

rary divisions as might have arisen interrupted the progress of the cause. The death of Luke North would have been felt as a serious loss, but the movement would not have suffered immediate paralysis, as was inevitable upon a disorganized movement held together by the genius of one man.

Mr. Rockefeller Still Progressing

WE HAVE had occasion in previous issues of the REVIEW to commend some of the recent utterances of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. In a pamphlet just received he gives us reason for further favorable comment.

The pamphlet is entitled "Representation in Industry." We meet the same appeal to the humanizing spirit, the same intellectual hospitality, and the same generous willingness to listen to the other side.

But the most significant utterance is the one in which Mr. Rockefeller answers his own question, "Who are the parties to industry?" He says they are four in number; Capital, Management, Labor, and the Community. He says that the list usually comprises only three, with the fourth, the Community, whose interest is vital, too often omitted.

For fear the reader may jump to the conclusion that Mr. R. is unconsciously inclining to the socialistic conception of the community, we hasten to give his language that there may be no mistake on this point.

"The Community's right to representation in the control of industry and in the shaping of industrial policies is similar to that of the other parties. Were it not for the Community's contribution, in maintaining law and order, in providing agencies of transportation and communication, in furnishing systems of money and credit and in rendering other services—all involving continuous outlays—the operation of Capital, Management, and Labor would be enormously hampered, if not rendered well nigh impossible."

We do not desire to read into this more than Mr. Rockefeller implies. But nothing in this address justifies the assumption that, in admitting the Community as the fourth partner in industry, he has failed to appreciate the full significance of that admission. The Community is recognized as creator and contributor of values, and is to be credited with a corresponding share in the total product of industry. The wages of the Community as co-workers with Capital, Management, and Labor are not defined by Mr. Rockefeller, nor is the method of payment. But perhaps it is enough for the present to have recognized the right of the Community to the values it has created.

We are ready to give Mr. Rockefeller full credit for sincerity and courage in facing the consequences of the programme of conciliation and justice above outlined. We believe that, among our great industrial leaders, he will not stand alone. We believe that, under its present leaders, American labor will co-operate with a large patience and understanding. We believe that all have had a vision of the better time and know that its achievement will outweigh all present sacrifices.

A Condition, Not A Theory

TO THE increasing number of men and women in the Single Tax movement now enrolled for political party action is to be added Dr. Walter Mendelsohn, of this city. This old and intimate friend of the George family, whose letter appears in our Correspondence column, announces his conversion to the only method by which the Single Tax may become a living reality—the method provided by the institutions under which we live, and especially designed for the use of American citizens who entertain any theory having relation to the public good. That institution is the ballot.

We are fond of declaring that the Single Tax is our religion, but that is no reason why we should keep it with us as a denominational creed. We are a communion of saints—but a close communion. We guard our faith as closely as a priest would guard the Eucharist—as something too sacred for careless human handling.

But the Single Tax is not a religious dogma. It cannot become a reality through the methods by which great faiths have been established. If this were the case all that it would be necessary to do would be to build a tabernacle. The Single Tax is a political principle to be translated into political action and established as law by political bodies known as legislatures. We can lecture all sorts of bodies and buttonhole men everywhere with arguments coldly rational or intensely fervid. But until the question is before the people as a political issue, nothing has been accomplished.

Perhaps some of our readers may still cling to the notion that there may be some way of getting this question over in the legislature ere it has been presented to the people. The hope is vain. We know the weakness at all legislative hearings (from the legislators' point of view) of all arguments, however intelligent or convincing, that have no votes behind them. The quiet of a legislative committee's office may be an excellent place to plunder the public of a valuable franchise or extend private privilege, but Single Taxers have no similar objects and should not employ such means.

But suppose that such a measure should by some chance be put over in the legislature? With no educated sentiment behind it, such a law has small chance of being even intelligently applied. Laws derive their effectiveness and their character of permanence from an intelligent and adequately informed public opinion. The only way to create such an educated public sentiment is by having the question brought before the voter for his consideration. That, too, is the quickest way.

The Single Tax is a political issue. Where, therefore, should we expect to find it save in politics? It is one of the strangest anomalies that some Single Taxers should be found who hesitate to accept the logic of the situation. This question being to them a religion—and we have no inclination to treat this conviction lightly—they seem

determined to keep their creed for the tabernacle. They would die for their religion, but they would not vote for it. Being a religion, it must be treated as one. "Believe and be saved." But in this case, more than in others, belief without works is dead.

We had hoped to put the Single Tax in politics through the Democratic Party. We were told that the Democratic Party was coming our way, that if we elected a sufficient number of Single Taxers to office from that party, the Single Tax would soon be a political issue. For nearly three decades we shared this delusion, believing it sincerely.

Now we see that the theory has broken down. There is no longer room for argument. Circumstances are irresistibly convincing. The theory, dissolved in the light of events, as most of us must sadly and poignantly realize at this time, leaves us with one alternative, which is to cease trying to convince the Democratic Party, cease trying to elect Democrats to office, cease trying to elect Single Taxers to office in the Democratic Party, and vote for the thing we want.

A word in conclusion. Opponents of political party action by Single Taxers, ignoring that the Single Tax is something to be voted for and not something to serve us as a religion of the closet, are fond of quoting Henry George to this effect: "I do not care how men vote—I do care how they think." Did he say this? He did. But he added (and this part of his sentence is significantly omitted) "For those who think right will vote right," So he did care how men voted.

The Farmers' Movement for The Single Tax

THE *Christian Science Monitor*, of April 22, contains an interesting account of the movement now beginning among the farmers to induce Congress to provide means for the taxation of land values and the relieving of improvements. The movement is rapidly attaining significant proportions, and among those active in the work are William Bouck, master of the Washington State Grange; F. F. Ingram, of Michigan; L. S. Herron, editor of the *Nebraska Union Farmer*, John W. Canada, editor of the *Southern Farmer*, Lyman Perley, of Nebraska; Col. Richard Dalton, of Missouri, and many others.

A Farmers National Single Tax League has been formed with these men, all of whom are farmers, in control. The *Monitor* quotes Carl Brannin, who is executive secretary of the League and favorably known to readers of the REVIEW by reason of his work in Missouri, to the effect that inflated prices for land and land speculation threaten the industry of agriculture, and that the American farmer is waking up to the fact. In proof of this Mr. Brannin points out that representatives of 750,000 farmers speaking in the name of the Farmers National Council which met in Washington, urged the placing before Congress of a programme demanding that the cost of the war be met in part by "taxes that will force into use the unused lands and other resources speculatively held."

Mr. Brannin is also quoted in the *Monitor* as pointing out that the Washington State Grange has in convention after convention endorsed the Single Tax.

To the *Monitor's* admirable account of this movement among the farmers now gathering increasing headway may be added the significant fact pointed out in a recent number of the *Farmers' Open Forum*, organ of the Farmer National Council, that the increased vote for the Single Tax in Missouri in 1918 over the vote of 1912 came from the distinctively rural counties.

The Single Tax Five Year Book

THIS work since the signing of the armistice has made greater headway in Great Britain and Australia. Orders from British public libraries, among which are the National Library of Wales, are coming in. From Sydney, Australia, Mr. Walsh writes us that the book is being used by parliamentarians and has created new interest in the subject.

In the United States the number of public libraries having the work on their reference shelves have passed the 500 mark, which is a record for a work on Single Tax if we except the writings of Henry George.

Our readers can do a real service to the cause by getting their local public libraries and school and college libraries to order the work or presenting it to them where library funds are restricted.

Santa Catalina Adopts Single Tax

AS we go to press a message comes from South America apprising us of adoption of the Single Tax in Santa Catalina. This important State in Southern Brazil has thus adopted the fiscal policy of its immediate neighbor, the State of Rio Grande do Sul, which for a number of years has had the Single Tax in its constitution.

WE NOTE with pleasure that the Zionist Organization of America has ordered for circulation an edition of "The Economic Basis of the new Jewish State," an article by Mr. M. W. Norwalk, which appeared in the February issue of the *Jewish Forum*. As our readers know, Mr. Norwalk is a Single Taxer. His article is a strong appeal for fidelity to Israel's economic traditions in the organization of the new Jewish State in Palestine. It may truly be said that the Jewish people are again on trial, this time before the tribunal of their own high traditions. Their fate before history lies in their own hands. Have they leaders of clear vision and strong unselfish purpose?

A REMARKABLE editorial in the Dayton (Ohio) *Sunday News* of May 4, concludes as follows: "Landlords never have devoted any attention to history, never have considered it worth studying, never have been willing to accept its teachings. The collapse of Rome, the overthrow of feudalism, the revolts against the English barons, the beheading of the landlords by the French revolutionists, meant nothing to Landlordism in Russia or Germany. Is it impossible for Landlordism to learn while it still may have a chance to save its neck?"