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November—December, 1937

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

Report of the Henry George Congress
Detroit, Oct. 14, 15, 16

Puerto Rico, Sweet Land of Liberty
Will Lissner

Address of Colonel Victor A. Rule
at Henry George Congress

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LAND AND FREEDOM

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INDEX TO CONTENTS

PAGE

COMMENT AND REFLECTION.....	The Editor	171
PUERTO RICO, SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY.....	Will Lissner	172
THE SHORTEST SHORT-CUT OF THEM ALL.....	F. C.	177
THE TWELFTH HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS..	David Gibson	178
REPORT OF THE HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS.....		180
ADDRESS OF COLONEL VICTOR A. RULE.....		185
THE ROBERT SCHALKENBACH FOUNDATION REPORT..		187
ACTIVITIES OF THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB....		188
PRESENTATION OF THE DEATH MASK OF HENRY GEORGE AT PRINCETON.....		190
BOOK REVIEWS, "REBEL, PRIEST AND 'PROPHET'"	Grace Isabel Colbron	193
CORRESPONDENCE.....		194
NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS.....		197

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

THERE is no end of the explanations given by college professors and so-called economists for poverty and depressions. These range from overproduction to sun spots. But there is a school of economic atheists who have a blasphemy all their own. They reject all explanations and abandon the problem with the synthesis that poverty and depressions are due to the ordering of an Unwise Providence. Therefore nothing can be done about it. Providence is just plain stupid.

THIS nihilistic philosophy dispenses with any hard thinking. There is still room for speculation about business cycles in which we are to look for depressions as regularly occurring due to the blundering of a purblind God who has forgotten all about His creation and His creatures. It is true that other matters move in obedience to His laws, and one shudders to think what would happen if the movements of planets that are ordered so perfectly should get out of hand owing to a like forgetfulness or incompetence of a careless Creator.

IT never occurs to these economic atheists that there may be natural laws in the constitution of society which will bring about the same harmony we observe in the sidereal heavens, that poverty and depressions are man-created and are the results of human maladjustments. No wonder the world has lost faith. No wonder that it relapses into the hopelessness of Lessings despairing cry: "We are all orphans, you and I—we have no Father."

THE assumption that there are no natural laws in society to which legislation must conform is responsible for the "planning" which not only blinds us to the problem but actually makes matters worse. For to impose these cumbersome provisions in the free movement of society is to interrupt these natural laws of production and distribution which conserve the welfare of the individual.

HUMAN beings are a sort of divine automata. Though each individual works for himself all are under the

law of unconscious cooperation. There is nothing really valuable in society that is not the property of the unit. The purposes the individual pursues in gratifying his desires with the least exertion yield their result to the mass. Yet the hope of legislation lives eternal in the human breast, notwithstanding that the breaking down of manhood—of self-reliant selfhood—eventually comes to man in the process of having things done for him.

THINK of the individual. What is he? A mass of mingled feelings and perceptions, of wants and desires, of instincts and impulses, all serving in various ways his own gratification and that of others. His principle motives urging him to action are beneficently fruitful of results for the general good. When he competes he cooperates. When he fells a tree, or builds a house, or plants a seed, be he the veriest miser, the sum of human gratification is increased. And the leaving him free to do this—for man is a social animal and not "a creature red in tooth and claw"—is responsible for the nicety with which the complicated social machinery has been put together, and the smoothness with which, when let alone, its myriad appliances revolve.

NOW think of the State. What is it? A delegated function, without soul, feeling, thought—a mere apparatus. If the individual fail in intelligence, how shall he deputize intelligence in the state which is an artificial arm of society, and not society itself. How shall the state, soulless, emotional, passionless, succeed where the individual has failed?

THE want of adaptiveness in the state—its slow intelligence, the absence of prompt cognizance of improvements in production of labor saving devices, notoriously exhibited in every official department, mark the inferiority of its service. The influence of mechanical routine makes it passive, slow, over-cautious—in everything but resistance to change. The state is without self-interest, therefore the most important spring of action has been removed. "The insolence of office" is no more flagrant than its delays which spring from the confidence in the security of its existence. A private concern has no such security; it must serve well or die.

THE lover of freedom fleeing from tyranny may make his flight through the door of socialism, because it seems to offer escape. But the constructive statesman, conferring face to face with freedom, will cast no longing eye that way. A free people will not—if they know and love freedom—consent to blind themselves with even silken shackles. Men do love freedom—blunderingly, it is true and not with the clearest vision. Let it be shown to them and they will rally to her. Let her voice be clearly heard and the song of the socialistic siren will charm in vain.

IF our readers will permit a further digression in this somewhat rambling discussion, it should be said that political economy as taught has missed no absurdity tending to confuse the essential truths. A glance at the history of the so-called Wage Fund Theory may be of interest. The theory held that wages depend on the relative amount of capital set aside for payment of wages and that wages are high as the amount is high or the numbers to draw upon it are small. For a refutation of this theory our readers are referred to "Progress and Poverty."

THE Wages Fund Theory is attributed to James Mill, father of John Stuart Mill. The son embraced the theory but later abandoned it and exposed its fallacy. The most elaborate attack upon it was made by Francis Walker. Following John Stuart Mill's capitulation the theory ceased to influence economic thought. But nevertheless the notion that is inherent in the Wages Fund Theory pops up in different forms in current teaching.

HIS (*Jefferson's*) legacy is not his solution of the political problem, but his realization that the problem must be solved anew in each succeeding era. Our heritage is his faith that an informed and intelligent people can and will work out their own salvation.—

The Jefferson Tradition in American Democracy,

CHARLES M. WILTSE.

IN unexpected nooks and crannies one comes across a witness to one or another of our beliefs:

In the annual report of one of the finest libraries in the country, in describing one of the accessions to the collection the librarian writes of "An Association" entered into to raise money for the purchase of lands in the North Western-Territory; the work printed in 1786. Of this plan it says, "One of its distinctions was that it was not an organization for the exploitation of settlers by a group of speculative investors, but a democratic association in which the subscribers themselves, very largely, were the colonizers, and in which the benefits of the project were reaped by those who bore the heat and burden of the settlement."

Puerto Rico, Sweet Land of Liberty

BY WILL LISSNER

DEMONSTRATION of the universal character of the land question, as it appears within a particular national economy, was one of Henry George's important contributions to economic theory. The question, George held, "is nothing less than that question of transcendent importance which is everywhere beginning to agitate and, if not settled, must soon convulse the civilized world," the question whether the masses of mankind will be content with poverty amidst actual and potential abundance.

Distress was acute in Ireland in George's time and the situation was dramatized by the agitation of Parnell Davitt and the Land Leaguers. George analyzed the situation in "The Irish Land Question," afterward published as "The Land Question." He found the cause of the distress in the system of land tenure which prevailed there, the system of absolute private ownership of land and noted that "essentially the same land system as that of Ireland exists elsewhere, and, wherever it exists distress of essentially the same kind is to be seen." He concluded that everywhere the connection between the system of tenure and the social problem of pauperism is "that of cause and effect."

This principle of George's has resulted in many studies of various types of economies by students of the social sciences. These studies have particular value for the science of economics. Not even in the United States where statistical research has made great advances in the past two decades, are data available for a complete analysis of the economic effects of privilege. Thus the student must turn from the monopolistic-imperialist economy to other types.

It is not true that the seemingly exact scientific method of laboratory analysis, experiment and proof, which is associated with the physical and biological sciences, cannot be approximated in the social sciences, and particularly economics. One cannot experiment with the happiness and well-being of 135,000,000 persons, of course, in the present delicate state of the economy.

But, as George pointed out, in the less advanced economies the relation between land and labor can be seen with such distinctness that it is seen "by those who cannot in other places perceive them." This is possible, he continues, because of certain special conditions peculiar to the particular economy. Definition of these special conditions is of no concern here; they are not always identical, from one country to another, and probably need not be.

These studies have been limited in the light they have thrown on the principle only by the limited character of the data available. Fortunately, the growth of interest

in George's work in recent years, and the passing of the content of his emphasis upon land reform into the systems of leading economists—a process which is only in its beginnings—have given a new direction to economic and social inquiries, making accessible much new information bearing upon this principle.

A very valuable one has just appeared, a study of "The Dilemma of Puerto Rico," by Earl P. Hanson, who served as a member of the executive board of the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration, an agency of the United States Government. Mr. Hanson was on loan to it from President Roosevelt's National Resources Committee, of which he was planning consultant.

I

Poverty is a bitterly abject thing in Puerto Rico, according to Mr. Hanson's study. "On the outskirts of every town are found the same dismal slums, thousands of miserable huts mushrooming out of land that is often marshy and infected," he writes. "All parts of the island, and particularly the coastal plains, are dotted with 'houses' built of hurricane debris, old gasoline tins and old rags, often on squatters' land, where there is no chance to grow food." On the roads and in the streets large groups of jobless "jibaros," poor peasants, dejectedly mill back and forth in the hopeless search for work. "It is a common sight," he declares, "to see them (the permanently unemployed) scavenging in garbage pails in the cities and begging their food from garbage trucks."

Unemployment in this agricultural economy is as widespread as it was in the United States in 1932. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration estimated that "there are in Puerto Rico not less than 150,000 heads of families permanently unemployed," which is about one-third the working population. The Brookings Institution inquiry in 1929 showed that in the city of Ponce 47 per cent of the men investigated were unemployed either totally or periodically. For jobs of the white-collar class, 41,745 persons applied to the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration in September, 1936. About 100,000 men, or about one-fourth of the working population, are employed only during the harvest and grinding season from January to July in the sugar industry and are idle afterward.

Wages in this section, seat of one of the most important sugar industries in the world, are incredibly low. The industry, in spite of large earnings, paid its workers wages that averaged about 12 cents a day per worker and dependent in 1929, and the average has not changed since. The average annual wage of a seasonal worker is about \$150, on which he has to support a family of about five dependents.

Real wages are lower than even the nominal wage would indicate. Food and practically all the necessities

of life must be imported, in the highly expensive tariff protected American market. The employed workers are forced to buy from company stores, an additional monopoly which exacts its price.

About 94 per cent of the average worker's income is spent for inadequate food. On the inadequacy of the food, L. M. Ramos reported in a study for the Department of Education, San Juan: "One of the most disturbing aspects of the family budgets of the island is the dominance of imported dry food, especially polished rice. The bad hygienic results of the diet so lacking in vitamins need no comment . . . Monotonous and debilitating diet is used by a large proportion of the people."

The effects of the diet are seen clearly in the health of the workers. Nearly 90 per cent of the rural population and about 40 per cent of the urban inhabitants have hookworm in their intestines, according to Dr. Walter C. Earle of the Rockefeller Foundation, reporting to the *American Journal of Tropical Medicine*. The death rate from gastro-intestinal diseases is about 360 per 100,000, against 25 in the United States, 40 in Alabama. Tuberculosis, despite the sunniness and healthiness of the climate, accounts annually for 325 deaths per 100,000 population, the highest for any civilized country for which statistics are available, against 60 in the United States, 90 for Tennessee. This was reported by Dr. Costa Mandry in the *Puerto Rico Journal of Public Health and Tropical Medicine*. Malaria, according to the Insular Department of Health, is responsible for 8 per cent of the total deaths, 175 per 100,000, six times that of the four most malaria-ridden southern states combined.

Virtually nothing remains of the worker's pitifully small income for housing, clothing, medicine and similar necessities. The Brookings Institution, after its investigation in 1929, declared: "The problem here is fundamentally economic and not sanitary." The problem, it continued, had its roots in poverty.

II

The growth of population and its relation to the natural resources of the island has special significance for the Georgeist student. As in all countries where life is hard for the common man, the population continued to grow steadily and to enlarge the island's social problems. From about 900,000 in 1897, it has grown to 1,723,534 in 1935, according to the P. R. R. A. census.

The birth rate is fairly steady at about 40 per 1,000. The death rate has been gradually decreasing since the American occupation and is now about 18 per 1,000. The natural increase is around 38,000 per year.

The overall density of population is about 510 per square mile. This, as Mr. Hanson points out, is exceeded only in such industrial countries as Belgium and the Netherlands and in such agricultural countries as Java

and some of the West Indian Islands. The social problem in Belgium and the Netherlands is nowhere so acute that it can be compared with that of Puerto Rico. Java is a classic example of what happens to a dense population when social institutions and customs hem it in. The density per square mile of cultivated land, 1,500, is about the same in Java as it is in Puerto Rico. But Java must yield to Puerto Rico as a classic example, according to Mr. Hanson's calculations.

Java has a greater proportion of its land cultivated by and for its inhabitants, including cultivation for direct consumption and for exchange for commodities desired for consumption. It has a greater diversification of crops. Therefore, Mr. Hanson concludes, the *effective* density of population in Puerto Rico is perhaps the greatest in the world. For in calculating the population supported by the land, one must include not only those who *work* upon it, but those who *live* off it, the owners present in Puerto Rico and the owners absent in the United States.

Rice, beans and peas, the principal foods imported from the United States, all are grown in Puerto Rico. But the per capita acreage devoted to them has declined steadily from 1897 to 1935. Meanwhile the acreage devoted to the export crops has almost doubled. Specialization in cash export crops would result in an even higher standard of living for Puerto Ricans under a free economy; under monopoly capitalism they are robbed of that as well as of an average primitive subsistence.

III

The social problem outlined above is explained by the changes in land use and tenure, reliable figures for which are now available in a 1936 report by Rafael Picó to the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration.

The total amount of land under cultivation has practically doubled since 1899, together with the population. In 1899, the total of cultivated land was 477,987 acres; in 1909 it was 542,675 acres and in 1929 it was 756,642. The increase in cultivated land between 1909 and 1929 was 213,967 acres. From the close of the Spanish-American War to the beginning of the world depression there was little change in the amount of land under cultivation per capita. In 1899 this was 0.50 of an acre; in 1909 0.49 and in 1929 again 0.49 of an acre.

But between 1920 and 1930 there were highly significant changes in the distribution of the land in farms. To make these changes clear, the figures are given first, then the significance is drawn.

Land in farms of 500 acres and over, including cultivated and uncultivated land, increased from 662,970 acres to 867,490 acres, a gain of 202,520 acres.

It will be noted that the increase in land in farms of 500 acres and over is almost exactly the same amount as the increase in the total amount of land under culti-

vation. This increase took place, Mr. Hanson points out, "in spite of the fact that these farms are largely illegal under Puerto Rico's Organic Act."

But during the same period the total number of farms of 500 acres and over decreased from 539 in 1910 to 367 in 1930, a drop of 172.

The fact that the total number of farms of 500 acres and over decreased by almost one-third, while at the same time the land area in them increased by 33 per cent shows the greater concentration of land ownership in those farms, among the farms of 500 acres and over, which had the larger area.

In the same period, the land in farms operated by their owners, including cultivated and uncultivated land, fell from 1,457,345 acres in 1910 to 1,166,976 acres in 1930, a decrease of 290,369 acres. But the land operated by managers increased from 401,749 acres in 1910 to 676,760 acres in 1930, an increase of 275,023 acres.

As Mr. Hanson points out, these items are highly significant from a social point of view. They show "that while the large estates increased, the acreage of land operated by owners decreased by some 300,000 acres, the land operated by managers increasing by almost the same amount." The figures give a clear picture of the process by which the Puerto Ricans were expropriated from their land.

When the data on land use is examined, the nature of this process is disclosed. Land in sugar cane rose from 72,146 acres in 1899 to 145,433 acres in 1909 and to 277,758 acres in 1929, an increase from 1909 to 1929 of 92,325 acres. Land in coffee fell from 197,031 acres in 1899 to 186,875 acres in 1909, but then rose to 193,561 a gain from 1909 to 1929 of 6,686 acres. Land in tobacco increased from 5,963 acres in 1899 to 22,142 acres in 1909 and then jumped to 52,947 acres in 1929, an increase from 1909 to 1929 of 30,805 acres. The export fruit industry is so comparatively new to Puerto Rico that the land in fruits did not warrant separate reporting in the 1910 census, but in 1930 it amounted to 8,366 acres.

The total land in the four main export crops rose from 275,140 acres in 1899 to 354,450 acres in 1910, and then increased to 492,638 acres, a rise of 138,182 acres. At the same time, the land in food crops fell from 0.22 acres per capita in 1899 to 0.16 acres per capita in 1930, a fall from 1899 to 1930 of 0.06 acres per capita.

Mr. Hanson's explanation is worth quoting verbatim. He says:

"In most cases, managers in Puerto Rico mean absentee ownership. The absentee owners who have come to dominate the island's economy since the American occupation are interested entirely in cash-export crops.

"The increase of some 140,000 acres planted to these crops, and particularly the increase of almost 100,000 acres planted to sugar, indicates that while the extension of land under cultivation kept pace with the growth of

population, this extension was made largely by and for absentee owners, bringing comparatively few benefits to the island's population.

"Most of the concentration of land in large estates has taken place on the coastal plains, on lands devoted to sugar. This land, consisting to a large part of alluvial soils, is the most valuable land on the island."

IV

Mr. Picó's data gives an interesting picture of how the American corporate landowner squeezed the Puerto Rican land user from possession of the soil of his native island. Mr. Hanson has calculated from the United States Census of 1930 how farms now range in size, giving a clear picture of the present concentration of land ownership.

There are 37,587 farms of 19 acres and less, which are 71 per cent of the total number of farms. The total acreage of these farms is 278,935, or 14.1 per cent of the total acres in farms. Farms of 20 to 49 acres numbered 8,835, 16.7 per cent of the total number. The total acreage of these is 264,712, or 13.4 per cent of the total acres in farms. There are 3,351 farms from 50 to 99 acres, 6.3 per cent of the total number. Their acreage is 226,464, or 11.4 per cent of the total.

Farms from 100 to 499 acres numbered 2,825, or 5.3 per cent of the total number. Their total acreage is 341,873, or 27.4 per cent of the total land in farms. Farms of 500 acres and over numbered only 367, or 0.7 per cent of the total number. But the total acreage in these farms is 867,490, or 33.7 per cent of the entire area of land in farms.

These figures show that more than one-third of the land in farms is in those of 500 acres and over, which comprise less than 1 per cent of the number of farms. At the same time, the family-size farms, the small farms of less than 20 acres, which make up 71.0 per cent of the total number of farms, include only 14.1 per cent of the land.

Mr. Hanson contrasts the present situation with that which obtained before the blessings of American occupation were visited upon the island.

"According to the census of 1899," he points out, "more than three-quarters of the total area of Puerto Rico (2,743 square miles) was then included in farms. The average of cultivated land to each farm was 12 acres, and the proportion of farm owners to the whole number of farms was 93 per cent, contrasted with but 28 per cent for Cuba.

"The military authorities who took the census and wrote a detailed discussion of it were almost prophetic of the civil disturbances tearing Puerto Rico today, when they said: 'This general ownership of farms, however brought about, has unquestionably had a great influence in pro-

ducing the contented condition of the people of this island as contrasted with the restlessness of the Cubans.'"

With the decline in land available for use for food crops, Puerto Rico today imports over 60 per cent of the food she consumes. Mr. Hanson points out that if this meant that the Puerto Ricans were exchanging their export crops which can be produced so efficiently on the island for food crops which can be grown more efficiently elsewhere, they would have a high standard of living in spite of the population density, and perhaps, in part, because of it.

But that this is not being done is illustrated by the position of the sugar industry. This industry, which replaced coffee as the backbone of the Puerto Rican economy, accounts for 64 per cent of the island's exports and employs about one-fourth of the working population. Purchasing power, under the stimulus of its growth, rose from \$20 per capita in 1899 to about \$70 in 1935, as measured by imports into Puerto Rico.

But about two-thirds of the securities of the sugar corporations are held outside the island. Of 41 mills operating in Puerto Rico, 11 are controlled by four large absentee corporations, and these 11 produced nearly half of the total sugar production of 1936. Estéban A. Bird calculated in a special report to the P. R. R. A. that between 1920 and 1935, three of the large sugar companies alone paid dividends and accumulated a surplus amounting to \$80,000,000.

These are not the least of the charges in the indictment of the sugar land monopoly of Puerto Rico. The Brookings Institution investigators found that the lands on which the sugar industry pays taxes are on the whole under-assessed by perhaps 25 per cent, while most other lands are over-assessed to meet the needs of a financially embarrassed government.

In addition, Mr. Hanson points out that much of the sugar industry was created under the American tariff and is artificially maintained. "How large a proportion of the industry could survive and compete with such areas as Cuba in the world market," he adds, "is open to question." Also, as a result of the chaotic conditions created by the dominance of this monopolistic industry, other Puerto Rican crops suffer an almost complete lack of credit and distribution facilities, resulting in high efficiency and waste.

How the economic and monopoly rent of Puerto Rico is exported to the absentee owners is shown by Mr. Hanson in a study of the balance of payments.

"It (the balance) has been against Puerto Rico only five years out of the last thirty-five. But this apparently excellent balance of trade, showing an average (annual) gain of some \$10,000,000 in favor of the island is purely fictitious.

"The exports of cash, in the form of dividend payments, interest payments (on bonds), real estate rentals and

freight charges, and the like, so far exceed the paper balance that the net balance is somewhere around \$10,000,-000 against rather than for the island."

V

Mr. Hanson's study is published by *Science and Society: A Marxian Quarterly* (in the Summer, 1937, issue). If it were not for the fact that his approach to the question of land ownership is Georgeist rather than Marxist, one would be led, by the fact that some of his proposals on the tariff questions involved are distinctly not Georgeist and by the conclusions which he draws from his data, to suspect that he chose his medium of publication out of sympathy rather than expediency.

He considers the efforts being made by the Federal government to reduce absentee ownership by purchase and to resettle Puerto Ricans on land of their own as "praiseworthy." He himself sees, however, that "the difficulties imposed by federal restrictions and local conditions are almost overwhelming." Even if the programme for the next two years is fulfilled, the P. R. R. A. will have resettled only about 15,000 families.

"At the general average of about 5 per family, this will be about half of the natural increase in population since the P. R. R. A. was first organized," he points out, "showing that the P. R. R. A. as a reconstruction agency has so far been unable to work fast enough to keep pace with the natural population growth."

Moreover, he notes that "in the last few years the federal government has expended or allotted between \$60,000,000 and \$80,000,000 for relief and reconstruction alone, in an apparently futile effort to hold Puerto Rico together" and makes the sage comment, although he does not seem to realize just why this is, that "the island has been compared with a cow that is fed by the American tax-payers and milked by a few large absentee corporations."

Mr. Hanson's conclusion is that the proper kind of independence is the indicated solution for "the dilemma of Puerto Rico." This explains the variety of ideological debts which enable him to make a Georgeist approach to an economic situation in a Marxist magazine and yet draw the most conservative conclusions. He must be a New Dealer by conviction as well as connection: one speech forward, two steps backward, as a wit once defined that social philosophy.

"What kind (of independence) is eventually achieved, and how it is achieved, depends on the organized determination of the Puerto Rican people to liberate themselves from their present dilemma, and on the extent to which they succeed in breaking through to the consciousness of the American people in their pleas for independence and for their own right to help themselves out of an intolerable social-economic mess."

This conclusion of Mr. Hanson's is totally inadequate. The editors of the Marxian quarterly should have realized it, not so much as Marxists, for not even in Soviet Russia, in spite of the best of intentions, has there been rational settlement of the land question, but at least as students of economics alert enough to recognize the importance of the Puerto Rican data.

With the desire of the Puerto Ricans to free themselves from American imperialism, all lovers of freedom must sympathize. Their right to help themselves is undeniable. But no form of independence will solve their problem until they come to grips with the system of land tenure prevailing on the island.

The data presented above shows clearly that unemployment exists on the island because Puerto Rican labor is denied access to the land. Mr. Hanson admits that it shows clearly that even if a primitive economy were substituted for the present one, the standard of living would be raised to a fairly comfortable level so long as the land of Puerto Rico were open to the people of Puerto Rico.

It would be a reactionary step to revert to a primitive economy however, and neither Mr. Hanson nor the present writer would advocate this. It would be a needless step. For the drain on the Puerto Rican economy which payment of economic and monopoly rent to private land owners represents, shown so clearly by Mr. Hanson in his analysis of the export of capital claims against the wealth produced in Puerto Rico, could be dammed at once by means of the social land value tax.

This would enable the Puerto Ricans to continue concentration upon cash export crops, while at the same time opening up less valuable land to diversified food crops. It would enable them to abolish their system of taxation, which Mr. Hanson shows to be inequitable, and thereby release labor and industry from governmental exactions which burden production.

Next, they would need to campaign for independence. Not mere political independence, but independence also from the exploitative tariff system of Imperial America, which robs them, as Mr. Hanson shows, through the exorbitant prices they must pay for the foodstuffs and other commodities which it is advantageous for them to import. This would also free them from the dominance of the sugar industry if,—after the abolition of tax burdens and the more efficient use of land which the socialization of rent would tend to produce—that industry were still found to be largely parasitical. All these measures would tend to make capital available for all the island's industries as well as new industries, and not only for the sugar industry.

The Puerto Ricans could go on from there. If they did, Puerto Rico might one day be an American Utopia. At least it would have a higher standard of living than would prevail in the monopolist mother country, technological advance or no technological advance. Mr. Han-

son, in his frank and honest analysis of the measures to which he gave his own expert service, proves that if the Puerto Ricans do not go on to there, their condition will remain hopeless.

The situation of Puerto Rico today is almost identical with that of Ireland in the '80's. What Henry George told the leaders of the Irish land reform movement needs to be told Mr. Hanson and all friends of the Puerto Ricans, as well as the leaders of the independence movement. It makes no difference whether the absentee owners live around the corner or across the ocean. So long as there are absentee owners, so long will the emancipation of the Puerto Rican people be blocked.

When equal rights to the land are acknowledged, when the land is freed for efficient exploitation by the user, when taxes, tariffs and all monopoly exactions which burden and strangle production are abolished, only then will the economic dilemma of Puerto Rico be solved.

When all special privilege is abolished by the socialization of rent, beginning with the greatest and most pernicious privilege, absolute private ownership of land, when natural opportunities and forces are freed to the producer by the application of the revenue from the socialization of rent to the maintenance of enlarged social services, then, and then only will Puerto Rico be able to become a true republic:

"Not a republic of landlords and peasants; not a republic of millionaires and tramps; not a republic in which some are masters and some serve. But a republic of equal citizens, where competition becomes cooperation, and the interdependence of all gives true independence to each; where moral progress goes hand in hand with intellectual progress, and material progress elevates and enfranchises even the poorest and weakest and lowliest."

And this can only be done when the Puerto Rican people are made to realize this, as thousands are being made to realize it in the United States through the social movement Henry George founded, and when they demand it. It still remains true that the enemy of the Puerto Rican people is not the American imperialist who is a parasite upon them, but their own ignorance of how their economy is working and how its evils can be abolished.

FORTY years of hard work on economics has pretty well removed all the ideas I ever had about it. The whole science is a wreck. For our social problems there is about as much light from the older economics as from a glow-worm. Only one or two things seem to be clear. Cast-Iron Communism is nothing but a penitentiary.—STEPHEN LEACOCK.

AFTER all, no one does implicitly believe in landlordism. The world is God's bequest to mankind. All men are joint heirs to it.—HERBERT SPENCER.

The Shortest Short-cut of Them All

DURING the six months ending September 30 of this year the School has sold 3,510 copies of Henry George's books. We are unable to break down this figure into the various titles, but we know that about 95 per cent of our purchases from the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, the publishers of these books, are for "Progress and Poverty."

These copies of "Progress and Poverty" are bought by students, either those taking the course in fundamental economics in our classes or those who are studying in our Correspondence Course. Each book is sold for the published price of one dollar.

Figures for the sale of books to book stores and libraries are not at this moment available. But it is reasonable to presume that the advertising given to the book by class leaders and extension secretaries, to say nothing of the thousands of pieces of mail matter being sent out by the School, must result in stimulating this distribution.

These figures are not published vaingloriously, for the School will not be satisfied until the distribution of "Progress and Poverty" reaches a much higher annual figure. We believe that by the end of the School year next summer the annual sale of copies of "Progress and Poverty" will reach a total of 10,000. We have higher hopes.

The School is not in the book selling business. Its problem is to teach the philosophy of Henry George. But since its textbook is "Progress and Poverty," the sale of this book is something of an indication of how fast the school method is developing. It must be remembered that not every student buys the book. It is advertised in all of our literature and in all of our classes that the textbook can be obtained at local libraries. And every class contains couples who come together and buy one book for the use of both.

It has been suggested that the School method is too slow. That we should have an abridgement of "Progress and Poverty," or some other textbook which can be grasped much more easily than this classic. Whatever textbook we use will have to be sold. The effort to induce people to read such a textbook will not be any less than the effort expended in inducing people to study "Progress and Poverty." Therefore, it does not seem logical to substitute for "Progress and Poverty" some other book which may be or may not be satisfactory, when it is realized that there will be no saving in the cost or effort of inducing people to investigate the subject matter. The only reason for substituting another book for "Progress and Poverty" as the textbook would be that this other book is better, that is, more convincing, clearer, more interesting. That however will be decided when and if the book is written and published. Until a better book

than "Progress and Poverty" appears there does not seem to be any reason for even discussing a change.

The suggestion for a change of textbooks comes from those good people who are somewhat impatient. They are looking for a short-cut. It occurs to the writer that short cuts have been sought by Georgeists for the past fifty years. Political activity, street corner speaking, handing out pamphlets, organizing clubs—the writer was himself engaged in these activities for nearly a quarter of a century, and has always found them wanting. The measure of success of any Georgeist activity is the number of new converts that activity can claim. That should be our yardstick.

The School has proven that its method has been quicker, that it has paid more dividends for the effort and expense involved, than any other activity carried on by the Georgeists since the time of Henry George. It is the shortest short-cut that has yet been devised.

If the reader of this article is an old timer, let him ask himself what definite proof has he of the number of converts he has made during the years that he has been talking Henry George. Also, let him ask himself whether any effort he has expended compares with that of the School, in which the teacher takes a group of people thoroughly through "Progress and Poverty" in ten weeks. If every one of this group is not a full fledged convert, in that he is able to argue out every point in economics or social philosophy, is of minor consideration. The fact is that he has become acquainted with Henry George, that his mind is thinking along the lines of a free economy rather than along the lines of monopoly.

The School method is the shortest short-cut of them all.
F. C.

Freedom of Commerce

THE day of internal tolls, called by the English Magna Charta, "evil tolls," has fled. They have been abolished between the Italian states, and our own Constitution forbids them as well. To-day we have free trade within the states over an area as large as Europe. There are no tolls at state boundary lines—no inland tolls, no *octroi*; levied at the cities' gates.

It was freedom of commerce which opened up this country from ocean to ocean; drove its way through the Rocky mountain gorges and held its unconquered march to the stormy Pacific slope. Freedom of trade penetrated to the icebergs of the frozen North, and sailed to the parched lands of the tropics. Before her fell the stake, before her tottered the throne; at her breath sank the secret council and the star chamber; and Freedom roused herself, like a sleeping lion that had dozed away through medieval ages, ere commerce had won its glory, or ships had ploughed the seas for foreign merchandise;—ere the trader had come, who as messenger of peace

was to strike the cutlass from the hand of the pirate and corsair!

When the protectionists of Piedmont invoked the example of the United States, Count Cavour answered, "What does that prove? It proves that these people, though Republicans, know not how to give up personal to public interest, and that Republican forms of government are not sufficient to tear selfishness from the human heart."

When the time comes that the American people would burst these bonds they will find that the great interest, the fearful power they have evoked, will not so easily be destroyed. An Arabian tale relates how a gigantic spirit was prevailed upon to contract himself to small dimensions in order to enter an enchanted vessel, and when his prison had closed upon him he found himself unable to escape from the narrow boundaries to the measure of which he had reduced his stature.—J. D. M.

The Twelfth Henry George Conference

THERE is a new spirit in the Single Tax movement! This was clearly indicated by the Twelfth Annual Henry George Conference held in Detroit, Mich., October 14-18.

There was less discussion of the philosophy itself than at any previous convention, almost the entire subject of the addresses and their debates being devoted to extending a wider public knowledge of economic truth and justice.

There were more young men and women present than ever before and this is due undoubtedly to the Henry George School of Social Science.

It was the consensus of opinion that this last should be continued, enlarged and extended; for it is the educational background for any form that the movement might take in the future.

As one man put it: "This is the strongest element that has come into the movement since the personality of Henry George himself."

The view was also expressed that the Henry George School of Social Science is the only true, formal, organized course in political economy and with anything like a national scope in this and other countries; for true political economy is not taught in the average college or university by reason of offending the source of their endowments and fear of affecting the investments of their endowments.

Obviously, many of the young people at this Detroit Conference were sons and daughters or even grandchildren of original Single Taxers, so that the truth, the belief, the effort of those who are now gone was not buried with their bones.

There was an incident of historical interest at this Conference: Frank Brown, now a prosperous coffee merchant of Indianapolis, was in attendance. He has long been known as a Single Taxer and a worker in the cause.

Some one remarked at one of the meetings that it was not how many were converted to the Georgian philosophy, but that it was more a matter as to whom we converted; that the late Tom L. Johnson became a Single Taxer in 1888 by a train boy laying a copy of Henry George's "Social Problems" in his lap while going from Indianapolis to Cleveland that he afterwards devoted his life and fortune to the cause.

"Yes," said Frank Brown, "I was that train boy!"

"I had read the book a few months before," Mr. Brown went on, "had been convinced of its social truth and had bought a few copies at wholesale as an addition to my train boy stock.

"When I first laid the book in Mr. Johnson's lap he seemed to think that it pertained to a sex social problem and handed it back to me saying that he was not interested.

"But I got the train conductor, who had also read the book and who knew Mr. Johnson, to urge it upon him and which he did by guaranteeing the price, 50 cents, if he was not interested.

One of the interesting men at the Detroit Conference was J. B. Ellert, Milk River, Alberta, Canada, the only 100 per cent Single Tax community on the North American continent.

Mr. Ellert is relatively young and a real pitchfork farmer. He instigated the pure land tax in Milk River and has maintained it in the face of all land speculator opposition, including single handed combat with the political lawyers of the C. P. R.

In narrating his experiences before the Conference and in his discussion of other addresses, he indicated a very high order of plain common sense.

He dresses well and is well groomed, but still looks like a farmer and can talk to farmers in their own language with a clear and practical working knowledge of land value taxation of his own community always before him, and which he pictures in no uncertain terms.

Mr. Ellert should be financed in a lecture tour of the United States, particularly before farmer granges of the east and central west.

He is a born teacher to his fellow farmers.

The best proposal and discussion of this Detroit Henry George Conference was a move towards a national organization to sell the Georgian principle of taxation to the public.

This may not in all cases take the form of direct politi-

cal action, but it will include economic education to political influence.

The fact was clearly brought out on the floor of the Conference and in committee discussion that the main weakness of the Single Tax cause is that it has no national organization like that of many political and industrial organizations now seeking and obtaining state and federal legislation.

The concerted conclusion of the Conference was that there are now enough men interested and active in the movement who have solved large problems in their own industries to the national sale of honest goods and services; that these same principles will serve in selling a sound economic philosophy to the nation—proof against depression and unemployment, and for continued purchasing power and prosperity.

A large committee representing varying phases of the movement and location was appointed. A small sub-committee was directed to become active to prepare and file a report of recommendations to the larger committee as to a name, policy and general activity of such a national organization.

The active man in this sub-committee is Mr. A. Laurence Smith, 2460 East Grand Blvd., Detroit, who will welcome suggestions and lists of names of Single Taxers in various locations.—DAVID GIBSON.

I AM a Single Taxer. . . . The Single Tax would be the means of bringing about the sanitary conditions I so much desire.—GENERAL WILLIAM C. GORGAS.

ALL the country needs is a new and sincere thought in politics; coherently, distinctly, and boldly uttered by men who are sure of their ground. The power of men like Henry George seems to me to mean that.

WOODROW WILSON.

LET us take time by the forelock and make sure the unearned increment of land shall belong to the people and not to private individuals who happen to be the owners of the soil."

DR. SUN YAT SEN,

First President of the Chinese Republic.

APPROPRIATE rent in the way I propose, and speculative rent would be at once destroyed. The dogs in the manger who are now holding so much land they have no use for, in order to extract a high price from those who do want to use it, would be at once choked off, and land from which labor and capital are now debarred under penalty of a heavy fine would be thrown open to improvement and use. The incentive to land monopoly would be gone. Population would spread where it is now too dense, and become denser where it is now too sparse.

THE LAND QUESTION, BY HENRY GEORGE.

The Henry George Congress

BY OUR REPORTER

THE Twelfth Annual Henry George Congress convened at Hotel Statler in Detroit on Thursday morning, October 14, and continued until Saturday, October 16.

During those three days Japanese shells shrieked through Shanghai, bombs burst in war-torn Spain, rival labor camps jockeyed for position in the struggle for power in the United States, and President Roosevelt prepared to announce that the budget would not be balanced this year.

Against this background of world and national events Georgeists in Detroit deliberated in their search for a strategy that would bring the adoption of the principles of Henry George so that the headlines of tomorrow might read in a more peaceful, constructive and happy vein.

Among the delegates was Mrs. Anna George deMille, daughter of Henry George and president of the board of the Henry George School of Social Science. There was Charles H. Ingersoll, the man who made the dollar famous and who is now using that fame as president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club organized by Henry George, to broadcast the message of freedom over a dozen radio stations every week. There was Frank Brown who fifty years ago sold Tom L. Johnson the copy of Social Problems that was to make Single Tax history. L. D. Beckwith, editor of *No Taxes*, champion of economics as a science "as exact as any"; N. D. Alper, lieutenant of Judge Jackson H. Ralston in his campaign for a constitutional amendment in California; J. B. Ellert and Fred Pease, of Single Tax town, Milk River, Alberta; Enclavialist Fiske Warren; Colonel Victor A. Rule, Rabbi Michael Aaronson—all were there and a host of other Georgeist leaders.

Dozens in New York City, Pittsburgh, Chicago and elsewhere who might otherwise have attended the Congress were unable to because they were busy teaching the Fall classes of the School in their respective cities.

The progress of the past few years since the founding of the School was reviewed. But education, most felt, is not enough. Now, in the words of Colonel Rule, we must organize! And steps were taken toward that end.

Upon one thing all were agreed: The Henry George School of Social Science must go on! The memory of Oscar H. Geiger, founder of the School, was rejoiced in at every session for having given the movement that priceless gift of a way of growth. There can be no substitute, each said, for the study of the writings of Henry George which talk a language at once modern and eternal.

The chairman of the Congress, A. Laurence Smith of Detroit, had his troubles keeping the delegates from veering from the intended subject of each session—Single Taxers do have such a habit of talking Single Tax!—but Mr. Smith and his committee should feel highly rewarded for their labors in arranging the details of the Congress. Some plans were formulated that will bear fruit in a strengthened movement during the months and years to come.

In addition to a wealth of interchanged ideas, out of this Congress came (1) a committee for national organization and action, (2) a committee for the restoration of Henry George's birthplace, and (3) the choice of Toronto for the 1938 Congress.

And now, for the exclusive benefit of its readers who were unable to attend, LAND AND FREEDOM presents a play by play description of each session of this memorable Congress:

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 14

MORNING SESSION

A. Laurence Smith, Chairman of the Local Committee, presented Dr. Frank Cody, Superintendent of Schools of Detroit, who gave the

address of welcome. Dr. Cody spoke of the liberal spirit that prevails in the public school system of Detroit and praised the educational purposes of the Henry George Congress.

Percy R. Williams, Chief Assessor of Pittsburgh and Executive Secretary of the Henry George Foundation, responded with an expression of appreciation to Dr. Cody and to the local committee for its arrangements.

SPEAKING ON THE AIMS OF THIS CONVENTION

Henry C. L. Forler, Detroit attorney, said that any progress must come from the bottom up, not from the top down. Consequently, he said, in this convention every means should be considered that may help bring about a more widespread knowledge of the Single Tax and what it will accomplish.

Francis I. Mooney, Baltimore attorney, expressed the belief that there should be an auxiliary organization that would get the attention of the great mass of people who vote.

Edward White, Kansas City, said that since the Congress is not a legislative body it should be treated as a sales convention—a "pep meeting for the salesmen of the Georgeist philosophy." Mr. White analyzed the problem that the individual faces in choosing the field of activity in which to concentrate whether the precinct, ward, city, state or nation. He made clear that the solving of national problems would not solve local problems and vice versa.

Henry H. Hardinge, Chicago, suggested that if the life story of Henry George could be given on the screen as has been done with "Parnell," "Pasteur," and "The Life of Emile Zola," it would be a startling revelation of "a great man, a great period and a great problem." Mrs. Anna George deMille, New York, told of the difficulties that must be faced in inducing producers to launch such a picture. Mr. Smith said that a scenario on the life of Henry George would be of no value unless the producer thought well enough of it to buy it without subsidizing.

Mr. Smith reviewed briefly the Single Tax legislative progress of recent years. He stressed the significance of the British Petroleum Bill of 1934 which provides that any petroleum found in the British Isles shall belong to the crown.

AFTERNOON SESSION

This session was devoted to reports on the progress of the Henry George School of Social Science and to a discussion of plans to promote the School. Mrs. deMille, president of the Board of Trustees of the School, presided. John Lawrence Monroe, field director, traced the growth of the classes and the development of the teaching and class organizing methods from the time that the School was provisionally chartered by the University of the State of New York in 1932 until the granting of its absolute charter last July 30.

"The growth of the School has been possible only because the graduates themselves are doing more and more of the teaching," Mr. Monroe said. "With the success of the class method firmly established," he continued, "the School turned back to a field abandoned since the passing of Mr. Geiger—the correspondence course. The cost of securing the correspondence enrollments is constantly being lowered through the testing of direct mail and newspaper advertising. To meet the demand of the graduates for additional courses the School now offers a teachers manual using 'Protection or Free Trade' as a textbook and is preparing teachers manuals covering 'Social Problems' and 'The Science of Political Economy.'"

Mrs. deMille announced the publication this month of the first number of *The Freeman* as a monthly critical journal of social and economic affairs designed especially to serve the graduates and teachers of the School.

All delegates took copies of the poster announcing the free cor-

respondence course, to be placed in libraries and book stores. Many plan to underwrite the cost of placing textbooks in lending libraries and bookstores pending rental or sale to prospective students.

Warren S. Blauvelt, Troy, N. Y., reported that he is now teaching his fourth class and that one of his graduates is already teaching another. "The steady growth of the School makes me very much more hopeful for the ultimate success of the Henry George philosophy in something less than a geological period," said Mr. Blauvelt. "The great hurrah and emotional appeal doesn't get anywhere with people who lack understanding. Classes will make the movement certain of the leadership of bell weathers in every community."

Edward White, Kansas City, Mo., told of the live alumni organization in his city which sent him to the Congress as its delegate. He reported the opening of neighborhood classes and the success with which the little Henry George School Bank has been used in raising funds for the classwork.

Robert L. McCaig, formerly of Toledo and now of Erie, Mich., contrasted the success of the class method with the less successful reading circle method.

The question of an abridgement of "Progress and Poverty" to serve as a textbook of the School, as suggested by Professor Harry Gunnison Brown, was brought up by A. Laurence Smith. Some of the reactions were:

William J. Palmer, Detroit: "From our experience with classes using 'Progress and Poverty' is that the book as it now stands is an economic standard. We do not need an abridgment. In no case will the book make an impression unless you can get the student to, dig in and when he does, in the abridged edition he will find that it's all there and simple."

Mrs. deMille: "I wonder whether there is the need for an abridgment now that the book as a whole is finding a wide reading. The abridgment on which I worked with Louis F. Post was not warmly received by publishers. The lesson assignments as prepared by the School serve to abridge the book without requiring the publishing of an abridged edition."

Gilbert M. Tucker, Albany: "There are practical objections to the proposed abridgment. Abridgments are confusing to publishers, bookstores, and readers. There is a feeling of resentment against abridgments."

Mr. Hardinge: "Attempting to improve upon 'Progress and Poverty' by abridgment would be like painting the lily."

Edward White: "With ten weeks given to the study of 'Progress and Poverty' no abridgment is necessary."

J. B. Ellert, Milk River, Canada: "We have had a class a year in Milk River and have found no difficulty in the use of 'Progress and Poverty' with the aid of the teachers manual and lesson assignments."

Mr. Ellert went on to show how Milk River, with no taxes on buildings and with nearly all of the local revenue from the taxation of land values, is a practical demonstration to back up the teachings of "Progress and Poverty." "Land is free," he said, "there is no public debt. The town has been able to provide hospitalization for the sick and relief where necessary for the needy. The streets are improved as in no other cities in southern Alberta."

Mrs. Helena McEvoy, Washington, D. C., reported that some years ago she prepared a complete concordance of "Progress and Poverty." Mrs. McEvoy promised to try to find it for the use of the School.

EVENING SESSION

Chairman: Gilbert M. Tucker, Albany, N. Y.

In a masterly address on "Slums, Housing and the Single Tax," Colonel Victor A. Rule, Chicago, analyzed the cause of slums and showed how the taxation of land values and the exemption of improvements would solve the problem. Defining the slum as "a piece of city real estate where the improvement is below standard," Colonel Rule showed how this abnormal condition is encouraged by taxes on im-

provements which relieve land values and permit slum area owners to hold on.

"When improvements are taxed," Colonel Rule said, "a person can hold land underdeveloped. Exempt improvements and tax land values: Then your slum owner will not be encouraged to hold his property in slum condition but to improve."

Describing the various paternalistic and charitable housing projects around the world, Colonel Rule censured each one for being no more than "a clean rag on a dirty finger to emphasize the filth of the finger." "It is a bad thing," he said, "for the government to undertake to do for the individual what the individual can do for himself."

Speaking on "Unemployment and the Single Tax," David Gibson, Cleveland, said in part, "I often think that the general public is about as ignorant of economics today as it was of sanitation at the time of cholera. We are doing as foolish things today in combating unemployment as the people of Cincinnati did when fighting cholera. They rang church bells. They held religious parades. They did everything but clean the streets."

"The rich, however, were just as afraid of cholera, typhoid fever, diphtheria, yellow fever and smallpox as the poor, and so something could be done. It is a great deal larger problem to eliminate unemployment. Influential people are benefitting by the fruits of our economic ills."

"Labor troubles are the result of a quarrel between employee and employer as to who should bear the cost of rising land values. County records show that Cleveland with a population of 1,000,000 has a total land value of \$1,000,000,000—\$1,000 per unit of population. The land of Cleveland is held by 86,000 owners, less than 10 per cent of the population. \$500,000,000 (one-half of the total land value) is held by 500 persons. One-third of the land value is held by 125 families. \$50,000,000 rent must be paid each year before anything can be done. This is an absolute debit against producers."

"For mass prosperity you must have mass purchasing power." This is impossible, Mr. Gibson made clear, when public values are privately appropriated.

George C. Olcott, Chicago land values expert, gave figures to show that many governmental housing projects are uneconomic. The Jane Addams housing project in Chicago, he said, is costing \$2,000 a room whereas \$1,000 is considered adequate. The land for the project cost \$140 a foot whereas in the very best residential sections, land does not exceed \$100 a foot.

While agreeing that there can be no final solution of the housing problem until the adoption of the Single Tax, George E. Evans, Pittsburgh, expressed the belief that "We can do something for the people before the adoption of the Single Tax." He cited the Buhl housing project in Pittsburgh as an example of what can be done as a demonstration of better planned housing, financed by private capital.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15

MORNING SESSION

Chairman: Edward White, Kansas City.

"The real aim of the Georgeist philosophy," said Warren S. Blauvelt, Troy, N. Y., "is the achievement of freedom based on justice made possible by the apprehension of truth."

"My experience as a very amateur teacher in the Henry George School of Social Science has convinced me that there are a great many people who want to know what, how, and why. It is amazing the interest they show in knowing the truth that will make justice possible. And justice is necessary to make the spirit of man free."

"Every precinct has a few real leaders. Among them are some as conscientious as ourselves. Get hold of more and more of these leaders. As these are gotten, real achievement toward our ends will come."

Making a plea for coordination of activities, Gilbert M. Tucker, Albany, N. Y., suggested the possibility of a federation of existing

Georgeist organizations which would embrace all who believe in the fundamental programme of Henry George. Among the functions of the new organization would be (1) to maintain a complete up-to-date list of those who subscribe to the essentials of our programme; (2) to serve as a clearing house for the ideas of the movement; (3) to secure publicity for the movement; (4) to contact and follow up specific influential individuals; (5) to lend aid and encouragement to the Georgeist publications; (6) to keep new converts busy and interested. Mr. Tucker suggested that the organization have nominal dues for a broad membership with the opportunity for those of means to contribute larger sums. One of the functions of the organization, he said, might be to raise money for all Single Tax organizations.

Francis I. Mooney, Baltimore, said that he would gladly enlist in this organization and give it his support.

In illustrating how such an organization could gain support of business interests, Mr. L. D. Beckwith, Stockton, told of the support given to his local Georgeist paper, *The Forum*, by the oldest and strongest business organization in his city of 55,000 population. This organization bought and paid for 1,015 subscriptions to his paper, "a record," said Mr. Beckwith, "that can't be equaled anywhere." "Don't misunderstand," they said, "We are not sure that we are sold on all that you say but we like the way you play up the rights of the working man and of the employer."

Miss Alice I. Siddall, Washington, D. C., read the draft of a proposed Congressional act providing for a one per cent tax on the value of all land in the United States, its Territories, Possessions, and the District of Columbia, exclusive of the value of improvements, to be collected by each State, Territory, Possession and the District of Columbia and transmitted to the Treasury of the United States. The proposed act is based upon the authority of the Constitution of the United States, Article I, Section 8, which states that "Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." Copies of this proposed act may be obtained from Miss Siddall at 514 19th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Henry H. Hardinge, Chicago, characterized the proposed act as an "excellent draft."

Edward White, Kansas City, told of an amendment to the constitution of the state of Missouri proposed by Percy Pepon, St. Louis Georgeist and member of the Legislature. This amendment would permit the legislature to classify property for purposes of taxation and to exempt any class or classes in whole or in part. The present constitution of Missouri, Mr. White said, is iron-clad.

Francis I. Mooney, Baltimore, said that Maryland has a similar amendment but that it is not self-executing, "so we can't get anywhere with it."

George C. Olcott, Chicago, said that a federal tax is all right in itself but there would be difficulty in securing a uniform application. There would be a tendency, he predicted, for each state to attempt to under-value its land in order to escape its just share of the taxes.

Mrs. Myron B. Vorce, Detroit, told of her work with the League of Women Voters in Michigan and stated that the strong Leagues were those with members who not only studied theory but who took an active part in putting their theories into practice through political action. She expressed the belief that political action should first be strengthened in the State as a means for showing the necessity of a national move.

LUNCHEON FOR TRUSTEES AND ADVISORY COMMISSION OF THE HENRY GEORGE FOUNDATION OF AMERICA

The following members of the Board of Directors were present: Otto Cullman, Charles R. Eckert, George E. Evans, Clayton J. Ewing, Charles H. Ingersoll, Dr. Mark Millikin, Fiske Warren, and Percy R. Williams.

The following directors were reelected to the Board: Messrs. Cullman, Evans, Carl D. Smith, Dr. Millikin, Hon. Cornelius D. Scully, and Mrs. Roswell Skeel. A. Laurence Smith was elected to the Board to replace William B. Foster whose term had expired.

The following officers were reelected: George E. Evans, President; Joseph Dana Miller, Clayton J. Ewing and Carl D. Smith, Vice-Presidents; Anna George deMille, Honorary Vice-President; William E. Schoyer, Treasurer; Percy R. Williams, Executive Secretary; John Lawrence Monroe, Associate Secretary.

President Evans appointed the following committee to arrange for the restoration of the birthplace of Henry George in Philadelphia: Mrs. Anna George deMille, Hon. Cornelius D. Scully, Clayton J. Ewing, Charles H. Ingersoll, and Harold Sudell. Approximately \$3,000 will be required to restore the birthplace. A little more than \$500 has already been contributed for this purpose.

President Evans appointed the following committee on national organization and action: A. Laurence Smith, Chairman; Colonel Victor A. Rule, David Gibson, Charles R. Eckert, John Lawrence Monroe, Otto Cullman, Noah D. Alper, Gilbert M. Tucker and Mrs. Helena McEvoy. By action of the Congress, Mrs. Anna George deMille was subsequently added to this committee.

The Board of Directors voted to accept the invitation of Allan C. Thompson to hold the next annual Henry George Congress in Toronto, Canada.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Chairman: Rabbi Michael Aaronsohn, Cincinnati, O.

Speaking on "Plans for Promoting the Single Tax" Edward White, Kansas City, told of many issues that have arisen in his city which have served as pegs on to which to hang the Georgeist story. In Kansas City the Park System is maintained by a $2\frac{1}{4}$ mill rate tax on land values alone. The city charter adopted twelve years ago permits the application of the same principle to other public improvements. Hence every attempt on the part of public utilities and politicians to foist improvements upon the people to be paid for by general property taxation, the sales tax, or bond issues has been countered by Mr. White's proposal to pay for the improvements by land value taxation.

Mrs. Helena McAvoy, President of the Woman's Single Tax Club, Washington, D. C., announced that in the spring "we're going to organize the National Woman's Single Tax League at the home of Mrs. Charles J. Ogle near Baltimore. Women will put this over if you men will let them!"

Speaking on "Shall We Try to Concentrate All the Single Tax Activities in One State?" Colonel Victor A. Rule, Chicago, said, "My answer to the question must be no. Not because I do not think that this is what we will ultimately come to but because I believe there is a prior act necessary. Some day we will have to do just what this question suggests but that day has not yet arrived. Our next step must be National Organization and the development of a directive plan for this Movement.

"This work must have four and possibly more major divisions. There must be national organization for (A) Propaganda, (B) Education of a more formal nature, (C) Financing, (D) Future political action. This organization can be accomplished regionally without disturbing any present activity and without increasing the burden borne by those interested in the movement."

(A complete copy of Colonel Rule's address may be secured by writing to LAND AND FREEDOM.

Robert L. McCaig, Erie, Michigan, told of his experiences which lead him to believe that the demountable house on leased land will do more than all efforts to educate people on the land question and the relation of taxation to it. "When we can get people out of the cities they will be better able to see the land question," said Mr. McCaig. "Ninety-nine per cent of the people don't know they use land. With the demountable structure the home owner would not be subject to the will of the landowner as he is today. When the

rent became too high he could pack up his house and go elsewhere." Mrs. Gertrude E. Mackenzie, Washington, D. C., suggested the following ideas for active work:

Letters to the editor.

Enclosing Single Tax literature in your personal and business letters and in reply to appeals from charitable and peace organizations.

Placing Single Tax billboards on vacant lots.

Arranging poster and book displays in vacant store windows.

Placing metal literature holders in Y. M. C. A.'s and other public places and keeping the holders filled with Single Tax pamphlets and magazines.

"We have been too much concerned with what the Single Tax is and how to get it, and not enough attention has been given to what it will do," in the opinion of Allan C. Thompson, Toronto. "Let us promise \$5,000 a year—we can deliver the goods!"

ANNUAL HENRY GEORGE FOUNDATION BANQUET

Toastmaster: A. Laurence Smith, Detroit.

In an inspiring, brief talk Mrs. Anna George deMille reaffirmed her faith in the future of the movement and in the work of the Henry George School of Social Science as the "way out of war, race hatreds and the misunderstandings of the world."

Pleading for Single Taxers to define their attitude on every subject before the American people and to set up a research laboratory in Washington, D. C., to serve the nation's leaders, Congressman Charles R. Eckert declared that it is the lack of a formulated policy and necessary data that are responsible for the slow progress that Single Tax has made in a practical way. "We must formulate a comprehensive programme to fit the national and state governments," he said, "so that every one of us may know what to labor for."

"I think Single Taxers ought to take an active part in politics," Congressman Eckert continued. "Politics is corrupt and it is vulgar. But politics can be put on a plane so that every campaign can be turned into an educational enterprise. If we had a group of Single Taxers in Congress—say 45 or 50—it would be possible to bring pressure upon those who direct the public affairs of the nation. Because the New Deal is the dominant thought of the day despite its inconsistencies it is up to us to reform it. I have the faith and hope that Single Tax will become formidable enough so that the course of the New Deal will have to be changed, so that the principles of the institutions upon which the American Republic was founded may be saved."

Denying that the labor problem, crooked politics, commercialized vice, the race problem or war have anything to do with man's morality or immorality, L. D. Beckwith, editor of *No Taxes* and the *Forum*, Stockton, California, demonstrated how each of these problems can be solved by the one stroke of publicly appropriating rent in lieu of all taxes.

"Love or hate has no more to do with economics than it has with mathematics, chemistry or physics," said Mr. Beckwith. "We have rights that go as far as the equal rights of others. Nature prevents us from going farther. There are only three ways to get income—from rent, wages and interest. Just take away your opportunity of getting rent and you are at once limited to wages and interest. The only way to get more wages and interest will then be to make yourself more useful."

J. B. Ellert, Milk River, expressed his belief that the moral law and the scientific law are inseparable, but that whether the individual is moral or immoral has nothing to do with the moral law. Taking rent for public purposes, he said, equalizes the advantages to the use of the earth and is fair and just to all. "We are therefore in accord with the moral law. Can we apply that principle without also being scientific? 'Justice is the supreme law of the land.'"

Greetings from Nathan Hillman, president of the Federated Chapters of the Henry George Fellowship, were read by Noah D. Alper, vice-president.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16

MORNING SESSION

Chairman: Ray Robson, Lansing, Michigan.

Subject: What State Offers the Most Promising Opportunity?

"New Jersey," said Charles H. Ingersoll, president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, New York. During the past four years Mr. Ingersoll has delivered over 600 radio broadcasts a year on free time donated by the smaller stations in the East from Wilmington, Del., to Bridgeport, Conn. He believes that New Jersey is the state on which to concentrate because the taxation of land values can be increased without constitutional amendment and because the ground has been plowed by the faithful efforts of Alfred N. Chandler, secretary of the Henry George League of New Jersey. Over a long period of years Mr. Chandler has has the interested cooperation of numerous merchants and manufacturers throughout the state. Legislative bills for increasing the taxation of land values have met with wide favor.

"Pennsylvania," was the answer of Percy R. Williams, chief assessor of Pittsburgh, to the question of where to concentrate. Observing that the referendum method of securing adoption of Single Tax legislation has failed in every instance to date, Mr. Williams believes that the most promising opportunity lies in such a state as Pennsylvania where progress can be made through legislative bodies.

"The reason the legislative body offers a better opportunity for a minority group," declared Mr. Williams, "is because it is not necessary to obtain a majority vote of all the people. You only need their acquiescence. Retain unity and you can hope to get results. This method has won something in Pennsylvania and there are prospects of winning more." Mr. Williams made clear that he did not believe in the geographical concentration of educational work except in so far as related to the legislative campaign. He pointed out that all teachers and students can't be put into one city or state.

"California!" If any concentrating is to be done there is no question in the mind of N. D. Alper where it should be—California, where a campaign is now in progress. Mr. Alper reviewed the history of legislative campaigns in California and the present chances of success for the Ralston amendment which in nine years would wipe out taxes on buildings and tangible personal property and which would at once repeal the onerous sales tax. Petitions are now being signed which will put the amendment before the people in November, 1938. 187,000 signatures are needed.

Dr. Mark Millikin, Hamilton, Ohio, suggested that Ohio has possibilities as a state in which to concentrate because "the people are beginning to see the evils of the sales tax."

Ray Robson, Lansing, Michigan, presented the case for Michigan where a sales tax and a tax limitation amendment are evils to be removed.

"I think concentration in any state fruitless," said David Gibson, Cleveland. "There is no answer except education. The Henry George School of Social Science should be kept up."

Mr. Williams suggested that the logical place of concentration would be a substantial city rather than a whole state, though he recognized that if California can win along the lines followed in the Ralston campaign it would be a much greater achievement.

Edward White, Kansas City, Mo., was one native son who did not want concentration on his state. "I'd rather develop our own campaign. The smear of 'outsiders running our affairs' is a powerful weapon in the hands of the opposition," Mr. White said.

A resolution introduced by Edward White was adopted approving the Ralston amendment campaign as a movement to collect a larger part of the ground rent for the benefit of the public. Mr. White was appointed chairman of a committee to aid in securing support for the campaign.

L. D. Beckwith, Stockton, Calif., said that he could not support

the Ralston campaign because he is a scientist and "a scientist can't trade." "A scientist," he said, "is for 2 by 2 equals 4. He is opposed to all other answers."

AFTERNOON SESSION

Chairman: Dr. Mark Millikin, Hamilton, Ohio.

Subject: Organization for Action.

"Whether you're trying to promote a new commodity or an economic truth, you won't get anywhere unless you adopt modern merchandising methods," challenged George R. Averill, publisher of the Birmingham (Mich.) *Eccentric*.

He suggested a three-day institute for business and banking leaders. "Lock the doors on them and immerse them in the philosophy of Henry George," he suggested. "Tell them that only this philosophy can protect them from fascism, communism and taxation. Sell these leaders on the fact that this is the last bulwark of private property."

"These same men who have done such a wonderful job of production can do the same with distribution when they put their minds to it. Top-notchers in production know nothing of the laws of distribution."

"We have got to carry on our programme of education. We must raise the economic literacy of the people. And yet I've had enough contact with government to know that all need not be economists in order that we may elect economists to office."

William H. Backman, St. Claire Shores, Mich., countered with the suggestion that efforts should be directed toward capturing the working man. "There is a certain point at which the capitalist stops being a capitalist," he said. "It is hard for him to tell whether he represents 75 per cent spurious capital or just the 25 per cent real capital."

Mr. Averill clarified his suggestion by saying that he was not opposed to organized labor but was interested only in enlisting leaders of influence.

David Gibson, Cleveland, said, "We have now perfected a programme by which a national organization is to be formed. It will take some months to get it functioning. But even after that, individual effort is still going to be necessary." Mr. Gibson recounted his own success in placing "Progress and Poverty" in bookstores and libraries.

"But above all things," concluded Mr. Gibson, "keep up the Henry George School of Social Science. That is getting young people into the movement."

Harold S. Buttenheim, New York, editor of the *American City*, gave three encouraging reports. First, the Natural Resources Committee, Washington, D. C., has recently published a booklet in which state and local housing authorities are urged to consider reduction of rates on buildings and a corresponding increase on land values. Second, a recent survey taken by the Tax Policy League of New York showed that 28 out of 54 professors of public finance favored reducing taxes on buildings and increasing them on land values. Twenty were opposed, however, and six were non-committal. Third, Mr. Buttenheim has been invited to address the chief assessors of cities of the United States on the subject, "Should Land and Buildings be Taxed at Different Rates?"

How the small cardboard replica of the little red schoolhouse can be used effectively for raising funds for the local extensions of the Henry George School was described by James C. Fuller, Kansas City, Mo.

Introduced to the Congress at this session was Frank Brown, Indianapolis, who as a newsboy nearly fifty years ago sold Tom L. Johnson the copy of "Social Problems" which was to lead to his meeting Henry George and becoming mayor of Cleveland as a Single Tax advocate.

A resolution was adopted commending Congressman Herbert Bigelow, Cincinnati, for his part in securing a Congressional vote on the

bill providing for a one per cent tax on the value of land in the District of Columbia.

On the motion of Rabbi Michael Aaronsohn, Cincinnati, a vote of thanks was tendered to A. Laurence Smith and his committee for the success of the Congress.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

The Congress definitely decided that Single Taxers should go into action and that we should begin to do something more than talk, and the following Committee was appointed for the purpose of "organizing for action":

Hon. Chas. R. Eckert, Beaver, Pa.; Mrs. Anna George deMille, New York; Gilbert M. Tucker, Albany, N. Y.; Col. Victor A. Rule, Chicago; Otto Cullman, Chicago; Mrs. Helen Mitchell McEvoy, Washington, D. C.; David Gibson, Cleveland; N. D. Alper, San Francisco; John Lawrence Monroe, New York; Geo. E. Evans, Pittsburgh, Pa.; A. Laurence Smith, Chairman, 2460 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit.

A Sub-Committee consisting of Otto Cullman, Gilbert M. Tucker, Hon. Charles R. Eckert was appointed to draft a plan for organization.

Resolutions

WHEREAS: Land values are social values and the profit arising therefrom belong to the people and the application of these profits by private individuals or corporations is the principle and primary cause of hard times, unemployment and poverty.

The function of government is to devise ways and means for the collection of the income of land values for the benefit of all the people in lieu of the depression-breeding taxes on the products of labor. Therefore, the Henry George Congress assembled in the City of Detroit, October 14, 15 and 16, 1937, views with interest and approval the efforts of Representative Herbert S. Bigelow to levy a tax on the \$1,000,000,000 of land values in the District of Columbia and extend hearty congratulations to him and the twenty other Representatives who supported the Bigelow Amendment, their pioneer efforts in behalf of needless depression and ring down the ages as an act of true and honest statesmanship.

CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN APPROVED

WHEREAS: The followers of Henry George favor every possible application of the principles taught by Henry George; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this Twelfth Annual Henry George Congress hereby approve the movement now under way in California to obtain a larger measure of land value taxation in that State; and be it further

RESOLVED: That a committee be appointed to assist the Tax Relief Association of California in carrying on this work.

Edward White, Kansas City, was appointed Chairman of this Committee, with instructions to appoint two additional members.

Excellent Statement Accompanying Invitation to Henry George Congress

SINGLE TAXERS form the only group, not only in the United States but in the world, so far as it is known, that is using every effort to maintain and promote what we are pleased to think of as the American ideals of Freedom and Independence.

It is hardly necessary to point out that all other organized groups and movements have as their background plans to arbitrarily confiscate and redistribute wealth.

Some of these groups have definite plans to confiscate from the

poor and redistribute to the rich; others to confiscate from the poor and distribute to other poor; and others to confiscate from the rich and redistribute to the poor.

Single Taxers, on the contrary, believe that prosperity and wealth, individual and national, can result only from work and production; that the worker is entitled to the full return from his labor; and that the government has no right to confiscate any of his earnings and redistribute them to either rich or poor.

Ground rent is a social product which belongs to all the people and should be taken by the government for the payment of all public expenses, and this automatically would leave earnings untaxed in the hands of those who earn.

When Single Taxers speak of workers, earners, and producers, they mean not only the laboring man who works with his hands but the white collar worker, the professional man, and the proprietor as well. They believe that it is respectable for the individual to work and earn money with his own hands, or his own head, and that it is equally respectable for those who have saved a little money to combine their savings and engage in public enterprise for profit and that those profits are as fully entitled to protection from confiscation by government as are the earnings of the daily wage worker.

The Single Tax idea is the last stronghold and, in fact, the only bulwark remaining to protect the American Institutions of Enterprise, Prosperity, and Freedom.

Colonel Victor A. Rule at the Henry George Congress

IN 1933 the Henry George Convention, held at Chicago, did me the honor of appointing me, along with others on a committee to study organization. That committee has long since expired having failed, even among its members, to come to any sort of agreement as to a basis for report.

However, the desire, arising out of need, has not expired and the intervening years, with their wealth of missed opportunities, have added to both the desire and the need.

The Single Tax movement—the No-Tax movement, the Georgeist movement—sadly needs organization and on the lack of it, not on any fundamental error or any lack of ability on the part of the general public to understand, I repeat, on the lack of organization this movement wrecks its opportunities.

I am not insensible to the modicum of truth in the ancient quib that the way to kill a thing is to organize it, but, with all the earnestness of my mind which is intellectually persuaded of the correctness of our position, with all fervor of my emotions which erupt at the continuance of social injustice, I wish to insist—*We Must Organize*:

Let us come to the record. With one shining exception our movement is a motly aggregation of sporadic, diversified, uncoordinated, divergent, individualistic efforts having but one basic element in common, namely, a desire to bring about a better social state founded on economic justice. And it has always been so. You can read its history—a sad story of stullified effort checkmating itself

and doing the work of its enemies because of a lack of organized effort. From the earliest records of man—on to the birth and work of Henry George himself through Johnson, Shearman, Brown, Ingersoll, Monroe and down until today, with the exception of Geiger, it has been a lack of organization which has brought defeat, not the lack of brainy leaders, gifted disciples, fervent appeals, adequate finance, but lack of organization and programme continuity.

I am supposed to speak on the proposition “Shall We Try to Concentrate All The Single Tax Activities in One State?” But what are these activities? Concentrate our internecine wordy wars, our individualistic efforts? Even if you concentrate them you’ll do no good without organization and plan.

The military man says “do not deploy in front but deploy in depth,” or as the man in the street says, “don’t spread yourself out too thin.” But this is no argument against, rather it is for the proposition that our next step must be National Organization and the development of a directive plan for this Movement. My answer to the question then must be no. Not because I do not think that this is what we will ultimately come to but because I believe there is a prior act necessary. Someday we will have to do just what this question suggests, but that day has not yet arrived.

The military maxim quoted has to do with a principle of attack—it is not at all related to the prior question of training, of getting ready for the attack. Now it would seem abundantly evident that before we attack the privilege which we believe to be at the basis of most, if not all our major social ills, we must educate the people on whose lack of information or social lethargy this privilege so largely endures. It might be objected that this question which I am called upon to discuss relates only to an attack upon such ignorance or lethargy. Possibly that is so although I doubt that as the interpretation most people would place on it. But even if it were the only interpretation my answer would still be as it is. *A prior step must be taken!*

I make this answer because were we to do as is suggested by this question, or rather by such an interpretation of this question, we would be doing an injustice to every other state. There are two principles involved in our Movement of which political action is just one. Political action arises more soundly from education rather than education flowing from political action. Let others play the “if at first you don’t succeed, try, try again” game. We have already been enlightened about the inexorable inevitability of right action following right thought. No state in this union can hope to isolate itself from the thought and education of other states while each state can assert its own sovereignty in political affairs.

It would not be proper for me to advocate merely a

negative position. You have given me of your time and attention, graciously given. Must I not also give and that not of my doubts but of my beliefs? Most people have enough doubts of their own without being burdened with mine. It is a good thing to believe your beliefs and to doubt your doubts but it is a dangerous thing to talk yourself or others into believing your doubts and doubting your beliefs.

Last year, at Cincinnati, a Committee gave me the honor of representing them in the matter of discovering what Single Taxers thought ought to be done about organization and plan. This Committee consisted of Mr. Gilbert Tucker, as Chairman, our beloved Anna George deMille, together with Otto Cullman, George Strachan, and Mr. Merrell as members. They gave me a year in which to do this, confining me to a survey of what is now being done and what might be done in the future.

In carrying out this task I have had great pleasure and there is submitted to you, as the affirmative belief on the question raised by this topic, that which has resulted from this activity.

First: The greatest single present need of the Single Tax Movement is national organization and directive programme. This work must have at least four and possibly more major divisions.

A. There must be national organization for propaganda.

B. There must be national organization for education of a more formal nature.

C. There must be national organization for financing.

D. There must be national organization for future political action.

Second: This organization can be accomplished regionally without disturbing any present activity and without increasing the burden at present borne by those interested in the Movement.

Such conclusions backed as they are by adequate survey and considerable discussion call for a suggested modus operandi. I make the following suggestions as a basis for discussion and should it be acceptable, for action.

First: That this Congress authorize the appointment of a temporary National Committee and instruct them to proceed with a national organization as follows:

Region or Area 1. Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut.

Area 2. New York, New Jersey and Delaware.

Area 3. Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and Washington, D. C.

Area 4. North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana.

Area 5. West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky.

Area 6. Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

Area 7. Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, North and South Dakota.

Area 8. Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Oklahoma and Texas.

Area 9. Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada and California.

A view of these areas will reveal that there is a territorial coherence in them and that in each area there is at present operative some fairly virile effort, some tested leaders.

The question of organization must always be one of evolution and it is not possible to give birth to any scheme which will be entirely satisfactory at birth.

Second: That the temporary National Committee be instructed to draw up plans for representation by areas in a National Committee and the terms of office therein.

Third: That the temporary National Committee be instructed to draw up plans for representation in future Congresses so that the action of such Congresses shall be the expression of representative rather than individual judgments.

Fourth: That the temporary National Committee be instructed to draw up plans for organization operation in at least the four categories herein suggested and submit such plans, together with other reports, to the next Single Tax Congress.

It would not be proper for any of us to attempt at this time to restrict or define the work of this suggested temporary National Committee, but there are a few things which might be touched on. By that I mean we may give direction if not content to their deliberations.

Perhaps this can best be done by considering the objectives which might be accomplished through such a scheme or organization. Here again but the first few silver arrows of a rising sun which bespeak the advent of a brighter, happier day of justice for humanity, can be observed.

In such organization we may hope for ultimates, and the first of these is a united voice backed by an informed constituency. Not that differences of opinion could or should be forever silenced, nor that they are always and everywhere bad. This is not so. We are disciples of liberty and seekers after justice. Differences of opinion are often evidences of growing pains, the birth pangs of discovered truth. But it is a tragic thing for us to be the trustees of a significant truth and the legatees of such great leaders as the past has blessed us with and in our day of need not to be able to give one voice to a distracted world. It is little wonder that those who frantically seek for a solution for the present world condition regard us so lightly and turn to nostrums instead of the truth which we have to present.

We might hope for programme; for programme formulated in discussion, adopted by a recognized congress

for delegates and backed by a united consistency. Almost any voice can be raised and any scheme proposed and the name of Single Tax tacked on to it. Then those in the Movement have to take it, for what can they do about it? They can support it with fears and under the duress of loyalty, all the while cursed by the regret that this thing was not more fully discussed before launching and tormented by the probability of failure. It is a serious and grave fallacy which possesses some Single Taxers, that *any* publicity is better than *no* publicity. The publicity of failure is of doubtful worth when the failure is produced by a lack of common sense. They can fight about it. How the enemies of the germatic idea love this! What a travesty that our energies should be dissipated in this manner. This has been the age old strategy of landlordism. Make Capital and Labor fight while landlords devour their substance—make Single Taxers fight Single Taxers and let the public know them as cranks. Even cranks don't like cranks if they recognize them.

We might hope for standing. At present the Single Tax advocate gets before audiences on personality. It is intensely difficult to get a hearing on the bare idea and yet the idea is greater than any personality. Why should we have to beg for a hearing? Why should we have to camouflage our subject? Take your Universities, your Social and Service Clubs, your myriad of other organizations having group meetings and discussions, why cannot Single Taxers get before such groups on the basis of a great idea? I know, if you do not. I will tell you if you do not have the courage to phrase it. We have no standing as an organization, we are individuals advocating an ideal in the light of our own personalities and unsupported by concerted Movement.

Bear with me in my last point. We may hope for a better financed programme where the money spent will accomplish more. There are arguments to the contrary but experience in every major reform and in all potential organizations has just one message on this point. With adequate organization, with directive programme, with supervised activity you can raise more money, you can spend it more wisely, you can accomplish greater things than you can do by a multitude of individual efforts. Take it for what it is worth but many people are not willing to be known as Single Taxers lest a swarm of sincere people descent on them to obtain financial support for the "only way to make the people see our reform." If you control the purse strings you can direct almost anyone, you can win elections, you can silence internal dissensions, you can brand mavericks or make them bellow at the moon.

TO take a tree from the forest, a salmon from the river, a deer from the hill, or a cow from lowland strath, is what no Highlander need ever think shame upon.—SIR WALTER SCOTT, *Waverley*, ch. 18.

The Robert Schalkenbach Foundation Report

TO those watching its progress, there is no doubt of the growth of the Henry George movement. In a recent survey to determine how the forty-eight states were represented in this increase, we developed some interesting statistics. We took nine thousand names from the list we have built. These did not include students of the School, college professors or bookdealers. New York, we found, was most largely represented, with Illinois, Pennsylvania, California, Ohio and New Jersey following in the order named. Nevada had the smallest number of names in the group analyzed.

Among the "trade" we now have four hundred and sixty dealers carrying our books, twenty-nine new stores having been added in our recent campaign.

The Foundation sent several volumes to the Book Fair, where they were placed on the shelves of the Modern Book Shop. Visitors to the Fair report that the books are receiving considerable attention from the throngs passing through.

During its early years the Foundation printed a special edition of "Progress and Poverty" which it distributed free to libraries throughout the country. Since then new libraries have been opened, worn copies have been discarded. It is time to check again. This time our work will have a double objective. The Henry George School of Social Science is circulating a poster announcing its correspondence course. To those libraries which agree to display it, the Foundation will donate a copy of "Progress and Poverty." Thus new shelves will be stocked, worn copies replaced and students secured for the course.

Through a special service open to publishers, we circulate a list of our pamphlets to librarians throughout the country. The pamphlets thus sold are included in reference and research divisions. It is interesting to note that the title most frequently selected by librarians is "A Defense of the Single Tax Principle," by Professor Harry Gunnison Brown.

In 1933, in response to our advertisements, Roy A. Foulke, Manager of the Analytical Report Department of Dun and Bradstreet's, came to this office and purchased "Progress and Poverty." He read—he studied—George conquered. The result was a vigorous article in the *Dun and Bradstreet Monthly Review*. For a time we carried reprints. Lately these have been exhausted, but still the requests for them come in. Now we have a new reprint of the article—an old friend in a new and most attractive garb. It is a two-page folder on colored paper with the title, "Three Important Balance Sheet Ratios," set in modern type. Those who want these folders may have them at cost. A package of fifty will be fifty cents postpaid.

An interesting visitor to the office was Rogelio Casas Cadilla, President of the Catalonian *Liga Georgista Espanola*. He was interested in the Georgeist literature we had on display and took back to Spain a selection of our pamphlets and a subscription to LAND AND FREEDOM. Mr. Casas Cadilla recently wrote a "Spanish letter" for *Land and Liberty*, and will soon be back at work writing articles on Single Tax for a leading Barcelona newspaper.

How quickly this year has passed! It seems only yesterday that we were busy with Christmas orders. We worked overtime, and Sundays, too, wrapping books in bright papers, planning shipments so that gifts would reach their destination "just in time." Soon our office will again take on the guise of Santa's Workshop. A new Christmas folder is being prepared. We know our friends will respond in the same whole-hearted way they always have. Current events have turned the public mind to economics. Books once considered "heavy" can now be classed almost as "popular reading." A Georgeist book, more than ever, is an appropriate and appreciated gift.

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

It has come to my mind that folks might be interested to know that I recently found (and purchased) at a second-hand book store in Los Angeles a Business Directory of San Francisco for 1877-78—"Langley's San Francisco Business Directory." This old book of 430 pages, about 5 by 7 inches in size, lists: Henry George, inspector of gas meters, 531 Mission; his brother, John V. George, books, Bush and Polk Sts., as well as many intimates of Henry George—James S. Maguire, Edward R. Taylor, Henry H. Haight, W. M. Hinton, Frank Eastman, James V. Coffey, Dr. Josselyn, Cameron H. King and others.

The book is in very good condition and in addition to the alphabetical directory contains a classified directory where Henry George is again listed under "Inspectors." There is also a Chinese Business Directory and many advertisements, several of shops where Henry George at times was employed.

(Signed) CLYDE W. SILVERNALE,
Hollywood, California.

Our President, the Honorable Lawson Purdy, the Board of Trustees and we here in the office wish our friends a Merry Christmas and a New Year better than the old, rich in contentment and prosperity.

V. G. PETERSON, Acting Secretary.

THE first and universal perception of mankind is that declared by the American Indian Chief, Black Hawk: "The Great Spirit has told me that land is not to be made property like other property. The earth is our mother!" And this primitive perception of the right of all men to the use of the soil from which all must live, has never been obscured save by a long course of usurpation and oppression.—PROPERTY IN LAND, BY HENRY GEORGE.

Activities of The Manhattan Single Tax Club

THERE is not much change in the broadcasting routine of the past two months. The most important is the addition of a weekly broadcast to the schedule of WBIL which is an important station of 5000 watt power; and also the carrying of the Public Service Forum Hour, Sundays, to the affiliated station WRAX, of Philadelphia.

The following is the schedule of Mr. Ingersoll's broadcasts:

Mon., WCNW, 2:30 p. m.; WWRL, 11:00 p. m. Wed., WCNW, 3:45 p. m. (Romance of Time); WBIL, 6:30 p. m. Thurs., WLTH, 8:15 a. m.; WBIL, 6:30 p. m. Fri., WDAS, 1:00 p. m. (Phila.); WSNJ, 3:00 p. m. (Bridgeton). Sat., WWRL, 11:00 p. m. Sun., WBIL (Public Service Forum Hour), 4:00 p. m. to 4:30 p. m. (C. H. I., Chairman and Director.)

All kilocycles 1400 to 1500 except WBIL—1100, 5000 watts.

The following were the Public Service Forum Hour's guest speakers and their subjects since our last report:

Sept 26: J. Bailey Harvey, City College, "Public Education in a Democracy." Oct. 3: James E. Finegan, Pres. Civil Service Commission, "Civil Service." Oct. 10: Chas. H. Ingersoll, Persons Interview by the "Voice of Experience." Oct. 17: Wm. Stanley Miller, Pres., Dept. of Taxes, "Taxes—A Bill for Services Rendered." Oct. 24: E. M. Barradale, Port of N. Y. Authority, "Bridge Tolls." Oct. 31, Mrs. Frances Foley Gannon, Deputy Commissioner Markets, "Food Prices." Nov. 7: Dr. Donald B. Thorburn, Vice-Pres. Osteopathic Society, "Middle Curative Ground."

Note from C. H. Ingersoll:

The Editor of LAND AND FREEDOM not being present at the Detroit Conference, I will give some of my impressions though I know the Editor was represented by a very competent reporter, John L. Monroe.

An efficient programme chairman like A. Laurence Smith, is likely not to be every time available. I had a fifteen minute spot on radio station WJBK, Detroit. But I regret that it was not delivered to a session of the Congress nor announced to them; this I hope will be corrected next year.

I had ample opportunity to explain my radio work and it was obviously interesting to the audience. I also took part in discussion of suggested campaigns in individual states recommending my own state of New Jersey as having all the practical qualities for a campaign.

I have written to Secretary Williams a suggestion which I think your readers will be interested in. It is to try and give these annual conferences an element of continuity they have so far considerably lacked. As illustrating

my suggestion, I took the matter of meetings and broadcasts in the conference-city, assuming that it is possible to arrange many of these if suitable attention is given both in the city and through the mails to all Georgeists in the country.

The value of the Congress could be multiplied by developing technique of arranging meetings and securing speakers in advance. Another example is an organization of business as so ably presented by Mr. Averill, Editor of the *Birmingham Eccentric*, in the closing session. If this could be made a continuing programme, I think we might hope to accomplish this most important of all objects—as Averill put it, “demand a million dollars from business men to be used in their own and others’ conversion.”

Excerpts from the Ingersoll Broadcasts:

THE PRESIDENT’S PLANNING A “BUILDING BOOM” TO STIMULATE FLAGGING INDUSTRY, is the most unsound thing he could think of, if it is planned along usual housing, slum clearance, resettlement lines such as all such plans have so far been. The reason for its unsoundness is primarily that from a quarter to a half of its investment will go into land values, which is, economically, like burying the investment in the ground. Nothing can modify this waste and nothing can prevent this waste sabotaging any boom or plan upon which it is loaded. There is one way and one way only, by which a building boom could be created and one that would not only stimulate flagging industry, but restore it permanently; that way is so simple and obvious that there can be no doubt or dispute about it. It is to remove two embargoes that have all but stopped building, and have deprived the masses of their homes, created slums, etc. Those embargoes are: (1) The taxing of everything going into buildings—the production of all building materials, which probably makes them cost double. (2) Is the failure to tax monopoly and speculation in building sites—which has (a) caused taxes on materials; and more important, taxes that fall on the upkeep of homes—on all the necessities of living; (3) created high land values and ground rents, that have closed opportunities for profitable building, employment of labor, and supply of cheap houses.

RAMSAY MACDONALD HAS CLOSED HIS COLORFUL CAREER. He started it very auspiciously—on the right track—killing off England’s worse curse, which is landlordism. He worked shoulder to shoulder with Lloyd George, Phillip Snowden, and many other big statesmen of England who had the idea that “the people of England should not be prepassers on their own soil,” farther advanced than it has been in any other country of the world. But Macdonald, like so many other reformers, got off on the more alluring communistic trail, became a “Laborite,” and then was ground between conservatives, Tories, and liberals.

HERE IS EXTRAORDINARY NEWS. Up in Quebec, the Premier has sent his police to close up a communist paper, *The Light*. In our country—and I’m sure in most other countries—the communists are closing up the papers they do not like. Examples are the *Newark Ledger*, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, *Toledo Blade*, and the *Brooklyn Eagle*. President Heywood Broun, of the writers Guild Union of course will deny that he is a communist, or that that Guild is; and I admit it so far as names and labels go. But before long we have got to find a way of testing communism by what people do, say, and think.

THE NEW JERSEY LABOR PARTY IS IN THE PROCESS OF BUILDING, out of A. F. L., C. I. O. and non-partisan League material. The

move is inspired by the defeat of the Progressive Rev. Clee by the republican and democratic machines. There is no doubt about the need for a third party there, as elsewhere in the country; but this material will not produce the right kind of a party. The Republican party is guilty of monopolism. The Democratic party is guilty of not challenging monopolism; but none of the third party advocates have got any concept of monopolism. They all are chasing big business and the rich man.

MAYOR LAGUARDIA IS LOSING NO TIME IN MOVING UPON THE FAMOUS TAMMANY INSTITUTION.—The Transit Board. Their last popular act was to give Jimmy Walker a \$12,000 job with a \$12,000 pension tied to it. Before that, they killed a half billion dollar deal of buying subways, etc. Whatever virtues and merits the Board can claim for itself, it may as well throw up its hands, unless Tammany is prepared to do a little job of house cleaning. Tammany needs to have the word Jefferson rubbed into it; and not merely the word but the spirit and principles of Jefferson, must be agreed to as being no monopoly, and no bureaucracy. On this foundation, Tammany could build back—and perhaps quite rapidly.

A CUSTOM HOUSE oath is a by-word; our assessors regularly swear to assess all property at its full, true, cash value, and habitually do nothing of the kind; men who pride themselves on their personal and commercial honor bribe officials and made false returns; and the demoralizing spectacle is constantly presented of the same court trying a murderer one day and a vendor of unstamped matches the next!

PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

Opposed to Buying Out Landowners

THE point that interests me is why certain individuals in this country are in the happy position of holding between 30,000 and 40,000 acres of undeveloped land. Apparently they themselves do not want to use it. They are practising a dog-in-the-manger attitude, and will not permit it to be utilized by any other individual. Why should the Government use the taxpayers’ money to buy back what already belongs to the people? We were assured by the Commissioner of Crown Lands that up to date about 70,000 acres had been repurchased. I am totally opposed to the repurchase of land in any shape or form. There is no justification for it, because usually when the Government is in the market to repurchase the price of the land is lifted against it. Not only that the Government has to buy a big tract of country at an average price. Quite a lot of it may not be suitable for cultivation, and the result is that when people are placed on the better portion the price of the land has to be loaded to compensate for the inferior section, with the result that many settlers are not able to make a success of their holdings. The logical way of dealing with the question is not to buy out landowners at the expense of the general taxpayer, but to call upon all those owners who are in possession of land which they do not use to pay the full annual rental value into the public Treasury. When

that is done it is no longer profitable for any person to hold land for speculation, and legitimate users of land will be able to get it, not by paying a fictitious price, but by paying the annual value into the Treasury as they should be able to do under a decent system of Government. The Commissioner of Crown Lands at one time had thoughts along these lines in regard to local government purchases, if he did not have them in regard to State purchases, therefore I hope he will see the error of his ways and will in the course of time take these values for the benefit of the people who have been responsible for bringing them into existence.

HON. E. J. CRAIGIE,
in the Australian House of Assembly.

An Interesting Analysis

THE landlords who absorb in all our Massachusetts towns and cities the rental values created by the presence of the people, and their lawyers who strive that no legislation shall be considered that will modify this taking public property for private use, are scheming to advance once more through their agents in the next legislature the idea of a *sales tax*. The state needs more money for its destitute and underprivileged, and the absorbers of social values in ground rents know that if a red herring is not drawn across the legislative trail someone will be calling attention to the special privileges they have so long enjoyed, and the legislature may move at last to take these public values for the public use. Naturally the landlords will continue to abstract these values for their own use as long as the law permits them to do so, and do their utmost to fix and keep the burden of the public revenues upon other classes of people. Their perpetual cry, uttered on general principles, year in and year out, is "reduce the tax burden on real estate," as if that were not the proper place for it! By professional and perpetual groaning over the "burden" on real estate, they influence people to think in those terms and continue their monopoly. Reiteration of a single idea deadens independent brain action.

Wellesley is not a settlement of privileged persons, and its heads of families should be alert to see that its representatives in the legislature do not yield to the pressure of the landlords to impose a sales tax upon them. Wholly aside from the physical nuisance of paying such a tax is the rank injustice of its incidence upon the poor and people of small incomes. The larger the family the greater the burden, and the smaller the income the heavier the percentage of the load. To the thoughtless it seems easy to pay, but actually it is the means by which the men of wealth transfer their tax load to the backs of the working people. In order to illustrate just how this works out, I want to show by the following table just how this tax affects the various income classes. The

table was prepared by the research bureau of the Kansas State Legislative Council:

AMOUNT OF VARIOUS RETAIL TAXES TAKEN FROM
DIFFERENT INCOME GROUPS

INCOME	Proportion of income affected	Approximate Amount per year per \$1,000 of income	
		Excluding food, 3 per cent tax	Including food, 3 per cent tax
\$1,000 and under	60.9	\$8.22	\$18.27
\$1,000 under \$2,000	58.6	7.92	17.58
\$2,000 " \$3,000	49.4	8.61	14.82
\$3,000 " \$5,000	42.9	8.43	12.87
\$5,000 " \$10,000	39.3	8.67	11.79
\$10,000 " \$25,000	31.7	7.23	9.51
\$25,000 " \$50,000	22.2	5.43	6.60
\$50,000 " \$100,000	18.4	4.86	5.52
\$100,000 " \$150,000	15.5	4.11	4.65
\$150,000 " \$300,000	12.1	3.12	3.63
\$300,000 " \$500,000	4.2	1.08	1.26
\$500,000 " \$1,000,000	2.5	.63	.75
\$1,000,000 and over	1.0	.24	.30

Michigan has a 3 per cent tax applying to every kind of commodity purchased, including food. This means that the workingman with an income of a thousand dollars or less pays at a rate 60 times as great as that of the man who enjoys an income of a million dollars or more. The people of Michigan should unite in a demand to secure the repeal of this vicious tax scheme, just as those in New Jersey, Kentucky, and several other States have done.

Let us nip this rotten proposal in the bud in our state, and not wait until we feel the pinch of it before we awaken. FRANKLIN WENTWORTH, in Wellesley (Mass.) *Forum*.

Presentation of the Death Mask of Henry George at Princeton

ON Sunday afternoon, October 31, 1937, at beautiful Princeton University, *alma mater* of Woodrow Wilson, the fortieth anniversary of the funeral of Henry George was observed. It was also the occasion of the formal presentation to the University of his death mask, cast in bronze by direction of Mrs. Anna George deMille. The mask will take its place in the Laurence Hutton Collection, which includes masks taken from nature, either before or after death, of Bobby Burns, Schiller, Beethoven, Lincoln, Walt Whitman, the third Napoleon, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Thackeray, Mendelesohn, Cavour and many others.

The Committee in charge of this meeting, of which Mr. Frederic Cyrus Leubuscher was Chairman, included: Professor Robert Ball of Princeton University, Daniel Carter Beard, Terese F. Burger, Harold S. Bittenheim, Dr. S. Solis Cohen, Dr. John Dewey, Hon. Charles R. Eckert, Whidden Graham, Bolton Hall, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Professor Lewis Jerome Johnson of Harvard University, Joseph Dana Miller, Dr. Walter Mendelson, Professor Broadus Mitchell of Johns Hopkins University,

John Moody, Amos Pinchot, Hon. Lawson Purdy, Hon. Samuel Seabury, Mrs. Emily E. F. Skeel, Harry Weinberger, and Professors Charles Raymond Whittlesey and Walter Lincoln Whittlesey of Princeton University.

In his opening speech, Mr. Leubuscher paid stirring tribute to his friend and leader, Henry George. "Princeton," he said, "honors the memory of a great American, and Princeton honors itself by including in its collection of life and death masks the death mask of Henry George. And now for all time there will be enshrined in this noble collection the features of the prophet who would have abolished war; for he preached free land, free trade, free thought, free speech, free press, free man."

In the speech of presentation which followed, Mrs. deMille acknowledged the kindness of Benjamin W. Burger, who in collecting Henry George memorabilia came into possession of the original death mask of Henry George, and the generous bequest of Charles O'Connor Hennessy which made the gift possible. "With this factual record," she continued, "this bronze counterpart of the dead Henry George, goes the spirit of a great Pathfinder." Mrs. deMille recalled the grey Sunday afternoon in 1897 when the tired, weary body of Henry George lay in state while thousands said their last farewell.

At the conclusion of her speech the mask was unveiled, and we saw for the first time this remarkable likeness of Henry George. It was tremendously impressive. Newspaper photographers gathered around and pictures were taken for reproduction in important New York and New Jersey dailies. The *New York Times* gave it prominent space.

Charles Raymond Whittlesey, Professor of Economics, received the gift on behalf of the University. He told us that no student graduates from Princeton without an acquaintance with "Progress and Poverty," which has been required reading at the University for many years. In closing he said, "In the name of all economists I thank you, and in the name of Princeton University I accept this gift."

Another speaker to pay tribute to Henry George was Professor Broadus Mitchell, Associate Professor of Political Economy, Johns Hopkins University. He described the meeting as "only one incident in the growing recognition of the permanent place of Henry George in the economic thought of his country and the world." The speech will be printed in full in the next issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

Walter Lincoln Whittlesey, Professor of Politics at Princeton, spoke of the "great heart of Henry George—the idealist who sought the law of human betterment and spent himself in his devoted search for truth."

Mr. Bolton Hall (Princeton '75), in a speech which was greeted with applause, said that even as the watchword of the Romans had been "Carthage must be de-

stroyed" our watchword must be "Our present land system must be destroyed."

Last on the list of speakers was Dr. Walter Mendelson, friend of Henry George, who in the last illness gave medical advice. He paid tribute to Mrs. George, whom he described as "an ever faithful and watchful companion."

The following telegram to Mr. Lancaster M. Greene was read from Wm. J. Schieffelin:

"May the mask of Henry George added to the historic collection constantly remind us of the eternal truth he proclaimed."

Hon. Samuel Seabury wrote:

My dear Mrs. deMille:

Your message was delivered to me and I regret very much that I cannot be present at Princeton on October 31. I am already down for at least three mass meetings on that night and one radio address, that being the last meeting during the campaign.

I shall, however, be delighted to have you use my name if you care to on the committee to which you refer.

From Hon. John W. Davis:

In the front rank of American writers on political economy place must always be reserved for him. He was a profound, original thinker with an unsurpassed capacity for clear and convincing exposition. One may agree or disagree with his conclusions, one may doubt or accept his remedies, but no one can deny to him utter sincerity and the courage to attack such abuses as he saw, no matter how securely entrenched. The whole aim and purpose of his life was to leave human society better than he found it.

He was one of those men who can send an idea out into the world with such burning force that it lives on long after its author has gone. When he hurled his work on "Progress and Poverty" into the complacent atmosphere of the Nineteenth Century, it shook the political thought of the world. No man could—no man can—read it with indifference to the evils which he pictured. While it is possible to believe that he underestimated the difficulties in applying his remedy of a Single Tax and exaggerated the benefits that would result, his fundamental theses of the inherent injustice of monopolistic control of land and land value has never, I think, been successfully answered.

It would be a mistake, however, for his disciples to hold him up to the world merely as the advocate of the Single Tax. His political thought went far beyond it. He was a liberal in the true sense of the word. Indeed, I know of no more inspiring passages of English prose than those which are contained in the closing chapters of "Progress and Poverty."

Daniel Carter Beard, known the world over as "Dan Beard," wrote:

My dear Mrs. deMille:

I have not yet recovered from the fatigue caused by the Roosevelt Pilgrimage, and I fear I cannot promise to be on hand, much as I would love it. I would like to meet again those who are left of my old associates, but I fear I may not do so.

I have personally met practically all of the big men of my time, the so-called great man of my time: scholars, literary men, statesmen, high officials and royalty. But as I was shaking hands with each and every one of them, I looked them in the eye and I felt that I could say, "There's a man," and striking myself on the chest, say, "Here's another!" Out of all that crowd of people, there are only two in whose presence I felt like standing hat in hand, because behind those simple men, I felt I was in the presence of an awe-inspiring giant, and that giant was a determination to live a life devoted to the service of humanity. One of these men was very tall and one of them was comparatively small. One we knew as Abraham Lincoln, and the other was called Henry George.

Land Valuation in New Zealand

IN New Zealand there is a fairly satisfactory system of valuation by the Government, mostly done every five years, and local bodies use this as a basis for rating purposes, depending on whether they rate on the capital, annual or unimproved value. When notices of the new valuation are served on property owners they are entitled to object and go before an assessment court presided over by a magistrate. They can be represented by counsel or state their own cases and frequently valuations are reduced. In between valuations people by paying £2.2.0 can have a new valuation made and this is often done for the purpose of paying lower rates when there has been a shrinkage in land values, but it is very unfair on the rest of the ratepayers who have not thought of doing the same or have not the money. For many years there used to be a provision in the Act that if the land owner objected to the value put on his property he could insist that the Government take it over or come down to his price. But when the depression came on the last Government abolished this provision. Now the new Labor Government brought in a clause that when the owner objected it has the right to try and arrange a sale at his figure. Recently an owner protested when a sale was arranged and wanted to increase his own figure but the Supreme Court gave a decision that once he had made his figure he could not go back on it and the sale was consummated.—G. M. FOWLDS.

A Word on Organization

FROM time to time we are reminded of the desirability of organization to further the Henry George idea. Whatever the outcome such an organization cannot spring into full form at once. At the recent conference at Detroit a committee was appointed to formulate plans.

The following suggestion may be of interest. In

practically every hamlet, town, city or rural district in the country a large proportion of the population subscribes to the Telephone service. So universal is this, that the "Phone Book" has, to a large extent, superseded other directories. In most of these places let us assume that there are one or more Single Taxers whose name may appear in the Telephone Directory. If only one an extra listing under his number should appear as The Single Tax Society. This might cost fifty cents a month and if more than one Single Taxer the expense should be shared. If more funds are available an advertisement might be inserted in the local paper at regular intervals giving the name and telephone number of the Single Tax Society and soliciting inquiries.

In the larger cities where an organized Single Tax group already exists their phone number could be used. In each State one central large city should be that State headquarters and again the 'phone number of an organization already existing may be used. Inquiries regarding Single Tax could be answered locally or referred to State Headquarters and perhaps further referred to a National headquarters. Each inquiry should enclose stamp for reply.

The wide-spread advertising value of such a plan, if practical, would be incalculable. The expense would fall so lightly on each individual and would be so widely spread that it would hardly be noticed. The result should be an ever increasing list of Single Taxers and prospects.

Some funds for early publicity would be needed and later for administration expenses but the latter would be in response to a demand created.—C. H. KENDAL.

Selling the View

AN OBSERVANT TRAVELLER

MR. C. J. FLEMING, of Matamata, who has been on a visit to his father in Natal, evidently noted the things that matter.

Writing to the *Matamata Record* Mr. Fleming stated that Durban seemed to have the dearest residential sections in the world. The size varied from a quarter to a sixth of an acre, and it was impossible to get one in any good suburb under £450. A glimpse of the ocean added at least £100, and £500 to £600 was a common price for a section with a sea view.

Yes, a sea view added about £400 per acre. Talk about private "ownership" of land. "There's one born every minute" right enough!

Johnny Jones, Wentworth and Campbell claimed to have bought the whole of the South Island of New Zealand in the early days! Taking this "ownership" business to its logical conclusion, one man could "own" all of New Zealand!

Land "ownership," as distinct from security of tenure

and possession, is in for a rude shock in the fulness of time.

Washington Letter

THE opening meeting of the D. C. Woman's Single Tax Club for the present season was held on Monday, October 4, at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Walter N. Campbell, 1407 Newton Street northwest.

In the absence of the president, Mrs. Helene H. McEvoy, known in Single Tax circles as "Alaska Jane," the newly elected vice-president, Mrs. Minnie L. White, presided.

At this meeting, Miss Alice I. Siddall read a carefully thought-out bill for the transfer of taxes from improvements to land values, and also an amendment to the Constitution looking toward this end, in case an amendment should be believed necessary.

Mrs. Elizabeth M. Phillips read an article by Louis D. Beckwith from his paper *No Taxes*, which set the argumentative ball rolling for awhile. Mr. Walter I. Swanton read an account which he had prepared on the subject of President Roosevelt's five homes, dealing with their respective values and the taxes assessed thereon. Mr. Walter M. Campbell read a recent contribution by himself to *Land and Liberty*.

The meeting of November 1 was held at the home of Mr. Walter I. Swanton and his two daughters Lucy and Edith, at 1464 Belmont Street, with the vice-president, Mrs. White, in the chair again, as a letter received from Mrs. McEvoy had told of her continued stay in Canada, but expressed the hope of being with us at the December meeting.

During the business meeting, a letter was read extending an invitation to the Woman's Single Tax Club to act as hostess at one of the combination luncheons and sewing bees being held on Wednesday afternoons by the Federation of Woman's Clubs with which our organization is affiliated, and Mrs. White, Mrs. Knight and Mrs. Phillips were chosen a committee to take charge of the luncheon and programme for the afternoon, which was considered a good opportunity to spread some more gospel of the Georgian philosophy.

Mr. Swanton, at the request of the chairman, gave a five-minute explanation of the Single Tax for the benefit of guests present.

It was announced that an effort was being made, in connection with the formation of a national organization, to get the names and addresses of all Single Taxers in the country for a mailing list, and a request was made for those in the District to be added.

The programme for this evening took the form of echoes of the recent Convention, by the four persons present—Mr. and Mrs. Joseph A. Marino of Stockton, California; Miss Alice I. Siddall, and Mrs. Mackenzie—who had attended the Detroit Conference, following which, the discussion gradually widened to include Henry Ford, the C. I. O., the California campaign, the Pittsburgh Graded Tax Plan, and kindred subjects.—GERTRUDE E. MACKENZIE.

BOOK REVIEWS

LIFE OF FATHER MCGLYNN*

The importance of the story Stephen Bell has to tell us in his book, "Dr. Edward McGlynn, Rebel, Priest and Prophet," has lost nothing by the simplicity of the telling. The utter lack of any attempt at literary style throws into greater relief the facts related, facts of such weight that their repercussion was felt far beyond the borders of the land in which Father McGlynn lived, worked and suffered. And far beyond the years of his lifetime. For the story of the life of Father McGlynn is far more than the story of the life of one Irish-American priest of the Roman Catholic Church. It is the story of the conflict

of true religion with Churchianity, the conflict of the true spirit of Divine Law with that institution, setting itself up as the embodiment of Divine Law, is here . . . as elsewhere also shown to be but another expression of entrenched temporal power. Father McGlynn, a devout Catholic, to the last faithful to the Church of which he was a priest. The story, as Mr. Bell tells it, is pitiless in its revelations of what had happened to that Church which was once the expression of a religion of service, of brotherly Love. In his reiteration of his belief that "The very essence of all religion is the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man" . . . and in what he endured to live up to this belief, Father McGlynn showed the world how the mighty Empire of the Church stood perhaps for the Fatherhood of God, but had completely forgotten . . . or openly denied, the Brotherhood of Man.

The story of Dr. McGlynn's split with the Church, his Excommunication, and eventual Reinstatement, takes up a large part of this book, as indeed it took up a large part of his life. And the author dwells on the details of this struggle in what seems at times, to a non-Church person at least, too great a length. But he is justified because it was undoubtedly in the true spirit of his subject. The facts, so satisfactorily clear to a non-Catholic, were what distressed Father McGlynn, and it is well that the author reiterates the excommunicated priest's repeated avowals that he had no quarrel with the Church, that is, with the true spirit of the Church or even with the spirit of the organized body of the Church, but only with some of those in power who misinterpreted what, to him, were doctrines of vital truth. And, to readers of LAND AND FREEDOM at least, this continued stand on the part of Father McGlynn is of value. Because in spite of it, he still had the courage of a greater conviction, and because of his understanding of what to us is vital fundamental truth of divine and human law, he took upon himself the onus of apparent opposition to the Church in which he believed. A great spirit truly, a courage unbelievable. It is easy to oppose that in which we do not believe. But to stand firm in opposition to that which has been our mental and spiritual life; to be, unwillingly perhaps, the instrument of proof to the world of the weakness of that structure that had built itself up around the religion of Christ . . . the structure of which he had been a part . . . that takes courage. Those of us to whom only the weakness of the Church is apparent, who have come to look on it as one of the most powerful upholders of exploiting temporal power . . . we would have welcomed the conflict. To Father McGlynn it must have been a tearing asunder of his very soul. And the fact that he endured it and stood fast in his convictions proved two facts: First that Dr. Edward McGlynn was truly of the Great Ones of earth; and secondly that the doctrine which could force such a man to do what must have seared his soul in the doing, must indeed be a doctrine of fundamental truth. What Edward McGlynn did, proved him a great man. And that he did it for the sake of the truth he learned from Henry George, proved that Henry George also was one of the Great.

It is hard for one who believes in the fundamental truth of the Brotherhood of Man as preached by Henry George, not to grow enthusiastic over the story of what Edward McGlynn, ordained priest of the Holy Roman Church, sacrificed and endured for the sake of it. Even though that Church may not mean so much to us. . . .

The story loses nothing in the straightforward simplicity of Mr. Bell's writing. He tells us of the early life of Edward McGlynn, his studies in Rome, his early years of priesthood. And then the reading of "Progress and Poverty" which changed the whole course of his life. What Father McGlynn says of his state of mind before reading that book is worth quoting, for so many of us have gone through the same mental groping.

"I had begun to feel life made a burden by the never-ending procession of men, women and children coming to my door, begging not so much for alms as for employment; . . . personally appealing to me to obtain for them an opportunity of working for their daily bread. . . . I began to ask myself: 'Is there no remedy? Is this God's order

*"Dr. Edward McGlynn. Rebel, Priest and Prophet." By Stephen Bell. The Devin Adair Co., New York. \$3.00.

that the poor shall be constantly becoming poorer in all our large cities, the world over?"

And again he says:

I had never found so clear an exposition of the cause of the trouble, involuntary poverty, and its remedy, as I found in that immortal work.

I became all aglow with a new and clearer light that had come to my mind in such full consonance with all my thoughts and aspirations from earliest childhood, and I did, as best I could, *what* I could to justify the teachings of that great work based on the essence of all religion . . . the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man."

Mr. Bell gives an excellent recital of the years to follow when the big-hearted priest, the gifted orator, took up the cause of the extermination of involuntary poverty through the extermination of monopoly of natural resources, and of what it cost him to do it. It is a recital of value, more today even than in years gone by. Because the rushing years between have somewhat obliterated the conflict, and many persons have possibly come to regard it as merely an internal question of Church politics. Understandable, when we read what Mr. Bell has to say of the attitude of most newspapers and leading controversial magazines of the day, few of which seem to have seen how important was the doctrine for which this priest gave so much. Even those organs of public opinion which did not object to exposing the arrogance of leading men of the Church were still wary of emphasizing the attack on modern society's most important monopoly as shown by the writings of Henry George and the stand taken by Father McGlynn. Characteristic of this is the fact that a great Encyclopedia of high standing as a work of reference, mentions Father McGlynn only in a few words in a short article on Archbishop Corrigan as "a New York priest and fellow-student with Corrigan at Rome who disapproved of parochial schools, refused to go to Rome for examination and was excommunicated in July, 1887, but returned to the Church five years later" (!!) Not a word about the doctrines that caused the conflict. . . . And not another word about Dr. McGlynn anywhere.

Mr. Bell gives a fine picture of the friendship between Father McGlynn and Henry George; their unfortunate estrangement during the Cleveland administration, and the reconciliation later. He gives in full Father McGlynn's marvellous doctrinal statement regarding Henry George's economic teaching, the paper which was accepted as justification for his reinstatement to the priesthood. It is a classic, that Statement, and should be preserved in a pamphlet for distribution, with perhaps, Father McGlynn's wonderful speech at the funeral of Henry George. That great oration *is* preserved in a book containing all the speeches at the funeral in 1897. But the Doctrinal Statement deserves wider recognition.

The story of Father McGlynn's later years in Newburgh, his illness and death, are sympathetically told. It is a book that deserves wide recognition, not only among followers of Henry George but among all students of the real development of history, the history of great ideas making their way against established custom of thought, against entrenched privilege with its power to control the organs of public knowledge and opinion.

And one point on which Mr. Bell is very frank, a point which may not seem of as great interest to the world in general as to his comrades in the ranks of Henry George disciples . . . is nevertheless of real importance. Mr. Bell tells us that he is willing to believe Archbishop Corrigan acted in all sincerity. He may even, says the author, "have scanned 'Progress and Poverty' to discover its purpose and encountering the passage 'We must make land common property' have balked at the proposition. . . ."

Again and again Mr. Bell emphasizes his belief (in which the undersigned agrees heartily), that a mistaken use of such a sentence, i.e., an apparent preaching of the extermination of private ownership of land, rather than an abolition of all taxation except on land values, leaving land undisturbed in private ownership and use . . . is what

turns away many who are really seeking the truth of today's economic problems. Mr. Bell shows how Father McGlynn understood this point clearly. And he states it superbly in his Doctrinal Statement. For while we may have little sympathy with the Church as land-owner, and therefore owner of temporal power, we realize that not only the Church of that day, but many well-meaning seekers after Truth balk at that proposition "We must make land common property." It is not only Archbishop Corrigan to whom that sentence smacks of the Communism they seem to fear. And it does not, in truth, express the essence of the teaching of Henry George. What Father McGlynn and what Mr. Stephen Bell have to say on this point is worthy of attention by all readers of LAND AND FREEDOM.

The book itself, for other reasons, is worthy of attention by a wide public.—GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

HOW TO SUCCEED IN BUSINESS AND HOW TO CHOOSE AN OCCUPATION *

This is a very interesting and well written book with a title which should command the attention of a business man or anyone who wishes to waste no time and to get ahead financially. It outlines the nature of competitive business, privileges, copyrights, patent rights, franchises and land. It is an excellent condensed explanation of what Henry George stood for. Not that George advocated that any individual should be given any of these privileges, but that their abolition would allow everyone a fair field and no favor. We disagree with the author in some minor matters and we do not hold his views on Interest, although we are aware that many Georgeists are in agreement with him. Lack of space prevents our going into detail over this very debatable subject. Briefly his position is that Interest has no ethical basis.

Correspondence

CRITICISES OUR CONTRIBUTORS ON INTEREST

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I have found the articles and letters on interest in your last two issues very interesting, but suspect that their conflicting statements must be most confusing to many.

This confusion is a result of the mistaken practice of first defining terms and then checking the facts of life by this arbitrary measure instead of first checking the facts of life and determining the truth and then defining terms in accordance with the truth. The critics of Christopher Columbus made that mistake and ruled out his proposal because it did not check with their preconceived and mistaken definitions. The economists, so-called, to whom Raymond McNally refers on page 79 have made this mistake. In their definitions they limit interest to the return that is in excess of replacement value. This view contradicts the excellent statement by McNally that interest is the return on capital, which he defines as wealth devoted to obtaining more wealth. It is noticeable that McNally says "obtaining," instead of "producing."

This distinction is important because it makes for certainty and universality; there can be no "ifs" in science. The question whether a certain dollar is interest must not depend upon the contingencies of the market and the other uncertain factors that determine whether or not a venture is profitable. Nor may a fact in science rest upon the fact that any group of men agree that it is a fact; the agreement of the authorities mentioned by McNally has no weight in science, for scientific facts are not determined by ballot.

McNally appears to be guilty of self-contradiction in saying on

* Alan C. Thompson. 88 Pages. Paper. Price, \$1.00. The Greenway Press, Ltd., Toronto, Ont., Can.

page 82, or appearing to say, that interest exists only in cases in which the capital is borrowed; and he contributes further to confusion and uncertainty by injecting into the discussion the matter of absolute and relative returns. Here he overlooks the fact that the interest question is merely a phase of the problem of ownership; a man's title to his product is in no way affected by the fact that his product has become capital. This is the assumption that led Karl Marx so far astray.

This confusion is compounded by the letters in these issues in which the writers comment on McNally's article. Here, too, some of these take it for granted that interest exists only in cases of borrowed capital. The letter of Henry P. Sage is faulty in this respect. C. H. Kendal's letter, excellent in some respects, is open to criticism; for he says on page 96 that "under equitable conditions" interest is inevitable. One might as well say that, in a just world, the law of gravity will always be operative. What has equity to do with the fact which Kendal himself states so well; namely, that wealth is produced by the application of labor to land, or by labor assisted by the tool capital. The question whether the claim of the owner of the capital is recognized, and the problem of evaluating that claim do raise a question in equity; but that is another matter, and it lies outside the science of economics. The interest is there, regardless of equities; and regardless of the question whether the operator is making money, or being useful to the community.

In his letter, page 133, Kendal makes a similar mistake in limiting labor to human effort directed to production. No physicist would think of limiting the term "force" to manifestations of nature having certain preconceived effects. Force is force, anywhere, always, under all conditions, regardless of purpose or effect. So labor is labor, regardless of circumstances. There are no "ifs" in science; and no contingencies.

Stockton, California.

L. D. BECKWITH.

MR. KENDAL REPLIES

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I have read Mr. Beckwith's friendly criticism in the preceding letter.

In the next to the last paragraph he apparently is in agreement but feels that the phrase "under Equitable Conditions" is superfluous and that one might as well say "in a just world the law of gravity will always be operative" . . . Also he says the question of equity lies outside the science of economics. This is another exemplification of his well known view that the moral law has nothing to do with economics. In Blackstone's Commentaries, Volume I, opening chapter, one may note the basic definition of *law* is *natural law* as distinguished from human enactments, statutes and the succession of precedents, common law. Blackstone goes on to state that the aim of the human law is to coincide with the natural law and any violation thereof is in offence to both the human and the divine. Is the law of equity a natural law or does it come in the category of the human?

In his last paragraph Mr. Beckwith feels I have made a mistake "in limiting labor to human effort *directed to production*." Is not any other human effort outside the field of economics? "Labor is labor regardless of circumstances," but labor to walk, to run, to play, to make mud pies has nothing to do with economics. In economics wealth must be *produced* and that wealth must have exchangeability.

In an earlier paragraph Mr. Beckwith refers to Mr. McNally in his use of the word "obtaining" which he approves instead of the word "producing." There are many unproductive ways of *obtaining* wealth such as thievery, gift and inheritance, but it seems to me these should not be included in the Science of Economics.

In another paragraph he mentions ". . . a certain dollar is interest

. . . " I am sure this is only a slip on his part as I cannot believe he can consider a dollar as either interest, capital or wealth. However his meaning is clear but not altogether scientific.

C. H. KENDAL.

DOES CANONIZATION AWAIT HIM?

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Bernard Shaw in the preface to his "Saint Joan," wrote:

"Many innovating saints, notably Francis and Clare, have been in conflict with the Church during their lives, and have thus raised the question whether they were heretics or saints. Francis might have gone to the stake had he lived longer. It is therefore by no means impossible for a person to be executed as a heretic, and on further consideration canonized as a saint." Vol. XVII, Collected Works of Bernard Shaw, p. 32.

Father Edward McGlynn was excommunicated in 1887 for refusing to obey the order of his superior to refrain from preaching the philosophy of Henry George. A few years later, after an exhaustive investigation of the writings of Henry George, Father McGlynn was reinstated and received a new pastorate. It took five hundred years for Joan to rise from burning at the stake for heresy and blasphemy to beatification among the saints. The philosophy of Henry George is being increasingly accepted; so it is not too much to hope that it will take much less than five hundred years for Father McGlynn to be numbered among the saints.

I enjoyed the personal friendship of Father McGlynn from 1886 until his death. He was not only a sincere, zealous and eloquent follower of the "Prophet of San Francisco" but a man of a sweet and sunny disposition. I therefore hail the publication of his life by Stephen Bell as the vindication of a great man.

Essex Fells, N. J.

FREDERIC CYRUS LEUBUSCHER.

MR. McNALLY ANSWERS HIS CRITICS

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I note some comments in the July-August issue on my article ("What Is Interest?") which I think demand a reply.

D. L. Thompson states that if I am right in my opinion that what is termed "interest" is merely "compensation for risk," interest rates should be higher, as he believes "the element of risk has steadily increased since the last industrial breakdown." I am afraid, however, that such a belief is not substantiated either by fact or in theory. Anyone who has made a study of business cycles knows that the element of risk is greatest immediately prior to an industrial crisis, when speculation has driven values upward to the breaking point, and is lowest during the period between crises. It is the wise man who invests during this interim. Your readers will doubtless recall the fact that commercial interest rates just prior to the 1929 debacle were at a record height and gradually shaded off as a new equilibrium was being established. A few years ago at the low point of the depression, after the terrific liquidation of 1932 (when business failures were more numerous than in any other year), interest rates were at the lowest level—one-eighth per cent on call loans. Since that time they have been slowly hardening, corresponding with the increase in the hazards of doing business—not, as Mr. Thompson contends, since the "last industrial breakdown," but since the low point of the depression. They will continue to rise, for the risk element increases as we creep nearer to the next crisis. The great activity recently in the building industry is a sure indication that men with capital regard conditions now to be more secure than they were just prior to or immediately after 1929.

As for Mr. Thompson's claim that the element of time accounts for "interest," I would like to refer him again to my article, for he has

made no attempt to meet the arguments that I set up against this particular idea. And as his error appears to be due to his having confused use value with economic value, I suggest also that he read the very enlightening chapters on value in Henry George's "The Science of Political Economy."

Turning now to the letter written by Henry P. Sage, I find him claiming that the cause of "interest" is the service rendered by the lender to the borrower which enables the latter to "overcome the disutility of time" and is not the increased power that labor receives from capital. But although he has made a valiant effort to keep clear of the Productivity theory, he cannot help falling into it when he tries to measure this disutility or inconvenience. He offers the illustration of a man who, rather than spend a year accumulating capital, prefers to borrow \$500 so he can work his farm immediately. At the end of the year, he is able not only to pay back the principal with "interest" but to have for himself stock and tools and several hundred dollars in cash. Now, Mr. Sage wants us to believe that when this farmer applies capital to land, he can earn more than he could at some other occupation without capital. But this is rather doubtful economics, for such a condition is impossible. If a man could increase his income merely by using capital, a flock of competitors would be attracted to his occupation who would drive his income down to what it was working without capital. And if he borrowed capital in order to obtain an advantage over working without capital and contracted to pay for that advantage, he would soon find himself bankrupt. Practical experience supports this statement, for 90 per cent of those who enter business for themselves eventually fail, largely because of incompetence. Capital can give nothing to labor that labor does not already have in itself. A savage, for instance, would be helpless with a machine in his hands. A man does not use capital to increase his efficiency, but rather he is first efficient and that is why he uses capital. In other words, using capital is the conventional mode of producing wealth, and the man in the illustration is *compelled* by competition to employ capital on this type of farm if he is to remain in the market. This may be difficult to perceive, for we are so accustomed to the schoolboy formula that "capital aids labor to produce wealth." Mr. Sage's belief that labor gains from the use of capital is based on the assumption that, as an alternative to borrowing, one must engage in an inferior occupation in order to accumulate capital, as though capital had the power to determine one's ability or the productiveness of any occupation. Such a notion is socialistic and contrary to fact. This assumption is the pitfall of all productivity theorists. It is labor only that determines the character of industry. Capital merely represents the method of labor or the direction that labor takes in production.

When we come to understand the true nature of capital, we shall see that one borrows instead of accumulating capital oneself, not to gain an advantage over working without capital, but because of the convenience of having it at a particular time. All that can be afforded in return for this convenience is compensation for risk, for one's income as a laborer, other things being equal, is determined entirely by one's own efforts.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

RAYMOND V. McNALLY.

THINKS HENRY GEORGE CLEAR ENOUGH

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I note with interest the many viewpoints expressed in your columns recently on the subject of "Interest." It seems that Henry George made his position quite clear in regards the origin and justification of interest through the exchangeability of wealth, the law of supply and demand, the active power of nature to increase and the pooling of all these advantages, together with the fact that wealth is capital only when used or designed to be used in the production of wealth, and that demand or lack of it determines the quantity of capital upon which interest is to be paid. Insurance against risk is not interest, although it may be added to the rate of interest depending

upon the nature of the investment, and only serves to equalize the excess gains and losses.

Philadelphia, Pa.

JULIAN P. HICKOK.

PRAISES THE DETROIT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I have a copy before me of the programme of the recent Henry George Congress at Detroit on the back page of which appears what I think is one of the most effective statements of the principles for which the George movement stands that I have seen. Whoever prepared the statement is to be complimented upon its simplicity, its clarity and appeal.

I have long felt that such shouted statements as "*The land for the people*" and the emphasis that has been so loudly placed upon the subject of "*land*" have been almost invariably misunderstood and have definitely alienated sympathy and support for our cause on the part of many even of the more intelligent and better educated people of the whole world, a sympathy and support which would be enlisted from many were the evils of our present order, so definitely seated, as they are, in confiscation of private property for public use, set out as they have been in the statement on the back of the recent George Congress programme.

There is not the particular sort of glaring claim in the Congress statement which, in the eyes of those who do not know anything of the principles of the George movement, has about the same effect as the waving of a red flag in the face of a bull.

The paragraph dealing with *ground rent* as a social product has no such effect. It rather invites study on the part of intelligent people whose sympathy and support are so much needed. I doubt very much if our movement will ever be understood or even appreciated by the masses who, I think, must be intelligently led rather than permitted to direct.

And so I believe that if George's teachings are to arrest the present trend everywhere towards anarchy, his theories must be presented to the thinking and intelligent people of the world in "fetching" terms,—not in some of the antagonizing and inciting terms so commonly used by the properly zealous adherents of the cause.

I believe that we, of the George movement, are all agreed that it is the universally ruling principle of confiscation, more than all other causes combined, which is rapidly pushing the world into sheer *chaos*.

It is nothing less than appalling that world leaders everywhere offer nothing better than destructive confiscation as the ruling principle of our social and economic order. Their suggested remedies and the remedies urged by contending groups and political parties are, in truth, little less than senseless economic piffle, bound to run their course to their own exhaustion and a world-wide social tragedy.

Sanity in presentation of the George principles must supersede a good deal of the antagonizing and alienating presentation they have heretofore suffered, if the cause is to make real headway.

Lockport, N. Y.

C. A. LINGHAM.

THE CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

When last reporting to you I described the new form of the taxation amendment we had prepared for submission to the voters of this State and spoke of its powerful endorsement by the State Federation of Labor. Shortly thereafter the amendment was submitted to the State Attorney-General for the preparation by him of a summary to be placed at the top of the initiative petitions and at the top of all pages carrying signatures. This summary was prepared in a manner satisfactory to us, and we turned our attention to the matter of the circulation of the petitions, requiring about 187,000 signatures. For the procurement of these signatures satisfactory arrangements were made, and up to this time nearly or quite one-half of the necessary names have been secured—the work of but little over two weeks'

time. We may rest assured that within not far from a month we will be assured of a place on the ballot for the election of 1938. As I have explained such an occurrence as that which deprived us of our place last year cannot be repeated, for instead of being required to put at the top of signature pages a statement in twenty words of the nature of the petition we simply repeat the attorney general's summary, this because of a recent legislative correction.

Battle lines are quickly forming. At the first intimation of a renewed conflict the Real Estate Boards took alarm and determined that the signing of petitions should in every way be discouraged. This action on their part was supported by appeals in newspapers of large cities to shun signing and also some active work on the part of school authorities. Nevertheless, circulators report the petition very generally signed and without material difficulty. The statement I have already made as to the progress of the petitions proves this.

We do not underestimate the strength of the forces against us, but it is unnecessary to overestimate them. We face the fairly united force of the banking institutions, Chambers of Commerce, Parent-Teachers Associations, California Teachers Associations, Farm Bureau, and the large majority of the press. In addition we have to fight the odium which, in times past, has been attached to the words "Single Tax," and which constitutes a barrier closing the minds of many to consideration of the merits of a plan involving in any degree any portion of the argument covered by these words. We cannot overlook the very important opposition given us by the State administration, and particularly the State Board of Equalization, with its utter disregard for truth.

Outsiders may inquire how it can happen that the educational forces of the State are so largely against us. The statement is made to teachers that the State educational system is entirely dependent upon the sales tax for its support, and that if that is destroyed their livelihood is gone. The statement has not a shred of truth to support it, but said by people of superior authority, the majority of the teachers seem to accept it. Fortunately there are a couple of teachers' organizations of a more thoughtful character which can be relied upon to give us real help.

Aside from the bodies last spoken of we have the very solid support of all labor organizations, numbering certainly not less than 300,000 members, and their families. These constitute the greatest body of voters in the State practically so far as we are concerned under one banner. The greatest single further factor which will bring us anticipated success is found in the fact that the sales tax is universally unpopular and thousands are seeking some way of getting rid of it. We offer them the only solution of the problem—tax land values.

The naturally progressive elements of the State are with us, practically to a man, and their strength may be gauged by the fact that three years ago they won for Sinclair, against substantially the same opposition we are facing, the Democratic nomination for Governor and carried him fairly near election.

But we cannot ignore the fact that we are up against an enemy without principle and with the ability to raise fifty dollars to every one we can hope to obtain for the campaign. Fortunately for us the need for money is vastly less than for our opponents. Truth has a way of showing itself however it may be concealed by money. Nevertheless we must have support to combat error—and a whole lot of it. We have already had to put out many thousands to get on the ballot, and are crippled in entering into the campaign for want of money to meet the most ordinary expenses.

Let me close by repeating what I have found occasion to say in the past. The California campaign is the turning-point in our work. If we succeed it will mark the highest point so far attained and encourage the fight all over the world. Even if we for the moment fail, the lessons of the campaign properly studied will make defeat only a little less valuable than success.

Palo Alto, California.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

"FOR more than twenty years," says Walter Lippman, "I have been writing about crucial events with no better guide than the hastily improvised generalizations of a rather bewildered man." This is an honest but rather humiliating confession. But there is hope for Mr. Lippman so long as he recognizes it.

MORRIS VAN VEEN of this city writes: "I read your remarkable editorial in the Sept.-Oct. number of LAND AND FREEDOM on the church and Father McGlynn. Despite your lengthening years the punch is still there." Thanks, brother Morris.

MRS. RITA BERENS, widow of Lewis H. Berens of England, passed away on September 1. Like her distinguished husband she kept her interest in the movement to the very last.

WALTER N. CAMPBELL of Washington, D. C., writes: "Thanks for your article on The Difficulties of Democracy. It has helped to bolster my faith which has somewhat lagged with the New Deal making a great show of taking from the top to feed the bottom, with the same old machinery greased to insure the top getting it all back and then some. One of the processes by which the rich grow richer and the poor poorer."

IN *Retailing*, a New York trade publication, H. Ellenoff contradicts the editorial conclusion and advises the editor to read Henry George. He accompanies his letter with a booklet from the Henry George School of Social Science.

We are glad to announce that *The Square Deal* of Toronto, Canada, has resumed publication. The number for Sept.-Oct. augurs well for its success. Alan C. Thompson will assume the editorship.

"WHAT is a Liberal," is the title of a four page pamphlet from the pen of John C. Weaver, 4271 Bryn Mawr Road, Pittsburgh, Pa. Mr. Weaver makes a strong appeal for the gospel of freedom.

THE Tyranny of our Revenue System was the subject of an address delivered in Denver, Colorado, by L. D. Beckwith on his way to Detroit.

THE Henry George Foundation of London has issued new editions of "Progress and Poverty" and "The Perplexed Philosopher."

HON. ABE D. WALDAUER of Memphis, Tenn., pays a beautiful tribute to the late L. O. Bishop, and concludes: "Bishop was more than a fighter for social justice; he was a leader in the movement of America to the stars."

MR. G. M. FOWLDS of Auckland, New Zealand, writes to us: "We are having a very interesting time in New Zealand now under the new Labor administration which passed about 60 far-reaching acts in their first session. While they altered the Land Tax to bring in about double what it had brought in in recent years, now £1,000,000, we are still afraid that as a result of their huge expenditure of public money and the prosperity now in progress due to higher prices for our products will again bring about an orgy of land speculation. Still I think that if they see this clearly enough they will legislate accordingly. At the present time I suppose New Zealand is about the happiest country in the world with a very high standard of living."

THE passing of Mrs. Elisabeth Edholm Tideman in Forest Park, Ill., on October 25, reminds one of the influence that can be a mother's. Born in Kalmar, Sweden, on October 30, 1858, she and her husband, the late S. Tideman of Fisk, Mo., came to America in 1883. As an aid to learning the English language in its best use, Mrs. Tideman became a reader of *The Standard* edited by Henry George. Before long, she and her husband were as much interested in the content of the writings as in their form. A copy of "Progress and Poverty" soon found its way into the Tideman household where the sons, Selim, Henry and George became its avid readers when but youths. Henry L. T. Tideman was the first to teach an extension class of the Henry George School of Social Science in Chicago, George soon following.

Services for Mrs. Tideman were held in Forest Park on October 27. The Reverend Miss Margaret Blair officiated.

In addition to the three sons, Mrs. Tideman is survived by two daughters, Mrs. Joseph Schaefer of Forest Park and Miss Lillian Tideman, Chicago.

W. L. CROSMAN of Revere, Mass., continues the writing of his admirable letters to the *Boston Traveler*.

THE first public meeting of the Boston Chapter of the Henry George Fellowship took place in October. Mrs. Anna George deMille was the guest speaker.

THE Schalkenbach Foundation has arranged to supply George Raymond Geiger's "Theory of the Land Question" for one dollar a copy. It was originally published at \$2.50.

MRS. NANCY B. IRVING MILLER of Denver, Colorado, writes: "Your Comment and Reflection in Sept.-Oct. number is a jewel." Mrs. Miller is giving a course of four talks before the Parent Teachers Association and hopes to recruit a class in the Henry George School.

"YOUR Comment and Reflection helps to prepare for all the good things that follow in your Sept.-Oct. number," writes J. B. McGauran of Denver.

THE newspapers of Detroit gave very inadequate reports of the Henry George Congress but they were fair enough.

WE thank Charles LeBaron Goeller of the Henry George Tract Society of Endwell, N. Y., for a scrap book with samples of the tracts of which he has issued many thousands. They are notable for simplicity and cogency of treatment. Altogether they comprise a fine achievement especially when we consider the meagre help he has received and the immense labors involved.

OUR old friend and active worker in the cause, Frank G. Anderson of Jamestown, N. Y., and his wife were honored on October 7 by their relatives and friends at the celebration of their emerald anniversary. Mr. Anderson is eighty years old and his wife seventy-five. They were married in 1882 and both are in good health and keep up their work in many matters in which they are mutually interested. The daily paper of Jamestown gave their emerald anniversary an interesting notice. Mr. Anderson has written extensively in the Swedish-American newspapers on the philosophy of Henry George.

COMMENTING on Comment and Reflection in the Sept.-Oct. number of LAND AND FREEDOM. Will Lissner of the *New York Times* writes: "It is a moving, beautiful piece of prose writing with a scholarly basis that indicates much familiarity with the sociology of religion." Mr. Lissner is one of the teachers at the New York School and associate editor of *The Freeman*. He contributes to this number of LAND AND FREEDOM a valuable article on conditions in Puerto Rico.

A TRIBUTE to John H. Allen from the pen of William F. Madill appears in the October number of the *Universal Engineer* of this city. Mr. Allen has just returned from a four month's tour of Europe and instead of taking a rest to which he was justly entitled he set off almost immediately for Houston, Texas, to take charge of the exhibit of the Everlasting Valve Company of which he is president and Mr. Madill Vice-President. The Oil World Exhibition takes place in Houston. Mr. Allen is eighty years of age.

WE have received the *World-Wide Editorial Digest* published at Washington, D. C. It is a monthly of seventy pages and the price is one dollar per year. The back pages contain an argument for the Henry George philosophy and are on the whole an effective presentation. The publication is issued from 2525 Thirteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. No information is contained as to the source from which it emanates and we are a little curious.

WE received on November 3 a telegram from Percy R. Williams which reads as follows: "Mayor Scully and Councilman Walter R. Demmler, of Pittsburgh outstanding Single Taxers, and entire democratic ticket elected by a big majority after a strenuous campaign."

A GRADUATE of the Henry George School in New York has written to Director Chodorov: "Ever since I started to take your correspondence course in "Progress and Poverty" I have been wondering how long I would have remained in ignorance in regard to the progress and poverty of man if I had not by accident become acquainted with your course."

MRS. EMILY E. F. SKEEL writes: "Just as there are tides, currents and winds, predictable or otherwise, so surely are there ups and downs in every human output. This latest number of LAND AND FREEDOM is, in my opinion, a distinct "up." Your introductory paragraphs, Mr. Leubuscher's refreshing article, your masterly résumé of Democracy, "Causerie" of Mr. Ashton, followed by the encouraging reports of the growth of Georgeism whether local, national or international. It is a stimulating issue for the beginning of another winter season of work. Congratulations.

A FORTNIGHT ago three believers went to South Huntington, a part of Huntington which is the second largest town on Long Island, to sit in at an extension class of the Henry George School. This class is an outgrowth of one held last winter in Northport.

To say that they were pleased is inaccurate—they were delighted. The members of the class were a representative group of intelligent folk, of varying ages, races, sects and conditions, but all were alert and questing.

The class is conducted by Mr. Eric Howlett, a descendant of the renowned British family which for nearly a century taught fine horsemanship in all forms of driving to the *vieillesse* as well as the *jeunesse dorée* of Great Britain and France. This particular scion, whose grandfather, father and uncles were early settled in Paris, thus represents an inherited cosmopolitanism which stands him in good stead. Above that is the fact that he is a "born teacher." He draws out the interest of the students, and stimulates their faculties, encouraging him or her to speak up tentatively and even when doubtful of the correctness of answers or questions (which generally keep groups of people silent and self-conscious). The session therefore was very lively, the give and take, while orderly, was quick and keen, no one seemed sleepy or unresponsive, and the teacher while friendly and genial, never let himself or anyone else down for one moment.

When an individual faltered or went astray on some point, Mr. Howlett used the Socratic method of leading him to convict *himself* of error, and so become truly convinced.

Most heartening it is to witness this sturdy outcropping of the

central plant in New York and it is to be hoped that other classes may be started in these regions.

WE regret to learn of the death of Fred J. Eddy of Chicago, long a friend of LAND AND FREEDOM and an occasional contributor to its columns. He died August 7 this year. Appropriate resolutions were passed by the National Progressive Committee on November 5. It reads in part: "We commend to all Single Taxers a meditation in memory of his life and example, and we urge the reading of the last chapters of 'Progress and Poverty,' entitled 'The Central Truth and the Problem of Individual Life.'"

THE National Prosperity Committee is an organization having for its purposes the endeavor to enlist the religious minded, and to interest business groups. 21,000 pamphlets have been mailed to ministers and 25,000 to responsible heads of corporations and business leaders. C. J. Ewing is president.

ROBERT S. DOUBLEDAY of Tacoma, Washington, writes: "You do a splendid work with LAND AND FREEDOM. No one presents our philosophy with the finish and the accuracy that you do. I wish every one in the United States had the privilege of reading LAND AND FREEDOM."

CHAS. LEBARON GOELLER has added to his many tracts "The Significance of the Components of Ground Rent," by Royal E. S. Hayes of Waterbury, Conn. This was originally published in LAND AND FREEDOM and we are glad to see the use made of it.

A FORTHCOMING work by Louis Wallis is announced. It is to be issued by Willett, Clark and Co. of Chicago. Its title is "The Burning Question; Making Your Living in a Monopolized World."

HAROLD SUDELL is busy at his letter writing to newspapers and public men. Just now his targets are Governor Earle who wants a state income tax and Mayor Wilson of Philadelphia, who wants a city income tax.

"YOUR article on 'The Difficulties of Democracy is splendid,' writes Clayton J. Ewing of Chicago.

A NUMBER of reviews of Stephen Bell's "Life of Dr. McGlynn" have appeared. In the *Commonweal*, an influential Catholic weekly, is a very favorable review. *Time* of this city gives it generous treatment. In the issue of the *New York Sun* of Nov. 1, Charles Willis Thompson tells us in a very beautiful way of his memories of Father McGlynn. He says: "I had one prejudice then and I have it still. I know a man when I see one. And real men are not so frequent that you can forget one who died in 1900 and in so short a time as thirty-seven years." The work is reviewed editorially in the *Passaic Herald News* by George M. Hart, in which many events in the life of Dr. McGlynn are feelingly recited by this old friend of Stephen Bell.

THE Graduation Exercises of the Henry George School will be held at the Engineers Auditorium, 29 West 39th St., this city, on December 13. Do not fail to be present.

DR. JACOB LANGE, one of the leading Danish Georgeists, has just brought out a book entitled "Henry George, Economist, Reformer, Thinker." In a later issue we will bring a review of Dr. Lange's work. For today, just the news that a leading Copenhagen daily, *Politiken*, gives first place on its book page to Dr. Lange's book, calls it a "model biography." The critic says of Henry George that on his death he left behind a "lifework, the great importance of which cannot yet be estimated in all its consequences. . . . Henry George's work is today even more actual than it was fifty years ago. . . ."

These are just a few of the highlights of an enthusiastic review in one of the most popular of Copenhagen's dailies.

IS THERE A REASON? One humble Georgeist suggests that where eminent doctors disagree, there may be an organic factor, overlooked or intentionally ignored in their diagnoses of the disease.

ANSWER. Like all potent words it contains few letters, and children can spell and pronounce it from their first Primers.

IN *Barron's* (New York financial weekly, of Nov. 8, 1937) Stephen Leacock, with his tongue in his cheek states: "Speaking as an economist of such long experience that I know nothing about economics that I can swear to" . . . "

STATEMENT of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of March 3, 1933, of LAND AND FREEDOM, published bi-monthly at New York, N. Y., for October, 1937.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Joseph Dana Miller, who, having been duly sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of LAND AND FREEDOM and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in Section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOSEPH DANA MILLER,
EDITOR.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of September, 1937.

[Seal] LOUIS D. SCHWARTZ, Notary Public.
Kings County.