint, colonial culture—back to bigger, better, busier Boston's baked beans and brown bread—back to quaint Cape Cod's chlorinated clams and succotash.

"Nobody needs to dwell upon the benefit that will result," says an editorial sage, "from the check on the departure of industries or from the coming of new ones."

No *greater* taxes (maybe) on any other industry, says Papa Legislature, and much *less* taxes on machinery in particular. The theory is—never tax a man when he is down, but tax him plenty until you get him down and out; whereupon you declare a ten-minute recess until he gets his second wind and, simultaneously and graciously,

you concede a respite to all other harried taxpayers whilst you do a sleight-of-hand trick and pull "revenoo" from the thin air of tomorrow, somewhere, somehow, perhaps.

"To Fall River, the city famous for its "old Fall River Line"—for its hills, mills, and other textile centers," continues the editorial sage, "this new law should mean much."

While we are for the moment hypnotised by the focal point of machinery tax-relief, we are not at all concerned over the identical plights of butchers, bakers, bankers, brokers, cobblers, carpenters, clothiers and cooks. They'll get their respective turns in due time when, as and if they are each, severally and individually, "down and out" during the future intervals of three-centuries each.

In the meantime we'll continue our policy of private wealth for public use and public wealth for private appropriation, whilst the lords of machinery-sites will please step up to the kitchen cupboard and cut themselves a hunk of cake.

### DUE PROCESS OF LAW

For many generations the law-abiding people of this nation have believed that their persons and properties are safely sheltered behind the inspiring words and phrases of State and Federal constitutions. This feeling of security has been sustained in fact in many ways except in the important field of economics.

Although bureaucratic regulations and State statutes, concerning minimum wages, are entirely impractical for countering economic adversity, the spirit which has prompted this emotionally-inspired, illogical law of compensation stands out as a monument to brotherly charity, among the down-trodden, in comparison to the curious reasoning applied by the Federal Supreme Court in recently ruling that minimum-wage laws are unconstitutional in depriving the toilers of the "right" to sell their services at their own prices.

If the statutory-wage laws had fixed a maximum, rather than a minimum, wage-rate then the reasoning used by the Supreme Court would have had a tinge—a tinge only—of logic under our present system of economic duress.

It is incomprehensible that the Supreme Court does now know that there is absolutely no economic freedom among the almost-entire body of wage earners today. It is inconceivable that the Supreme Court is the only body not aware of the rampant economic duress.

Whilst the Supreme Court may be without authority to write proper legislation for correct conditions in the economic field, its fraternity—the law profession—has all the right, power and opportunity to do so in its long-existing control of State and Federal legislation—in its control of the curricula and output of law schools—in its trade-union control over admissions to the Bar—in its far-reaching influence and control over governmental bureaucracies and civic thought.

The idealism of any instrument—constitutional, statutory or otherwise—is reduced to amiable aphorisms, pleasant platitudes and senile sophistries where economic duress intervenes, and judicial decisions fall into the same category when the legal eye, the legal hand and the legal brain is blind, relaxed and indifferent to the sinister influence of too few jobs.

The one redeeming feature of the Supreme Court's decision on the minimum-wage law is the five-four verdict. Whilst the four members may have had no Georgian economics upon which to base their dissent, they were at least willing to pit kind against kind in the economic struggle—to pit compulsory wage-treatment against competitive wage-sapping. The dissenters logically insisted upon using the same marked-deck in dealing cards to all hands concerned in the economic game.

During many generations the law profession has indifferently witnessed the disastrous effects of their ill-joined values of improvements and site-values under the common term of "real property." During many generations the law profession indifferently has witnessed the disastrous effects of the "due process of law" which has taxed people off the farms; has taxed city toilers out of home and jobs and into trade unions, strikes and violence; has taxed girls into prostitution, boys into gangsters, and parents into hospitals, lunatic wards and premature graves; has taxed Christians into paganism, atheism and idolatry at the cross of gold; has taxed us into wars and everlasting debt.

That labor-leaders, politicians, and even daily-press editors are now fomenting public antipathy against the age-old leadership under legal notions—against our judicial branch of government—is but a natural reaction.

The self-asserted superiority of lawyer-mentality—the sanctity of the legal profession—is well on its way—out.

THE laws of nature are the decrees of the Creator. There is written in them no recognition of any right save that of labor; and in them is written broadly and clearly the equal right of all men to the use and enjoyment of nature; to apply to her by their exertions, and to receive and possess her reward. Hence, as nature gives only to labor, the exertion of labor in production is the only title to exclusive possession.—PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

CONSIDER how inconsistent with the protective theory is the free trade that prevails between the states of the American Union. Our Union includes an area almost as large as Europe, yet the protectionists who hold that each European country ought to protect itself against all the rest make no objections to the free trade that exists between the American states.

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?



## The Church and Charity

BY HENRY WARE ALLEN

THE motivating principle in church work today is that of charity. The halls of learning where the minister was prepared for his work were largely endowed by and dependent upon charitable bequests, while the church itself is frequently indebted to charity for its endowment and sustenance. Gratitude is a commendable virtue, and our civilization is so greatly indebted to philanthropists for our libraries, colleges, universities, hospitals, foundations, and churches that the reaction of society is quite naturally expressed in the exaltation of charity as a virtue. Charity has, indeed, been given great honor in the church.

This undue emphasis is based upon the assumption that it is always more blessed to give than to receive. This supposition will, however, scarcely bear the test of careful analysis when one reflects that the recipient of charity is necessarily humiliated, up to the time when his pride is broken, by receiving alms for which he can give nothing in return. Of course, no one disputes the virtue of relieving distress. But if, by the introduction of a just social order, all need for charity were destroyed, this would provide the double advantage of cancelling the self-esteem of the giver and the humiliation of the recipient, which are involved in the modern enterprise of charity.

Under normal conditions, when charity together with poverty shall have been abolished, it will be recognized that an equal exchange of values should be the rule in every transaction and the present day ceremony of taking up collections for church expenses will then no longer be celebrated as a religious rite. Charity, which in perverted form has been given the honor of a shrine in the church, must be cast out to make room for a new shrine dedicated to the higher virtue of Justice. Charity is a satellite of poverty, and poverty is a disease of modern society caused by social injustice. The increase of this injustice is accompanied by a corresponding growth of institutional charity. Under normal conditions, where justice prevails, both in primitive and civilized society, there is no need of charity. There is no charity; excepting, of course, that of neighborly friendliness.

Today we have charity in a greater degree than ever before. Possible three-quarters of all governmental expenditures at Washington are for charity. And this has promoted the fiction that the government owes everyone a living. Under extraordinary conditions of fire, famine, or flood, the Red Cross must take care of the emergency. But this involves no charity. Of course the victims of unjust social conditions must not be allowed to perish. But it is the plain duty of society to anticipate and to prevent the disgrace of poverty by the simple method of just legislation instead of leaving treatment

of the problem to charity. Poverty is the substance of things dreaded, the evidence of unjust laws. Alms degrade the recipient. And when these recipients are to be reckoned by the tens of millions, as today, disintegration of self-respect and moral fibre is certain to follow.

Charity has a direct influence in keeping wages down and in destroying the motive for self-support. If society is just, it need not be generous. Said Tolstoy, "If you can afford to do so much for your poor, you must have robbed them pretty thoroughly first."

\* \* \*

Should the church extend its province so as to include responsibility for legislation directly affecting general welfare of the community? Can the church properly limit its responsibility to the four walls of the meeting house and be indifferent to those laws which affect the prosperity of all the people? All men will agree that the church cannot properly take part in partisan politics or lend itself to the promotion of any doubtful social reform or fad. But those who assert that the church should confine itself strictly to the spiritual welfare of its members will find themselves already answered by the changed character of the modern church, and the attention to man's physical welfare which this involves.

The science of political economy founded on justice, given to the world by Adam Smith, Ricardo, John Stuart Mill, and Henry George, has generally been eliminated from the curriculum of colleges and universities. The science of political economy bears the same relation to the behavior of government as does the moral code to the behavior of the individual citizen, and the church must be as responsible for one as it is for the other.

The church itself cannot survive if our civilization is destroyed. And it requires only a slight knowledge of history to realize that countless civilizations, many of them highly advanced, have gone down to destruction for having violated considerations of justice in the treatment of its citizens. Gibbon shows conclusively that this was the case with the fall of the Roman Empire, and there is evidence on every hand that we at this time are repeating those fatal mistakes. The moral law is equally inexorable with nations as with individuals. The punishment is made to fit the crime in either case.

When the church goes to the root of the matter by determining the cause of poverty instead of dwelling upon its manifestations, it will then, for example, instead of inveighing against the horrors of war, be guided by the mandates of political economy which invariably promote international good will, peace, and prosperity.

Other distinct causes are responsible for the elevation of charity into the place of justice in the church. Charity, linked with Faith and Hope, has been extolled as a superlative virtue in one of the most beautiful passages of scripture. But we have been honoring a perverted char-



ity because of mistranslation of the Scriptural meaning of the word, which was love, not alms-giving. This confusion of terms has been responsible for a long train of evils. A powerful influence in holy writ for charity at the expense of justice is the parable of the laborers in the vineyard, justifying the same payment of wages to those who had worked only one hour as was paid to those who had worked twelve hours. The employer had a perfect right, of course, to give what he pleased to the laborers who had worked only one hour, but payment to them for the eleven hours during which they did not work was not wages earned; it was a gift. In this case, it is clear that charity profited at the expense of justice.

The generally misunderstood words, "The poor ye have with you always," were an observation and not a prophecy. The poor are not necessarily poverty-stricken. The church has, at the behest of charity, been so busy bailing the boat that it has not been interested in stopping the leak. Eternal vigilance is quite as much the price of justice as it is the price of liberty.

A Christian minister recently exclaimed, "Would that a Moses would arise to deliver us out of this depression!" Had "Progress and Poverty" been used as a textbook in his college, he would have known that a Moses had already arisen in our own times and had shown a scientifically perfect method of treating the enigma of the century, that of undeserved poverty with progress.

To those who assert that the church should confine itself strictly to the spiritual needs of its members, still another answer has already been given by the oldest and most conservative of all Christian churches, the Roman Catholic. More than fifty years ago, Bishop Nulty of County Meath, Ireland, in an address to the priests of his Diocese, clearly demonstrated in classic language the right of the common people of Ireland to the use of the land given them by the Creator and without having to pay tribute to alien landlords. Then in 1888, his Holiness, Pope Leo XIII, issued an encyclical upon the condition of labor, and his successor, Pope Pius XI, has recently issued a similar letter on the same subject. Here is evidence that the Christian church has recognized its responsibility for the physical, as well as the spiritual welfare of man. For the church to assert complacently that it has no interest in economic problems is very much like a select party in the cabin of an ocean steamship sending out word that they were engaged in spiritual culture and were not interested in the fact that the ship had sprung a serious leak, or that the crew were fighting a fire.

What would be thought of a health officer who spent his time warning against a certain disease when his plain duty was to direct the removal of well known causes of it? That is exactly wherein the church has erred in its attitude toward poverty, war, and crime. If it is worthwhile to pay attention to the manifestation of a disease, to be consistent, its source must be ascertained and eliminated. The conclusion of the whole matter is that the church of today can no longer honor charity

as a virtue. It must accept its responsibility by going to the root of the matter in order to eradicate that poverty which violates the will of the Creator and is responsible for more misery than any other one cause.

The greatest of all conflicts today is that between poverty and prosperity. They cannot rightly exist together. Where one gains, the other loses. Prosperity is the natural condition of man, evidently intended by the Creator in the bountiful provision which he has made, actual and potential, for all His children. Poverty, on the other hand, is an unnatural visitation brought upon human society by the stupidity of man himself in failing to recognize, and to be governed by natural law. When the church comes to recognize fully its responsibility to the Creator and to mankind, it will inaugurate a mighty movement for the abolition of that greatest enemy of man, undeserved poverty.

Poverty does not necessarily mean a lack of riches. It does not exist with primitive people whose wants are few and easily satisfied. It did not exist in human society until a comparatively recent time. On the other hand, the poignant pangs of poverty frequently exist behind brownstone fronts with those whose incomes have been reduced or lost. As was stated by Carlyle, "The hell of which Englishmen are most afraid is the hell of poverty." And when, as today, millions of American citizens are dependent upon charity for sustenance, a condition exists which produces fear throughout all classes that they themselves may be precipitated into the distress which they see beneath them. For the fear of poverty may even be worse than poverty itself.

It is poverty and the fear of poverty which more than anything else is responsible for the ending of thousands of lives by suicide. Poverty is responsible for perhaps nine-tenths of the rising tide of crime. Every human being is endowed with a divine spark which makes human nature good; and the average man prefers to do that which is right rather than that which is wrong. But poverty drives men to the crime of robbery.

One phase of this change which the enormous power of the church might bring about is international free trade. This, more than any other one factor, it is believed, would produce that world-wide peace and good will, disarmament and prosperity for which Christian people constantly pray, but the enactment of which they leave to Almighty God.

The abolition of this modern phenomenon, undeserved poverty, is not the impossible or even the difficult task which it generally is supposed to be. Prosperity will logically follow the repeal of unjust taxation. The process will simply be the liberation of those beneficent forces of nature, ordained by the Creator, which are ever ready to serve mankind, but which have been thwarted by stupid man-made laws. Obedience to the demands of Justice is the only condition necessary to the abolition of poverty and the consequent liberation of prosperity.



## Memorial Services to Charles O'Connor Hennessy

**F**RIENDS of the late Charles O'Connor Hennessy gathered at the Henry George School on the evening of December 11 to pay tribute to his memory. About one hundred were present.

Mr. McIntyre, a friend and business associate of Mr. Hennessy, gave an intimate account of his business connection with our late friend and paid to his memory a glowing tribute. Other speeches follow:

### MRS ANNA GEORGE DEMILLE

**FRIENDS:** We who are trustees of the School and of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation purposely chose this small place for our meeting tonight to honor the memory of our friend, Charles O'Connor Hennessy. We could have gathered together Mr. Hennessy's many friends who knew him in all the phases of his career. Such a meeting could have been held only in a great hall, and it would have been a totally different kind of meeting. We chose instead this intimate gathering as the most appropriate. We chose this School, started by Oscar Geiger, friend of Mr. Hennessy, which grew from a dream—a dream in which, to Mr. Geiger's sorrow, Mr. Hennessy did not at first believe.

When Mr. Hennessy became convinced that the School was worthwhile, he became an ardent supporter of its work. He who did not at first believe in the School's possibilities surpassed us all in his support of its activities. He has made it possible for the School's work to go on. Because he has helped us to carry on the work at the School's headquarters, his name will go down in letters of gold in whatever part of the world the School may be.

Mr. Hennessy was engaged in so many activities that no one person is qualified to speak of him fully. He was a politician—and I use this word in its fine sense, in the sense in which it is used in Great Britain—a statesman dedicated to the welfare of his fellowmen, a man of grace and dignity. It has been my joy to see him carrying through difficult undertakings. An accomplished newspaper man, he was gifted in the spoken and written word. When he discussed law, he was a lawyer. When he considered financial problems, he was a financial expert. He guided meetings resembling gatherings of Kilkenny cats into orderly channels.

It was my great privilege to be with him last summer in England. We had long talks together, like so many other long talks we have had in recent years. They were talks to which I always looked forward with keen anticipation, talks which now I terribly miss.

Charles O'Connor Hennessy was wise, tolerant, understanding. Last summer he talked to a few of us and told us that he felt he was attending his last International Union Conference. Although he saw the handwriting on the wall, he felt neither sorrow nor fear—only realization that the time had come to put his house in order.

At that time he wanted to step down from the presidency of the International Union (which he had made financially possible), and was eager to have the young Dane take his place. I call him "the young Dane," but he is thirty or thirty-five, with the tradition of his parents behind him. It was difficult to convince Bjorner that he should take the chair, but at that meeting he was installed, and this great man, still living, heard beautiful things said about him by this young man, his successor in office.

Those who have known him at the Schalkenbach Foundation know of the uncounted hours he has spent to promote the doctrines of Henry George. The able man who is taking his place knows how much of his strength went into the work of the Foundation.

I must speak a little for myself. Mr. Hennessy came into the House of George early. He was one of the first to get Henry George to Brooklyn to make a speech. When he came to our home as one of Brother Harry's friends he always seemed like a boy.

Two or three messages in tribute to Mr. Hennessy have come to

me, and I must read them tonight. (Mrs. deMille here read tributes from Mr. Madsen, Foulke and Bjorner.)

He was a man among men. I shall never look upon his like again.

### PHILIP H. CORNICK

The Committee has asked me to take charge of the meeting, and I am going to speak about the Art of Living.

Most of us from time to time are oppressed by the fear of death. We react to the stimulus of that fear in various ways. Sometimes we set our hearts on postponing the inevitable, and adjust our lives to that end. Others of us decide to live each day to the full. We are sure of this day and no other.

Charles O'Connor Hennessy had the moral, mental and physical qualities which are essential to the Art of Living. He lived far beyond the allotted threescore years and ten and he lived fully, deeply, richly. He laughed, he played, he thought, he suffered disappointments, he struggled, but he had that balance that enabled him to press on and accomplish much.

As a young man he served his apprenticeship in journalism, gaining a deep knowledge of human institutions and a keen insight into human nature. Then he went into the field of banking. For half a century he devoted himself to mortgage banking, became an authority and was called upon by governors and by a president.

He did not neglect his duties as a citizen, but took part in the affairs of his time. He was elected state Senator in New Jersey, and was closely associated as floor leader and adviser with Governor Woodrow Wilson. In addition to all this, for more decades than some of us have lived he was a devoted exponent of the philosophy of Henry George. With it all, he found time to manage his own affairs so wisely that at the time of his death he was able to pass on to his friends and associates the means for carrying on work which lay nearest his heart.

I would say that Mr. Hennessy was an outstanding example of the Art of Living. It is fitting therefore that we who have come here tonight to honor his memory should express our gratification for his successful living, rather than our grief at his passing.

### HON. LAWSON PURDY

Thinking about my relations with Charles O'Connor Hennessy in times past, it occurs to me that he and I served together on the Committee of Five appointed by Henry George. On that committee were Charles Francis Abbott, Jerome O'Neil, Charles Frederick Adams, Mr. Hennessy and myself. I am the only surviving member. We were rather young in those days.

Mr. MacIntyre has told you much about Mr. Hennessy's life—his close association with politics and his work as a newspaper man. Let me tell you about Mr. Hennessy and New York City politics.

In those days the ballot was a poor affair. Its aim was to enable a candidate to have his name appear under that of a recognized leader at the top of the ballot so that he could ride into office on the strength of that leader's popularity. We felt that it was more important to keep the name of Henry George clear of reproach than to have him elected to office. As a matter of fact, in the beginning we did not even suppose he had a chance to win. As the campaign progressed, however, we were carried away by our own enthusiasm. We were in danger of bodily harm from the O'Brienites, tough customers in the politics of those days, but Charles O'Connor Hennessy, in his middle thirties then, guided us through the maze of local politics. This young man carried through the campaign with all the acumen of a much older man.

Charles O'Connor Hennessy was wise, intelligent, temperate, sound, never rushing into anything. He was a great leader and a great exponent of the philosophy that means so much to us here.

### SPEECH OF FREDERIC CYRUS LEUBUSCHER

The death of Charles O'Connor Hennessy ended a friendship begun fifty years before. In the Henry George campaign of 1886 I went to greet the candidate at the headquarters in the Colonnade Hotel,



long since razed. There I met for the first time not only Mr. George but Louis F. Post and Charles O'Connor Hennessy. There is no truer friendship than joint endeavor in a great cause, one which to both of us was akin to religion. For a half century we met constantly not only in Single Tax circles but in business and in social affairs. I count it as one of my greatest privileges that he and his sainted wife were frequent guests at my home. It is fitting therefore that I say a few words on this occasion.

If I were asked to name the outstanding trait of this man I would select his quality of leadership. He displayed this in all the fields of human endeavor that he entered—journalism, finance, politics, literature and in organizations formed to spread the gospel according to Henry George. Physically he was a little man without the commanding presence that of itself often commands respect. Notwithstanding that lack his personality and clarity of expression invariably picked him out in a crowd.

He became a reporter soon after graduating from a public school and before he was thirty became city editor of a great New York City newspaper. But an even wider field soon opened before him. Imbued as he was with the individualistic philosophy of Henry George which stressed voluntary cooperation rather than state socialism, in 1888 he helped found the savings and loan association now known as the Franklin Society for Home Building and Savings. For more than forty years he was its president. It is now one of the leading cooperative bodies in the United States. While he believed that the adoption of the Single Tax would depopulate those breeders of misery, disease and vice—the tenement houses—he was intensely practical and could not wait. So that now through his efforts there are thousands of happy though modest homes in and around this great city. His leadership was soon recognized and he became in turn the head of the Metropolitan, New York State & United States League of Savings & Loan Associations and finally the president of the Savings & Loan Bank.

In politics he also attained honors. While leader of his party in the New Jersey State Senate he became its candidate for United States Senator and failed of election by only a few thousand votes. He was a many-sided man. A financier and a politician is rarely a scholar. He found time amid his activities to be a student of the writings of Lord Francis Bacon, becoming the vice-president of the American Baconian Society. Even his impromptu speeches were models of exquisite English.

But while he was a keen business man and loved his work of building homes for the poor he conceived his real life-work to be a follower of the Prophet of San Francisco. For a half century he used his tongue and his pen in the cause of recovering for the disinherited the land and natural resources that had been made for all and not for a few. Indeed that for him was a religion. Robert Schalkenbach in bequeathing a fund to be used for teaching the philosophy of Henry George was wise in his selection of Hennessy as one of the trustees. He soon became the president and until a few minutes of his death was indefatigable in the work of that Foundation.

He presided at an International Conference of Single Taxers held in Copenhagen, Denmark, ten years ago. I can still see his radiant face as the motion I made for the formation of a permanent body was carried. Elected in 1926 as the first president of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, in 1929 he was re-elected in Edinburgh, but declined re-election at the meeting in London this year, becoming honorary president.

Being intensely human, of course he appreciated the honors that came to him in finance, politics and the Henry George movement. But he shunned praise of his work and speeches. Applicable to him was the letter written by Henry George to Frances M. Milne, a California poetess: "Praise is the deadliest poison that can be offered to the human soul. Were I ever to accept it my power would soon be gone. What power I have comes from the fact that I know my own weakness; and when duty lay on me have neither feared blame nor sought praise."

I often marveled that Hennessy attained a half dozen years more than the psalmist's 70. I recall when, ill and frail in the early nineties, he took ship for Europe. A half dozen of us saw him off. As we waved him goodbye and left the dock one said "that is the last we will see of Charlie." Thereafter he had many diseases and operations, any one of which would have been fatal to an ordinary man. Indeed, once he was obliged to withdraw as a gubernatorial candidate because of illness. I believe that what kept him alive for almost fourscore years was his indomitable will that he must live for the sake of what I have called his religion—the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

Two years ago in this hall he made a most moving address at the funeral of Oscar Geiger. I will quote a paragraph, first taking the liberty of substituting his name for that of Geiger:

"Charles O'Connor Hennessy's greatest attainment was as a teacher of the truths of political economy as Henry George had revealed them in his immortal writings; truths which are now of the most vital concern to humanity; portentous truths which have been imperceived or neglected or distorted by most of the teaching professors of our time. It was Charles O'Connor Hennessy's part to saturate his fine mind with George's philosophy and economic teachings, and reveal them persuasively and convincingly to the minds of others."

And so this man, small of stature and with a frail physique, stands before us as a colossus. Builder of homes for the poor, tribune of the people and preacher of the only philosophy that can save civilization, we salute you!

## Correspondence Course of the Henry George School

THE most recent development in the educational programme of the Henry George School of Social Science is a Correspondence Course. At this writing thousands of circulars offering this ten-lesson course in "Progress and Poverty" are being mailed to all parts of the country. This course is based upon the same technique that has been used so successfully in class room work, and the question sheets are based upon the questions used in the revised Teachers Manual.

The course should greatly accelerate the educational programme of the school. Fortunately sufficient funds have been contributed by a friend of the movement to assure the plans of the correspondence department for at least a year. This course is given free, as are all the courses of the school.

It can be readily seen how vast and momentous this new method of teaching "Progress and Poverty" can become. There are no limitations of time or space to contend with. Students can start any time, can work as fast as they like, and there is no problem of finding class room space or of developing teachers. The staff of the correspondence division will consist of graduates of the school for whom classes have not yet been organized, or who, although thoroughly prepared, are timid about teaching. This will open up plenty of opportunity for active work among graduates who are anxious to "do something about it." The staff will be under the direction of Mr. Frank Chodorov.

The correspondence course should also help in the



development of classes. It is recognized that classes are more effective, because of the opportunity for discussion which they afford, and because of that development of associations which is necessary for the progress of the movement. If two or more enrollments are received from a town in which there is no class, it will be the object of the correspondence division to make these students known to one another for the purpose of their discussing the questions among themselves, and of eventually organizing a local class.

Every friend of the movement is requested to send names of people who might or should be interested in taking the course. Names, names, names—that's what the correspondence division asks for. It costs money to get names, and money is not too plentiful. Therefore, names that are sent in amount to a valuable contribution. School teachers, newspaper men, business men, ministers, lawyers, doctors—anybody with intelligence enough to read "Progress and Poverty"—all are good prospects for the correspondence course. We urge every reader of LAND AND FREEDOM to send at once a long list of names and addresses of people to whom the correspondence course should be offered. Send these lists to Correspondence Division, Henry George School of Social Science, 211 West 79th Street, New York.

## The Robert Schalkenbach Foundation Report

THESE last weeks have been busy ones for the Schalkenbach Foundation. The Christmas Campaign was successful. People all over the country responded to our suggestion: "Make this a Georgeist Christmas." The books went gaily wrapped, and the office took on the air that accompanies such Yuletide festivities.

Two gift orders of books went to members of Congress, and one to a member of the Legislature in a nearby state. A generous lady in California accompanied her check for a complete set of Henry George's works with the hopeful remark, "I am trying to convert my Congress man."

We have been fortunately free this year from the "after Christmas" lull that is sometimes experienced. Among the many orders received, we were especially interested in one for several books which came from an association of merchants and manufacturers in Mississippi, and another from a well known Congressman for five copies of "Progress and Poverty" to be shipped to Washington.

An interesting suggestion was made in a recent letter from a city in northern New York. Talking of Single Tax, the writer said: "I truly believe that the best way to present the subject is on the screen. I have heard many speakers on Single Tax, but I have yet to see fifty per cent of any audience grasp the import of the thing

in listening to a speaker. But if that same speaker were to show the principle of Single Tax in dramatic form, a story, if you please, on the screen, for fifteen minutes, and then give his talk, the interest and agitation would be tremendous."

Some years ago John Wilson Bengough employed this idea of visual education, illustrating his lectures with amusing chalk sketches which he made, as he went along, upon an easel covered with drawing paper. This is called "chalk talking." Our "Up-to-date Primer" contains a collection of these amusingly clever illustrations.

Another friend tells us, with his order for books: "You may be interested to know that my desk is honored by the presence of one of your fine colored pictures of Henry George." This is only one of the many comments we receive from people who have purchased this beautiful reproduction of the famous oil painting by Harry Thurston See.

There has been a lively activity among the bookdealers in recent weeks. Our suggestions that they lay in a stock of Georgeist books meets a growing response, and, occasionally, a dealer will tell us that he is featuring the books in a special window display. It would be a great help if, when such displays appear, the readers of LAND AND FREEDOM in that locality would take occasion to comment and congratulate the dealer. Everybody appreciates a "pat on the back" and we have found bookdealers to be no exception to this rule.

And now for our foreign contacts:

From Shanghai, last week, in the stilted phraseology of the foreigner unaccustomed to our language, came an order for "Progress and Poverty."

From Mexico, from one who only recently became acquainted with the Foundation: "I am glad to learn that the great and good work is being carried forward in the interests of the Georgeist Crusade."

From British Honduras: "Have opened the way for a favorable reception of any Henry George literature—especially 'Progress and Poverty'—to several governmental executives. The most boldfaced system of land monopoly obtains here. This is truly a White Man's country, and, in time I believe many whites will settle here to cultivate the soil. It is really a semi-tropical climate in the tropical zone. Four months of the year one needs several woolen blankets at night. All semi-tropical, as well as tropical, fruits and vegetables will grow here most easily and luxuriantly. However, there is no doubt about the curse of Land Monopoly. Some of the people are fully alive to this evil and they have a clumsy system of taxing unused land more than land that is put to use. However, inasmuch as a powerful politician in England owns large parcels of very valuable land, the local government feels compelled to go carefully on Land Value taxation."

—V. G. PETERSON, Acting Secretary.

## Activities of The Manhattan Single Tax Club

THE annual meeting held on October 13, elected the following officers and directors. On the same date, the same officers and directors were elected for the National Tax Relief Association, organized to promote the principles of Henry George in the business world.

Managing Board: Charles H. Ingersoll, President; John H. Allen, Vice-President; Spencer Heath, Secretary; C. H. Kendal, Treasurer; Elma Dame, Recording Secretary; George Atkinson, Terese F. Burger, Amalia E. DuBois, Joseph Dana Miller, Harry Weinberger, Francis I. duPont, Bolton Hall.

Consulting Board: Anna George deMille Walter Fairchild, Charles S. Prizer, John Anderson, William F. Baxter, Robert S. Doubleday, E. Paul duPont, A. D. Engelsman, C. Loehmann, Theodore Miller, Nathan Rice, Emily E. F. Skeel, Walter G. Stewart.

Mr. Ingersoll's broadcasts for the last year numbered 750 and the total in the last four years aggregates over 3,000 15-minute periods. His present schedule is as follows:

Mon. WFWV, 9:15 A. M.; WCNW, 2:30 P. M.

Tues. WCNW, 2:30 P. M.

Wed. WOV, 8:45 A. M.; WWRL, 1:15 P. M.; WCNW, 2:30 P. M.

Thurs. WLTH, 9:00 A. M.; WCNW, 2:30 P. M.

Fri. WDAS (Phila.), 1:00 P. M.; WILM (Del.), 3:15 P. M.

Sat. WWRL, 11:00 P. M.

Sun. WLTH, 10:30 A. M.; Judge, Jewish Court of Arbitration.

The "entering wedge" series of *democracy* has been completed and through arrangements with the Chat Publishing Co., of Redbank, N. J., the Ingersoll Broadcasts will be run as a column in a series of ten weekly papers published by this company, and the linotype material will then be used for a "weekly economic sheet," and the monthly 16-page edition of *democracy*.

It is Mr. Ingersoll's purpose to advance as rapidly as finances will permit in making *democracy* first a semi-monthly and then a weekly.

We present extracts from Mr. Ingersoll's current broadcasts and he requests the close attention of Single Taxers to his constant endeavor to do three things:

(1) Translate economics into everyday language, leaving behind pet phrases and names.

(2) Choose everyday events for his illustrations.

(3) To make our economics attractive and understood by the average intelligence.

### CHARLES H. INGERSOLL'S TRANSCONTINENTAL 1938 LECTURE TOUR

Talks on the Democratic Economics of Jefferson, Lincoln, and Henry George.

Mr. Ingersoll, after three years talking through the microphone, desires to have a solid year of renewal of personal contacts, to make his future broadcasting more effective. Being a mass producer, he hopes to make a minimum of 1000 talks in the year, which hope seems justified by his maiden cross-continent tour of 1932 when in six months he addressed about five hundred audiences.

His approximate itinerary is as follows:

Jan.: N. Y., Ala. Feb.: Miss., Okla., Mich., Tex., Calif. April: Nev., Utah. May: Colo., Nebr. June: S. Dak., Wisc. July: Ill., Tenn. Aug.: Ind., Mich. Sept.: Ohio, Va. Oct.: N. Car., Pa. Nov.: N. J., N. Y. Dec.: Vt., Conn.

DORIS ANGEL, Office Secretary.

### MR. INGERSOLL'S RADIO TALKS

There's a stalemate in the automobile industry of Michigan and another in the coal industry of Pennsylvania; and as long as settlement of these two branches of the labor problem cannot be made upon scientific principles, stalemates may be an asset, that will lead the contestants in these gigantic family quarrels into the light. In Flint state troops are standing by, while strikers occupy the motor plants illegally and interested parties fly back and forth to Washington in futile attempts to settle the trouble in the wrong way. In Pennsylvania, Governor Earle is organizing a legislative investigation, while his republican critics scornfully demand a commission of action to stop a \$35,000,000 grand larceny of coal by bootleggers. There's no doubt that capture of the auto plants and the coal mines are equally illegal; both instances indicate what human necessity may be expected to do, if economic law is violated. Both instances bring us squarely face to face with the question of whether privileged persons and corporations may reduce the earnings of labor, perhaps as much as half, and thus set the stage for human conflict and civil war.

\* \* \*

Why is the Governor of Michigan on tenderhooks over the automobile strike? - Why is the President going to umpire this national dispute between labor and capital? Why do we have to have a labor department whose principle business is to try and reconcile this purely family quarrel? Why do the owners of these finest of all factories in the country put up with a mob invasion, with hardly a protest. All these things exist because there is something fundamentally wrong; because everyone is on the defensive; and because no one is looking the problem squarely and intelligently in the face. Therefore, why not come down to these fundamentals, and quit playing the ostrich with the key problem concerning civilization. Labor has always been underpaid and it always will be until it gets all of the product, after paying for the use of capital; capital has always been underpaid and always will be until it joins with labor and stops various forms of special interest—largely collectors of economic rents—from keeping business and the customers and employees of business, in the state of impoverishment, by loading them with all the taxes and exempting themselves.

\* \* \*

From Geneva and London come word that should mean actual progress toward peace. The Council of the League is specifically bringing up the "question of raw material" which it said was proposed by the British last September, but nothing done about it in successive sessions. Individuals there comment upon the well-meaning but short-sighted exposition of raw material by Secretary Eden. From London comes word from Board of Trade President Runciman that the British refuse to buy peace, by making economic concessions—



presumably in trade and natural resource favors. This in the face of the original broaching of these economic questions by Sir Samuel Hoare last year. Here England is self-conscious—conscious of holding a position in relation to the necessities of all the people, with which the earth is stored, that provokes war and prevents peace. It has either played the ostrich or the game of hypocrisy consistently; but now apparently is going to be smoked out. France, Germany, and Russia may be the ones to do the forcing and the near future may see the first move.

\* \* \*

Reverend Henry Sloane Coffin, President of the Union Theological Seminary, is reviewing events in Europe including the various wars and political conditions, including the various dictatorships; and from what he sees, he thinks a lot more of our American democracy and not much of the prevalent notion that democracy's day is done. This is fine, and every minister in the country should be preaching democracy; but they should not go very far in their preaching without defining democracy; because the word has been dragged in the mud, not only by the party that owns the name democracy, and its arch enemies who use the name Jefferson in denouncing new deal democracy, but also by Marxian state socialists.

\* \* \*

The Carnegie Foundation is making a 182 page report on a problem that has been evident for some time. The millions of youth that are being educated and thrust into an over-crowded world—"all dressed up and nowhere to go!" I do not notice in this report any attempt at answering this problem. This foundation has the facilities for knowing that there are two solutions offered, one of which, only, is a real solution. Socialists would solve it by regulation and socialization of industry; but the scientific economic solution is to minimize regulation and limit socializing to social elements, such as franchises and natural resources; and so open limitless opportunities for properly educated youth.

\* \* \*

Parties to the auto strike war are getting on very badly; and I am not surprised. The strikers are obsessed with their right to occupy the plants. This is either communism or anarchy. The proprietors are not only bound to resist this, but are not very guilty in other respects. The need is for something not in the minds of either side, which is a fundamental solution that will go to the foundation of wealth production, analyze the process scientifically, assign to each party its responsibilities and its share in the profits. This would immediately break the stalemate and dispel the tense atmosphere that means nothing but trouble—even bloodshed—proceeding as it now is.

THE British Section of the Henry George School of Social Science has been advancing by leaps and bounds since it was first launched here last September. Within three months classes have been established in eleven cities and the School is now accepted as an important part of the movement.

Four classes have completed the course and thirteen others are working away at the study of "Progress and Poverty," with the prospects for additional classes in new districts after the New Year.

There are Henry George organizations in some nine centers in Great Britain. A number of these have helped the School nobly, says Miss Frances Levy, Honorary Secretary of the British Section, and others have pledged their help in January.—HENRY GEORGE NEWS SERVICE.

## Signs of Progress

### A GREAT NEWSPAPER URGES THE SINGLE TAX

PASSAGE of the so-called Sanford Bill embodying the Single Tax idea is expected to be urged soon upon the 1937 Legislature at Trenton.

The measure has the enthusiastic backing today of the Progressive League of New Jersey, a non-partisan organization which claims a membership of more than 5,000 persons.

Its novelty, its demand for serious study and its implication of a whole new outlook upon the problem of taxation are some of the obstacles in the way of the Single Tax idea. It calls, in the first place, for implicit acceptance among its apostles of some plain but startling facts that few people ever realize—and which most reactionaries cannot seem to digest at all.

Foremost of these are (1) that the average wage in the United States today is between \$17 and \$18 a week and (2) that a third of these wages are absorbed in taxes imposed upon the necessities of life and included in the cost of shelter, food, clothing and other essential commodities.

Analysis indicates beyond dispute that average families with average incomes of \$1,240 a year in New Jersey (barring lay-offs) pay out about \$400 a year in taxes. The taxes are imposed on land, building and personalty—not of the average family but of the businesses and industries that supply the family's needs.

What the Sanford Bill purposes to do is to taper off the taxes on improvements and personalty over a period of five years until they vanish entirely, meanwhile raising the tax rate to a corresponding degree on land. Land, too, would be assessed at its true value and taxed at its true value, whereas there are instances in New Jersey today where land is paying taxes on 25 per cent or less of its market value.

Calculations show that 67 per cent of the taxes are collected on personalty and improvements in New Jersey today, while land bears only 33 per cent. The salutary effect of wiping out the levy on personal property and buildings and saddling the burden on true land values is easy to foresee. Land speculation is discouraged; it becomes profitable to build on it and put it to use.

It would permit the poor man to own his own home—to rent a land site by the year at a modest figure, and build his house on an installment scheme, knowing that his home, and his furnishings are to be tax free. Building would be encouraged, the consumers' buying power increased, unemployment would be lessened; slums and obsolescent buildings would be razed and the sites used for new construction.

The Sanford Bill can be passed without imposing any obligation upon anyone in the State of New Jersey. Yet it opens the way for those municipalities ready now to give the idea a try.

It is to be hoped that the Legislators are mindful of the fact that it is merely an enabling act and that whatever the majority in the Legislature may think of the Single Tax—the cities and towns should be afforded the opportunities for such experiments as the Sanford Bill holds out to them.—*Newark, N. J. Ledger, Jan. 20, 1937.*

### CALIFORNIA LABOR HAS A TAX POLICY

When the California State Federation of Labor, at its thirty-fourth annual convention, held at Monterey in 1933, adopted a resolution favoring the proposition to remove all taxation from improvements and tangible personal products, the results of labor and industry, declared itself opposed to sales taxes, proposing to substitute for such taxes additional levies on the value of privileges granted by the state; and when at all subsequent and consecutive conventions, including the 1936 convention at Sacramento, it has reaffirmed this policy, it can be said that organized labor's tax policy is clearly and definitely established.



In plain words, its tax policy is this. So long as there is a dollar's worth of income due to special privileges granted by the state, such wealth being produced by labor and business and not by privilege holders as such, this kind of income shall be first levied upon by government for public use. And until this fund is exhausted to a practical extent there shall be no tax levies in the State of California on the products of labor and business nor tax interference with the labor and business effort required to effect the exchange of products among the producers and consumers of the state.

The most highly prized and the privilege that exhausts and exploits labor and business most, is the privilege of holding title to special business and industrial, as well as natural resource site locations. On every side huge fortunes are collected yearly by such title holders, not as workers or producers, but merely as privileged title holders.

It is but simple justice and conformance to American ideals, constitutional ideals if you please, that so long as such special incomes, enjoyed only because of the action of the government of all the people, are available for public use, the creative efforts of the people which make for employment should not be abused by destructive taxes.

The California State Federation of Labor has the most progressive and scientific tax policy in the world today.

*Labor Clarion, California.*

#### IS NEWARK FLIRTING WITH THE SINGLE TAX?

Commissioner of Finance Minisi, of Newark, has appointed a committee of business and professional men to study the possibility of substituting a tax for the personal property tax, which he would like to see eliminated.

Such a move is not unexpected, for Newark has been the sufferer from the personal property tax to no small extent, a considerable number of corporations having moved from Newark because of what they claimed were unfair and excessively high assessments on personal property.

The latest instance of this was an attempt to add to the assessments of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey the amount of \$300,000,000 on personal property of the corporation, action which resulted in the moving from Newark to Elizabeth of the headquarters of the company. The Essex County Board of Taxation held that the assessment had been filed too late to enable the board to meet a legal requirement that the county board must give a taxpayer five day's notice within the period the county board functions on 1936 assessments.

While this ruling of the County Tax Board saves the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey from being faced with the possibility of having to pay such a tax, the City of Newark is faced with the fact that the company has moved its headquarters out of the county and will in the future not be subject to Newark assessments.

Just what form of a tax the Newark committee will find as suitable to replace the personal tax cannot now, of course, be discussed, but if they are able to prepare an acceptable plan for this purpose many corporations and business men will be relieved, for the personal property tax has long been considered as an unsatisfactory one.

Of course, Henry George's Single Tax plan would meet this situation, but proponents of this form of taxation have not been able to make a great deal of progress toward the adoption of this principle of taxation in this state, although Pennsylvania has gone a considerable way in this direction.—*The Newark Call*.

#### TRUE PROPERTY RIGHTS

About sixty-five years ago a brilliant and honest man, Henry George, wrote "Progress and Poverty." He advocated taxation of the unearned increment in land, wealth created by the presence of population, by nobody's labor. That was before government was openly spending money to enrich favored classes and sections—note we said "openly."

However we may refuse to accept as expedient Henry George's

argument carried to its limit, we have yet to hear of a counter argument that destroyed its logic. That the thing to tax is the thing that costs nobody anything, which is the unearned increment in land, is a proposition beyond our powers of effective assault.

Why has the Roosevelt government, creating new values in land with the public money and at the same time searching painfully for the money to pay for the creation, neglected to tax these values to a degree that would appropriate them to itself?

It will not do that. If it should, TVA would not make votes for the Roosevelt administration in the Tennessee Valley.

And there you are, Ladies and Gents. The unearned increment is sacred especially in cities and towns—in the great cities and the little—and not the "liberals" in them or anybody has said or will say a word that might crack the cities however they rail and rage against Wall Street.

Government won't take for you the profits it makes with your money. You are not of the favored section.

*Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier.*

## World Peace and Economic Freedom

ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE AT HENRY GEORGE  
CONGRESS

There can be no world peace until there is economic freedom.

In order to destroy the seeds of war there must be not only freedom of trade in exchange—but freedom of trade in production.

Nations do not naturally hate one another. They are usually *made* to hate one another because some trade barrier has been raised between them.

In the early Colonial days in this country, New York and New Jersey and Pennsylvania were at daggers drawn. So was it between all the colonies. They had tariff levies along all their borders.

It was not until England began taxing them without representation that they joined forces, did away with their little intercolonial tariffs—and discovered they were brothers—one people—to stand united.

If Europe today would only take to her heart this chapter out of our history the future might look less black! For it is estimated by those "in the know" that at best, war in Europe is but two years away. Horrible thought! And those of us who know how to check the tremendous catastrophe must work harder than ever before. The writing is on the wall! We must interpret it to a confused and bewildered world.

We must not only show that there needs to be reciprocal trade—or rather free trade between nations, but if we are to become civilized there must be freedom for labor and capital. There must be more jobs—a congenial job for every worker. Peoples cannot be driven to fight one another if they are happy and contented within their own borders.

I am a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom but I know of how little avail it is to shout against the building of bigger and better battleships and against the production of munitions—when the manufacture of these fighting implements give employment to thousands who would otherwise be out of work.

How can these poor laborers refuse to produce the tools that will probably mean their own destruction, when the wages they receive are needed to keep their children alive?

No, there is little use in trying to reform at the top. We must go to the foundation and discover the cause of war to be a rotten economic system.

If "right action will follow right thought"—we must think correctly—and to do that we must study the *science* of political economy, for it is imperative that we make an adjustment of the social order which will mean "equal opportunity for all, special privilege for none."



That is why the splendid growth and development of the Henry George School of Social Science started a little over three years ago, has given so many of us heart of grace. This School (charging nothing for its tuition), has extension classes that are spreading around the globe. Not only are there 102 cities with classes in the United States and Canada but there are classes in Ireland, Mexico, Denmark, Holland, New Zealand, Australia, Halifax (word has just come of this) and Great Britain.

Had there been a Henry George School of Social Science installed in England a few years back, there would be less threat of Fascism or Communism there now.

The world must be taught to think right and right action will follow as the day follows the night. The philosophy of Henry George is spreading like wild fire. Thank God for this—for it is the answer to war!

## The Deeper Slavery

**"A**FTER joining the League of Nations the Abyssinians were told they must abandon slavery altogether. When ordered by the Emperor they promptly released 10,000. But the slaves owned no land and consequently had no means of earning a living. They did not know where to go or what to do and promptly went back to their old masters. A short while ago I was told that the Abyssinians were willing to free all their slaves, but when I was there they were still waiting for the League to explain what to do with them when they were freed."

"An American Doctor's Odyssey," by Victor Heiser, M.D. (a best seller).

## The Case Plainly Stated

**W**HEN land is taxed on a scale of assessment lower than that upon which productive capital and goods are taxed, it becomes possible to hold land vacant on speculation, until it can be rented or sold at a profit.

And thus, in course of time, when population is more dense, the rising value of land becomes an increasing liability upon productive capital at the very moment when capital itself is already burdened with a heavy load of taxation.

Everybody is more or less aware that when it is proposed to erect a house or a factory, the first preliminary is to rent or buy ground. And then, after the structure is built, it is taxed more heavily in proportion than the land was taxed when vacant.—LOUIS WALLIS.

**A**S early as December 14, 1784 Washington wrote to the President of Congress, Richard H. Lee: "Would there be any impropriety, do you think, Sir, in reserving for special sale all mines, minerals, and salt springs, in the general grants of land belonging to the United States? The public, instead of the few knowing ones, might in this case receive the benefits which would result from the sale of them, without infringing any rule of justice to men."



T.N.A.

## "Who's Who" Among the Super Intellectuals

**H**ON. IGNATZ T. TRIVIA, who has acquired a cauliflower ear during his many years service as expert analyst of Congressional utterances, claims that this nation will be out of the depression immediately after collecting one year's revenue derived from a tax of "a penny in the pound" on pulp used to print the notions delivered from political noodles.

When interviewed by your reporter, Ignatz was skimming the cream off the bottle of morning milk, an act which at once assures us of his naturalness—a homely man among homely men and women—a man of common clay and ponderous intellect. For Presidential timber, watch Mr. Trivia—especially when the morning milk is delivered.

**A**T a time when the "Three Estates" were the recognized groups of the French nation, Rochambeau wrote that in reality there were but two, "the privileged people and the unprivileged."

**T**HE land is a solemn gift which Nature has made to man; to be born, then, is for each of us a title to possession. The child has no better birthright to the breast of its mother.

Marmontel, Address in Favor of the Peasants.

OUR boasted freedom necessarily involves slavery, so long as we recognize private property in land. Until that is abolished, Declarations of Independence and Acts of Emancipation are in vain. So long as one man can claim the exclusive ownership of the land from which other men must live, slavery will exist, and as material progress goes on, must grow and deepen.

—PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

JUST in proportion as the interests of the landholders are conserved, just in that proportion must general interests and general rights be disregarded, and if landholders are to lose nothing of their special privileges, the people at large can gain nothing.

—PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

## Our Washington Letter

THE meeting of the Woman's Single Tax Club on December 7 was opened by the vice-president's reading of a message from their president, Mrs. Helene McEvoy, extending her congratulations on the new headquarters and expressing her intention to be with them before the next meeting.

Mrs. Walter N. Campbell was appointed chairman of the taxation committee of the D. C. Federation of Woman's Clubs in place of Mrs. Jessie Lane Keeley, who had been compelled to resign on account of ill health.

The good news of Herbert Bigelow's election to the House of Representatives was announced, and deep gratification expressed over the addition of another Single Taxer to our Congressional group.

Mrs. Marie H. Heath read an interesting letter from a former member, Mr. Paul Whitman, and his sister, describing their trips around the island of Hawaii in a trailer which is helping them to solve the question of rent and taxes for the present.

Mrs. Elizabeth M. Phillips gave a review of Mrs. Bessie Beach Trueheart's novel, "Brother to the Ox," depicting future conditions in this world if the present trend toward monopoly of land and natural resources continues unchecked. Mrs. Phillips recommended the organization of a letter-writing corp in the club, similar to the one in the Henry George School of Social Science in New York, in which connection Mrs. Campbell mentioned that since his retirement from the Government service, Mr. Campbell had been quietly operating as a sort of one-man letter-writing corps, writing letters to prominent men and women whose statements in the newspapers indicated a willingness to "see the light," and the members agreed in hoping that others might follow his example. It was suggested that Mrs. Eleanor Patterson, author of a current series of articles in the daily press entitled "Dixie's Dead End," describing conditions among the poverty-stricken residents of the South, might perhaps be added to this correspondence list to receive enlightenment on the causes for these conditions.

Mr. Swanton gave a graphic account of a recent lecture on the situation in Spain, showing how the present civil conflict had its roots in the land question just as did the French Revolution.

The first meeting of the New Year was held on January 4, with the vice-president still presiding in the continued and unexplained absence of the president.

During the business meeting it was voted to contribute five dollars to *Land and Liberty* in response to a letter from Mr. Madsen.

Miss Alice I. Siddall, an experienced proofreader for the Government Printing Office, presented a carefully worked out suggestion for amending the Constitution so as to provide for the taxation of

land values, which brought forth an interesting discussion and suggestions.

Mr. George A. Warren, a member of the D. C. Bar Association, gave an informal talk on "The Curse of Tariffs," showing how the countries of the world suffered loss through their inability to obtain needed products from neighboring nations on account of tariff barriers, which tended to bring about international warfare.

The meeting adjourned until February 1.

—GERTRUDE E. MACKENZIE.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### PROFESSOR GEORGE GEIGER'S SECOND BOOK

*The Theory of the Land Question*, by George Raymond Geiger. Cloth, 12mo. 237 pp. Price \$2.00. MacMillan Company, New York City.

This work dedicated "To the Memory of my Father," is George Geiger's latest contribution to economic thought. It is a smaller work than the "Philosophy of Henry George," and is addressed like the first to those who have advanced beyond the initial stages of speculation on this important subject. It is for this reason that the language occasionally employed seems now and then to be rather difficult. But he is never cloudy, and indeed for the most part is delightfully clear.

There is a vein of humor that runs through much of the first chapter. The author cannot frankly express his contempt for the current speculations of so-called economists, so he conceals it with a few sly phrases which are a substitution for the withering scorn to which he must be tempted now and then to give expression.

The book is in great part controversial. It must be that since a correct thesis on the land question involves the clearing away of a number of current fallacies. And this makes the work delightful reading, for Professor Geiger is master of the rapier thrust and his dazzling sword-play is full of surprises.

Some of the chapters are not easy reading, for they require hard thinking. But any attempt to understand what may appear difficult will repay the effort.

The discussion of the nature of value, always a terra incognita of economics, is well done. After explaining that man produces commodities because he needs them, he then proceeds to an impressive analysis of a different kind of value, land value, and says:

"It (land value) comes as a by-product of social life. In no significant way can man control such value. Unconsciously and gratuitously does society manufacture a special and supplementary surplus as it grows; this is what so impressed the classical writers as an unearned increment. It functions independently of man's conscious efforts as they are directed, for example, to the production of wealth. Man creates land value not by any deliberate effort, but only as he congregates in communities—this congregation being the result of psychological forces that operate almost automatically." (Page 40.)

Chapter II is a meticulous exposition of the nature of economic rent which he declares is unearned because no service is contributed. He presses this point from many different angles. He makes his demonstration complete. He is very much in earnest here and has little time for the light touches which in the first chapter have a flavor of irony.

Chapter III is entitled Land and Capital, and it contains a perfectly delightful wealth of allusion, in which theory and humor are mingled, a combination which make this work, despite its philosophic background, such pleasant reading. We quote from page 58:

"Now, it has long been the custom for writers on capital to preface their own remarks by an extended survey of the thirty-six different meanings the word has had, and then to add a thirty-seventh. . . . These prefaces seem almost as obligatory as the invocations to divinities by epic poets. In the present case, however, the reader will have to give the writer the benefit of the doubt of having gazed at that opaque background of controversies over capital; there will



be no encyclopaedic parade of definitions. All that will be attempted will be a passing mention of the most acceptable—if that is possible—connotations the word has for contemporary economists."

Professor Geiger notes the various definitions which economists for purposes of their own give to land. We are not supposed to talk of land without first describing the kind of land. It would seem that a working agreement might be arrived at which would establish a certain unity in the use of the word so that when land was referred to it would have some unmistakable characteristics shared everywhere by this natural factor. We may indicate that the Ricardian Law has demonstrated that unity since it applies to rural and urban land. The persistence with which this is overlooked argues something more than intellectual difference but rather deliberate avoidance.

The distinction between land and capital has never been more clearly stated. Note this from page 87:

The inferences that follow . . . should be clear and simple, but they need to be made articulate. If labor and capital cannot operate without land, i. e., without sites, rights of way, lots, farms, favorable geographical locations, and all else that comes under the heading of land, then, to that degree, land is the dominant factor in economic production. If capital and all the tools of production that man uses are essentially reproducible and replaceable, whereas land space and site value are just as essentially irreproducible, then land, under private control as it is, represents the final and limiting restriction in economic production. If land rent and land value are essentially unearned incomes, depending upon such private control of a given irreplaceable economic element, then the exploiter of that unearned increment occupies the keystone position in economic distribution."

Historical Aspects of the Land Question is the title of Chapter IV. There is one statement to which we must take exception. That is Prof. Geiger's dictum that it cannot be historically demonstrated that private property in land is the cause of the decay of nations. It may be true that a general history of the land question, which would reveal this, has not yet been written. But such a book may yet come from the press, and it was Oscar Geiger's hope that his gifted son might write it. If land has the important place assigned to it by both father and son the effect of systems of land tenure on the decay and deaths of civilizations should find its chronicler. What is needed perhaps for such a work is the faculty of imagination in which the son is not quite equal to the father, fine scholar and expositor as he is. But what remains in the minds of so many of us as a firm conviction, though not readily translatable into detailed exposition, will find its historian when the future gives a larger and more comprehensive elevation from which the problem may be surveyed, in the economic and social march of time. For this the days may not yet be ripe.

That portion of the work devoted to the historical aspects of the land question contains much evidence of the fine scholarship of the author and should be studied for its many implications. They include excursions into all lands. It needs to be studied rather than read.

In this part of the work, with its wealth of historic allusion, Professor Geiger does much to reinforce the conviction that one of the important factors in the decline of civilization, if not the most important, is the prevailing system of land ownership.

And it must be so. If the secret of social well being is "association in equality," which is axiomatic, it must be that a system which most directly and most effectively determines the state of equality or inequality, is a potent factor in the life of civilization. And more emphatically it may be said that there is no other cause which can so rapidly destroy the fibre of a civilization and so surely hasten its decay and death as the division of people into masters and slaves, a system infallibly produced by an order which denies the equal right to the use of the earth. And to this Professor Geiger assents in the concluding part of his work when he says that "the conjunction between social misery and the ownership of the earth" is perennial and ubiquitous."

We think Professor Geiger is in error when he says: "Although he (Henry George) and his followers are ordinarily classed as individual-

istic in their philosophy the very programme of the Single Tax must tremendously strengthen the power of the state by giving it amazing control of social life in the disposition of the huge revenues from ground rents. . . . This problem has never been adequately considered, it seems, by the individualistic adherents of land value taxation."

We were accustomed in the old days to deal with two forms of objections to the taking of economic rent for public purposes, one being that there would not be enough to meet current expenses of government, and a directly opposite contention that it would be so large as to corrupt the sources of government.

Mr. Geiger's dictum is without ground to support it. We do not know whether there would be huge revenues from this source or not.

Nor do we think that the advocates of the individualistic philosophy need to abandon their ground. The taking of economic rent in lieu of all taxes is the final expression of individualism. For the abolition of all taxes and the taking of ground rent mean an enormous simplification in government. For the first time in history its functions will be circumscribed and this is true whether the revenues from ground rents be large or small. The present administration has familiarized us with large federal expenditures, but because this is drawn from hundreds of sources the bureaucratic and overlapping functional structure has created a Frankenstein monster. This has enormously magnified government, so that its ramifications are countless. It is not so much the huge revenues that vitiate the character of governments, but the multifarious activities for which government must assume responsibility when everything conceivable is taxed over and over again, and where the activities it attempts to support are not the true functions of government at all.

But despite the points of difference between author and reviewer we must again assert our belief that this is a very valuable work, skillfully done, keen in its analysis, broad if cautious in its summarizing, and abounding in telling blows in behalf of the basic remedy for our economic ills.—J. D. M

#### A DEVOTED AND HEROIC LIFE

Macklin of Nanking, by Edith Eberle. 12mo., cloth, 173 pp. Bethany Press, St. Louis, Mo.

Here we have the life of Rev. W. E. Macklin, who carried to China a dual message of redemption, Christianity and the social gospel of Henry George. This story of a great life is attractively told. Not so much is given here as might appropriately have been devoted to the latter. We do not believe that the author of this biography completely recognizes its importance. But Dr. Macklin assuredly does. He knows, too, if his biographer does not, how intimately the two messages are related.

But with a life as busy as Dr. Macklin's has been it is difficult for a biographer brought newly to the task to properly appraise his varied activities. Dr. Macklin's career is fascinating—preaching, lecturing, writing through all the years. His influence permeated far. He brought not only the dual message of which we have spoken, but his own personality, his love for a people crushed under an economic despotism far deeper than any we know. And the Chinese, high and low, listened to him and learned to love him.

Dr. Macklin was born near London, Ontario, of Irish ancestry on his father's side. Miss Eberle tells the story of his youth. He was popular among the young men of his acquaintance but he would not drink with them. As doctor and missionary he did not depend for his strength upon artificial stimulants, and though never physically hardy he was able to pursue long and arduous labors, animated by enthusiastic impulse and a rare devotion. He was essentially a pioneer and found in his desire to blaze new paths the spiritual urge that drove him forward.

We learn much of China from Miss Eberle, and something of Sun Yat Sen. Dr. Macklin informs us that Sun was in favor of the Single Tax before he met him. Dr. Macklin says he was a fine looking man,



with a cordial expression. His endorsement of Henry George will be found in his "Principles for the People." He was elected president of the Chinese Republic in 1911.

In 1922 there came a second crisis in Nanking on which occasion Dr. Macklin rendered heroic service to the city. It is a matter of record that the Republican leaders of the new China profited by Dr. Macklin's advice and learned to respect his kindly wisdom. He saw an ancient civilization in process of transition and the transformation that swept the vast empire. In that transformation he helped, and it is doubtful if anywhere in China or elsewhere there is a man whose knowledge of this great transformation is so intimate and whose acquaintance with the conservative as well as the radical elements is so universal.

Dr. Macklin was married to the sister of Mrs. Garst, wife of a missionary to Japan, and well known Georgeist. Lieutenant DeLany cousin of Mrs. Macklin, was second officer on Admiral Dewey's flag ship, the Olympia, at the battle of Manila. We met DeLany on his visit to New York. He was a member of the Manhattan Single Tax Club. Dr. Macklin thinks he is still in New York.

Forty years spent in China is the record during which Dr. Macklin ministered to the ills of his patients, their spiritual and bodily ills. Fearlessly he went about, his life frequently in danger, and won for himself the title of "Hero of Nanking," which Miss Eberle calls him. And he turned the intense hatred of the natives against foreigners to love for himself, and this gradually mitigated the racial animosity of the Chinese toward the missionaries in general. His success was marked and his fame became widely known. He was showered with medals, this modest servant of the Master, self-forgetting, self-effacing.

Here is the isolated reference to his Single Tax work made by his biographer:

"All who know of Dr. Macklin know of his advocacy of the Single Tax. He always believed in it and then one day a book by Henry George, "Progress and Poverty," fell into his hands, and he was thenceforth completely swayed by the idea. The earth is the Lord's, he explains. Natural resources are God's gift to all people, the land and all that lies therein belong to all. That which is upon the land belongs to the people that built it. Man-made things are man's property and should be free of tax. Therefore let there be a Single Tax, a tax on land values only, a tax so heavy that no one can afford to hold land in speculation or in idleness. . . . "Why do you not talk about your work in China?" some one inquired, confused by his discussion of land and taxes, you have such interesting experiences to tell." "How can I talk to people about my work and the needs in China," he replied, with something of pathos in his voice, "unless I tell them also about the remedy for China's economic ills?"

Miss Eberle writes on page 159 of Dr. Macklin in the days of the sieges, quoting one of the missionaries as follows:

"I tell you it is no wonder that the people of Nanking love him as they do. . . . He took his life in his hands several times to save the city. He had a great opportunity and handled it as a great man. If you could see the thankfulness beaming out of the eyes of such men as the civil governor and other officials, you would realize how these people almost worship Macklin."

It is incredible that Dr. Macklin with all his infinite labors could have found time to translate into Chinese so many standard works. An incomplete list was furnished the biographer by Dr. Macklin and include "The Dutch Republic," "History of Switzerland," "Life of Jefferson," Schiller. "Life of Gustavus Adolphus," "Progress and Poverty," "Protection or Free Trade?" "Dove's Theory of Human Progression," "Spencer's Social Statics," "History of Ancient Religions," "Intoxicating Drinks and Drugs in all Lands and Times," "Caird's Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion," "History of Ancient Religions," "Excavations in Bible Lands," and many others. Surely an accomplishment.

Dr. and Mrs. Macklin live in San Gabriel, California. Here in picturesque surroundings is "The House that Love Built," as Mrs. Macklin delights to call it. And here we leave them in the rest they have so nobly earned.—J. D. M.

## A WELCOME BOOK

The Sphere of Individualism, by Connor D. Ross. Cloth, 12mo., 130 pp. Price \$1.50. Meador Press, Boston, Mass.

Here is a work that merits all praise. It summarizes the doctrine of liberty without any reference to Henry George or the Single Tax. The author's definition and exposition leave little to be desired, and he enlists Blackstone in his support while insisting on his own conception of liberty, which is in harmony with the best that has been written.

He says: "If we believe in the principle that every man is entitled to live his own life in his own way, subject to the same right as his fellowmen, and the proposal is to affect that right, then the proposal becomes of the utmost importance." (Page 23.)

With this we shall find Henry George and Herbert Spencer in agreement.

An interesting point raised by the author is not commonly reflected upon. He asks us to consider that little of our legislation and none of our tax laws were passed avowedly for the benefit of the rich and well to do. On the contrary, all this legislation was passed in the supposed interests of the common man. He mentions the income tax as an example rather conspicuous. We can all recall the arguments used at the time the income tax was passed.

The programme of the Roosevelt administration, to which only passing allusion is made, the purpose of which is to benefit the "forgotten man," is an example of these misdirected attempts to improve the condition of the struggling poor, while increasing the burden of taxation, and making it harder for the poor to live. And here occurs a significant passage:

"We have not the cause of a Samson for the wrecking of vengeance for our blindness. But we have the power that was his—and more. Shall we use that power to pull down the social structure upon our own heads, or use it to restore the structure as it was originally designed?" (Page 41.)

Mr. Ross tells the interesting story of Gary, Indiana, under the chapter headed, "The Magic City." It would make a valuable Single Tax tract in itself. We should pause to mention the fact that Mr. Ross was formerly Assistant Attorney General of Indiana. He is therefore familiar with the laws. Better still he knows the natural laws of economics. And this short chapter demonstrates his familiarity with these laws. We are permitting ourselves the citation of certain striking passages which may convey an idea of Mr. Ross' literary quality. On page 61 he says:

"And after all, the discovery of truth is largely a question of one's wanting to know it. The possession of it is a question for us to decide. The truth does not barter with us nor sell. It does not lie nor can it be lied to. Man is not so cunning as to cheat or to defraud it. He can shun or battle, and thus prolong his own error, but truth knows no defeat—it has all the time there is."

May we not commend this to every student of the Henry George School? For the hundred or more current definitions of "capitalism," so called, the divergence of which has made the term unacceptable for general usage, we suggest to the dictionary makers Mr. Ross' definition, "The exercise of human energy by means of the tools of industry." It is simple enough and all inclusive.

From page 86 we quote:

"Is it any wonder that labor and capital—natural friends—feel the pinch of the shackles of governmental regulation? With these conditions confronting the producers of the country, why talk of the money question? Why fight the shadow and ignore the substance?"

From page 88 we cite the following:

"It is said old things have passed away. The Constitution and the horse and buggy are of a day that is dead. The thought of their day should be shunned—if for no other reason—there might be a historian, hoary with age, who would perhaps turn back the pages of history and seek guidance in the story of Joseph and his stricken brethren the land of Goshen."



And Mr. Ross propounds on one page the significant question: "What has become of the ancestral estate in our America?" What indeed?

Congratulations, Mr. Ross!

We must now bring to an end these quotations. But our thanks are due for a very notable contribution to the literature of freedom.

J. D. M.

### WANDERING IN DARKNESS

The Insecurity of the Security Programme, by Professor Harvey Lutz, Princeton University.

Our educational system has a lot of explaining to do. I need not go into much detail to justify this statement. I will consider only two exhibits as sufficient. "A" is our condition of depression, unemployment and poverty for which education has offered no remedy or explanation. "B" is our brain trust, forthcoming from our greatest universities, in response to the President's natural and trustful request for help; and all the "frank experiments" it gave us. So I am curious, whenever an educator with Ph.D. and AB, such as H. L. Lutz of Princeton has, lectures in such a topic as "The Insecurity of the Security Problem"—to see what he says.

I remember meeting Prof. Lutz in Trenton, when, as an adviser of a taxation league, he answered my suggestion that the land value tax be put on their programme, decidedly in the negative; a bad start economically. Now let us see if Prof. Lutz with a record of teaching economics at Oberlin and Stanford and at present heading Public Finance at Princeton, helps to account for education's weak position economically, when civilization is at the crossroads.

He starts with an effective picture of the confusion on this security subject; and especially the sentimental and socialistic viewpoints. He classifies this with the absurdity of the idea that Uncle Sam stamping "this is a dollar" on a piece of paper actually makes a dollar; to which my reaction is that Uncle Sam should be able to do as much as any solvent corporation whose I O U does not have to be secured with metal or anything else.

Then comes the economic concept of security: (a) a job at producing wealth and (b) "a share" in the division of the product; (c) what to do with the minor number unable to produce. Prof. Lutz has intelligently stated the problem and the bearing of economic science upon it; now let us see how he handles this basic of all problems.

Is it not obvious that economics must have a solution? Is it not obvious that it lies in the production of wealth and labor? He says so, but he does not compel economics to give the answer. He says the answer lies in full production and only there. He has mentioned "division" but seems to forget that as a factor he overlooks the fact; that 1929 terminated a period of miraculous production of goods ending with a bang and seven years of "recovery" that still demands an explanation.

This oversight reflects a greater one that casts a deeper shadow on college economics. What of a 100 year era of vast production that piled up 200 billions of wealth. Did this supply the full measure of security that Prof. Lutz promises as the fruit of "large and steady production?" Then the professor's negative weakness becomes positive. He states that the division of product is "perfectly familiar as the ordinary mechanism of exchange." No problem of "division of wealth" that even Huey Long told us of, and Father Coughlin states effectively.

Having established this false basis of economies, it is natural that he should run amuck on the subject of taxation. He gives all his attention to volume of taxation and none to its source. Use of social revenues for social purposes, to abolish all the evils of taxation he pictures he ignores or has not heard of.

So here we have another exhibit—"C"—in the case against our colleges, which is that our education does not educate; that our edu-

cators most need education. That our most baffling problem is how to stop communism, with our whole educational system feeding it.

Recapitulating; this professor says our problem of social security (which is also our problem of depression and poverty) is in large production and not in division of the product. This is not supported by history cited, by opinion of authorities, by economic science, nor good sense. Division of wealth produced must be to the producers, wholly; they are labor and capital. Prof. Lutz should know that basic monopoly now takes about half the product, and must when production is greatest. And in taxation, the professor should know that taxing labor products doubles their cost to the consumer, cuts consumption and employment in half, and exempts the monopoly that feeds off labor and capital, making security impossible.

New York City.

C. H. INGERSOLL.

## Correspondence

### THINKS SOME OF OUR TERMS ARE VAGUE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The Bible tells us that the vague terms used by the builders of the Tower of Babel caused them to disperse and this in turn was the cause of many and diverse tongues.

This is also why Friend Bolton Hall played a huge joke on the astonished Single Tax on land values fraternity. This is why ordinary people cannot grasp our simple idea. Let us therefore discard all erroneous phrases like unearned increment, rental, Single tax, etc., in place of rentable value, and call the movement "tax abolition." Thus we will attract questions and discussions now lacking.

Governments possess a legitimate source from which to derive revenue—the rentable values which accrue annually to natural opportunities because of the proximity of civilized populations which demand public service.

New York City.

M. W. NORWALK.

### IN DISAGREEMENT

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I want to comment on the speech of Edward White in Nov.-Dec. LAND AND FREEDOM. I think that all Georgeists will agree with the author's views except those expressed in the paragraph: "The notion that rent enters into price or is an element of cost, is seen to be an inversion of the natural order, for obviously rent is a reduction, the user of a superior location producing at less cost per unit than those using inferior locations." I draw exactly the opposite conclusion, and base my opinion upon his own statement in the very next paragraph. Let me state it. If rent in effect was a reduction of cost, because the user of a superior location produced at a less wage and interest cost per unit than the user of an inferior location, the product of a superior location would sell for less than the product of the inferior location, but since the product of both locations sell for the same price per unit the cost of production in both locations must be the same. The difference between the wages and interest cost of production on the superior locations represents the rent of the superior location; it, therefore, becomes an element in the actual cost of production and hence enters into price.

Rochester, N. Y.

HARVEY H. NEWCOMB.

### THE CAMPAIGN IN CALIFORNIA

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In the California struggle for real taxation reform, or rather the substitution of reason in the collection of governmental revenues for the present want of system, we have reached a period between campaigns which offers little of dramatic interest. This does not imply that there is a dearth of work to be done. The future has to be planned for and this is being done in several different ways.



As to education, there is the giving of talks and the writing of letters. To these are to be added the more specific means of spreading the light afforded by the H. G. Schools of Social Science which have been or are being established in a number of our larger cities. These are slowly but we think surely increasing in interest.

The legislative field is not to be entirely neglected or overlooked, as the legislature is now in session for the introduction of bills and some miscellaneous work. In a few days it will take a recess till the first of March when its real legislative work will begin. Before it will be, among other matters, a bill presented by a section of the Commonwealth Club of the state which looks to such a correction of the Initiative laws of the state as will prevent hereafter such conditions as enabled the Supreme Court to rule us off the ballot.

It is interesting to note that there will be several bills before the legislature which seek to modify or get rid of the sales tax. While too early to predict the fate of these undertakings it seems highly improbable that in any material way changes of importance will be accomplished—in other words, the sales tax will not be abolished and at the utmost will be slightly reduced or taken off on some present objects. The general picture will not be changed. Our campaign can therefore be renewed as before. A reason for this is that the State administration is against any loss of revenue which would come from the abolition of the sales tax and against anything savoring of a direct tax upon any kind of property. While a majority of the lower house would go a long way toward abolishing the sales tax, the governor holds a large majority of the upper house and thus controls the situation.

As before indicated, it is too early to discuss in detail the measure to be placed before the people at the election next year. We may say that it will in substance be like that heretofore offered, affected possibly by legislative action, and also by study of the events of the last campaign. These will be no essential modification of principle.

A recent trip to the state capital disclosed the perfect unity of our support and cheerful confidence in our future success. This was general among labor circles and the members of the legislature who were with us, as well as such newspaper men as give us support. We are certainly in the fight to win.

We have to chronicle one very severe loss. David Woodhead of Los Angeles recently left us by death. We counted upon him as one of our best and clearest headed advisers and thinkers. His departure will be deeply felt.

Palo Alto, California.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

## NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS.

THE Free Homestead League has been organized in Seattle, Washington, and Messrs. Fleming, Warren, Freeland, Falvey, Booth, Erickson, Matthews, and Doubleday are a few of the familiar names we note in its literature. The League is sponsoring an act relating to the disposal of lands which have been acquired by cities or counties for non-payment of taxes and the restoring of idle lands so acquired to the tax rolls.

JOHN C. ROSE of Pittsburgh urges that the Henry George School might widen the sphere of its activities by establishing a department of research. There are great possibilities in this suggestion. Ultimately the results of such research could be embodied in a pamphlet which would serve as an excellent companion for the Teacher's Manual.

F. W. LYNCH of San Francisco writes: "I want to record my objection to the term Georgeist. I heartily approve the letter of W. G. Stewart of Reading, Pa., in favor of the Single Tax as a political name.

RURAL Electrification and Farm Land Taxation is a pamphlet containing an address delivered by William E. Clement. There is

much in this pamphlet on the practical application of our principles. Mr. Clement is director of the Electrical Association of New Orleans.

E. B. GASTON, editor and publisher of the *Fairhope Courier*, and one of the founders of the Single Tax colony at Fairhope, Alabama, recently celebrated his 75th birthday.

MR. S. TIDEMAN who died Nov. 5th at the age of 84, was born in Sweden and emigrated to the United States in 1882. He was a machinist and toolmaker by trade. He read "Progress and Poverty" in 1888 and his wife who survives him tells how both of them familiarized themselves with the use of English by the reading of George's works. In 1931 at the age of 79 he published a book in which he linked the present control of finance with the monopoly of land. He was a frequent contributor to LAND AND FREEDOM. He leaves three sons, two daughters and numerous grandchildren. He was successful in transmitting his philosophy to his children with the result that the name they inherited has become well known throughout Single Tax circles. It is gratifying to record that in the fifteen years of his later life spent on a farm near Fisk, Missouri, he retained his faculties and his interest in world events and the progress of the cause he loved.

HON. JOHN J. MURPHY, former Tenement House Commissioner of this city under the Gaynor and Mitchell administrations, and active in the Single Tax movement for many years, passed away on December 6. Mr. Murphy was born in Ireland seventy-one years ago, and came to America at the age of seventeen. For a time he was Secretary of the Citizen's Union of this city. He made a fine record as Tenement House Commissioner and was praised by Mayor Gaynor as having conducted his office "with the maximum of efficiency and the minimum of friction." He was interested in Irish-American relations and was president of the American Irish Historical Society. He was Secretary of the American Single Tax League. He was one of the directors of the Schalkenbach Foundation, having been named for such office in the will of Robert Schalkenbach who left a substantial sum for the publication and circulation of the works of Henry George. He was the author of "The Wisdom of Benjamin Franklin." He was a charming after-dinner speaker and his ready wit and Irish humor—more French than Irish—made his speeches a delight. He was a wonderfully interesting companion and it is hard to realize that he is gone. He is survived by two daughters, Teresa and Deirdre, and a son Brendon Murphy.

STEPHEN BELL has an excellent letter in the *New York Times* of recent date. He says among other things: "Consumer demand is the mainspring of all production. How can the restraint of consumer demand encourage production?" There is no writer living today who tells the truth about the tariff so clearly and persuasively as Stephen Bell. We are glad to announce that Mr. Bell has completed his life of Father McGlynn.

FEW papers have published more Single Tax letters than the *Bridgeport, Conn., Post*. They must average well over a dozen a month. The man back of all this is William J. Lee of Stratford, helpfully abetted by Dr. Hayes of Waterbury, Dr. Sage of New Haven, Joseph R. Carroll of Norfolk, and other Henry George men at a distance, Messrs. Beckwith, Swinney, Noren and Rose among the latter. We thank the *Bridgeport Post* for the hospitality of its columns.

WILLIAM A. WARREN, acknowledging receipt of LAND AND FREEDOM adds this encomium: "It is a pleasure to have such a paper to read."

FRED PEASE writes us that the Henry Georgeist of Milk River and they are all Georgeists there, sponsored a very successful carnival



to pay for their broadcasting. He regrets that he was unable to attend the Cincinnati gathering.

HENRY H. HARDINGE writes: "That dissection of Professor Broadus Mitchell is a brilliant example of clear thinking by one of the best minds in the movement, Benjamin Burger. It is keen, logical, dispassionate, analytical. The man he criticises stands head and shoulders above the herd of fellows who style themselves economists and wear inverted board hats to prove it." This is praise from Sir Hubert I

EMIL KNIPS of Fairhope writes: "We, like hundreds of others, look with delight for the coming of LAND AND FREEDOM."

THAT veteran of the movement, Oliver T. Erickson of Seattle, Washington, sends us Christmas greetings and adds: "The latest number of LAND AND FREEDOM contains editorials that I have listed as classics."

DR. S. SOLIS COHEN of Philadelphia writes: "Your paper keeps up its high standard and it is a pleasure to read it."

E. YANCEY COHEN, noted Single Taxer, died suddenly of heart attack at Fairhope, on December 30. He was born at Savannah, Ga., in 1860. He graduated from Harvard in 1881 and in 1890 became acquainted with our philosophy. He was a member of the Schalkenbach Foundation having been named a director in the will of his friend Robert Schalkenbach. He was one of the founders of Merriewold Park, and of the Fairhope Corporation. He retired from active business in 1919. As a writer he had a style that was all his own, characteristic and distinctive. His criticism of Bernard Shaw in an issue of LAND AND FREEDOM is in our opinion one of the most brilliant of the attacks in reply to that misguided genius. But he was naturally indolent and only with difficulty could be spurred into action. Had he devoted more time to writing he would have become famous. He published several volumes of verse. He was an active member of the Single Tax party group and a liberal contributor to its activities. Mr. Cohen's remains were conveyed to the family plot at Savannah, Ga., where Mrs. Cohen is also buried. Mrs. Cohen died in 1934.

THE University of Texas Library, Austin, Texas, is in need of No. 1, Vol. 35 of LAND AND FREEDOM for binding. Can any of our readers supply the demand?

OUR old friend George White of Asbury Park, N. J. writes: "I was 82 last month and have a programme which will last me eight years more. By that time I may be mature."

SOME of our subscribers have read "Prosperity" by Henry Ware Allen of Wichita, Kansas. It is a story interesting and well told, somewhat after the manner of Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward." It is calculated to draw attention to our philosophy. It is retailed at \$1.50 but Mr. Allen will send five copies for five dollars, and no more welcome gift and no more effective propaganda can be secured. Send for five copies and make a gift copy to friends you want to influence in our direction.

OTTO DORN, acting director of the New York Henry George School, writes of Mr. Burger's review of Broadus Mitchell: "It was a source of great gratification and pleased me immensely."

Women's Wear of this city says that "Taxes eat up three per cent of retail store taxes." We are betting that it is more but will let it go at that.

CLAYTON J. EWING of Chicago writes: "I cannot agree with you in some of your criticisms of the Cincinnati Congress. Will say that in my opinion it was superior to the New York gathering in 1935." Mr. Ewing adds: "Our Single Tax League here has a meeting every Friday evening. On December 18 the ladies worked out an interesting programme. Mrs. Ewing presided and there were ten-minute speeches by Messrs. Rule, Hardinge, and Rhodus. In addition there were musical numbers."

THE "Religion of Henry George" by John Archer, is a pamphlet containing an address delivered by Mr. Archer at Keighley, England. It is well worth reading. It can be obtained of *Land and Liberty*, 94 Petty France, London, England.

GAVIN DHU HIGH, veteran *Sun* reporter, and life-long Single Taxer, died in November after a long illness. He has been a newspaper man for half a century and was a friend of the editor of LAND AND FREEDOM. He will be affectionately remembered by all New York Single Taxers of an earlier period. He was an amateur boxing champion and an operatic tenor in the De Koven and other companies. He was a delightful companion with a brilliant sense of humor. As illustrating his humor the New York *Herald Tribune* tells this story of him: "Mr. High once broke down the resistance of Seth Low, then running for Mayor, who had become angry with the press and would see no reporters. Mr. High ended by making the candidate laugh. He sent in the following note: "Mr. High would like to see Mr. Low." He was a keen political prophet. He warned Samuel Seabury on the eve of the latter's candidacy for governor of New York that he would be beaten. So it proved."

JOSEPH R. CARROLL of Norfolk, Conn., writes: "I feel that the Single Tax movement is to be congratulated upon having such a high class periodical enlisted in its service."

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, famous editor of the *Emporia Gazette*, of Emporia, Kansas, acknowledging receipt of LAND AND FREEDOM writes us: "Was pleased to know that Lincoln had made the declaration about the use of land that you quote. It was a fine pronouncement." Mr. White asks for our authority for the statement, so it may be that he means to quote it.

IN the new World Almanac Henry George is listed under Noted Americans as an economist.

THE *New Republic* has at last awakened from its long sleep and in a recent issue gives some enlightening information on the progress of the Henry George movement and its practical applications. The facts it gives are impressive.

THE Fifth Annual Commencement Dinner of the New York City Henry George School was well attended. It took place at Leed's Restaurant in this city on January 8. Arthur H. Vetterman, president of the New York Chapter of the Henry George Fellowship, presided. Otto K. Dorn, acting director of the School, presented the graduates and thanked them for the painstaking effort with which they had pursued their studies. Lancaster M. Greene, trustee of the School and member of the faculty, Mrs. Anna George deMille, Walter Fairchild, Will Lissner and Norman Fowles, former director of the School, and others were among the speakers. Harry Weinberger, who was on the list of speakers, was called away on legal business and his speech was read by his nephew, Harold Weinberger. An excellent showing was made by the graduates who spoke.