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January—February, 1940

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

The College of Tomorrow

J. H. McMix

The Economy of Spain

Rogelio Casas Cadilla

Henry George, Employer

Louise Crane

Experience and the Future

Hon. Jackson H. Ralston

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00

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LAND AND FREEDOM

An International Bi-Monthly Magazine of Single Tax Progress

Founded by Joseph Dana Miller

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EDITORS:

CHARLES JOS. SMITH JOS. HIRAM NEWMAN

ROBERT CLANCY

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SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

ENGLAND: J. W. Graham Peace.

NEW ZEALAND: { Hon. P. J. O'Regan, Wellington.
 { T. E. McMillan, Matamata.

SPAIN: A. Matheu Alonso, Tarragona.

BULGARIA: Lasar Karaivanove, Plovdiv.

HUNGARY: J. J. Pikler, Budapest.

FRANCE: Jng. Pavlos Giannelia.

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

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

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

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

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

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

Please Make Subscriptions and Checks Payable to LAND AND FREEDOM

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

VOL. XL

JANUARY—FEBRUARY, 1940

No. 1

Comment and Reflection

THE struggle for liberty is long and slow. But it is worth while. "Only in broken gleams and partial light has the sun of Liberty yet beamed among men." We have never enjoyed the full warmth and light of that sun. Not yet has it permeated every corner of our lives. The soul of man still yearns to freely express itself. But let us not depreciate the few gleams that come through. We know they trace their origin to the great, beautiful sun of Liberty. And it must be remembered that those gleams were won with great sacrifice.

IN the midst of tyranny and oppression, and a defiling of the rights of man, the voice of Liberty continues to whisper, "*These others have a right to live, too.*" A hero hearkens, and to the call he dedicates his life. With what agony and blood a few concessions are won is too well known. And with what ease they can be lost again need not be cited. The recent experiences of Spain, China, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Finland have shocked us. We imagined that Ormuzd had triumphed. We underestimated the strength of the powers of darkness. But we must not deceive ourselves. Ahriman *does* win victories, and there are times when Ormuzd, wounded, is compelled to retreat.

THEREFORE, let us not slip into a complacent inertia, satisfied with the few rays that have been won. Let us rather take them as a weapon to continue the struggle. Let us use them to beat back the dark clouds of injustice, so that the full light of Liberty may shine forth! The few gleams that come are a challenge to us. That they are shining at all, means that so much of the dark forces have been dispersed! Knowledge does not come to us all at once. We must constantly struggle for it and keep on winning it. So it may be that our understanding of Liberty has to come slowly. Perhaps it is not something that springs full-armed and perfected like Pallas from the head of Zeus. Rather, it has humble beginnings and grows only with the growth of intelligence, tolerance, and love.

WHEN the English barons forced King John to sign the Magna Charta, that was certainly not the consummation of Liberty. Was it not class interest that prompted them to curb the Plantagenet? Yet, in spite of themselves, they advanced the cause of Liberty. It was a step forward, in that it restored some rights to a group of people who had somehow lost them in the course of history. It was a great achievement for that period.

GEORGE WASHINGTON was essentially aristocratic, as were many of the early statesmen and leaders of our country. At that time the step toward freedom and democracy may have had to be taken in a cautious way. Perhaps a sudden, violent advance causes us to slip and fall rather than make progress. The Russian Revolution is a case in point. We know too that the work of Liberty was not fully accomplished with the work of Abraham Lincoln. But who can deny that his name belongs among those of the heroes of Liberty? Did he not have a vision of equal rights, and did he not strive for a restoration of rights to a greater group of people than before? Universal suffrage did not sweep away all the clouds. But did not another gleam come through?

THE steps toward Liberty in the past have meant the attainment of certain rights for special groups of people. The progress of Liberty has been in the broadening of these attainments to larger and larger groups. True Liberty will be achieved only with the realization of the universal brotherhood of mankind. True Liberty can stop at nothing less. For what is Liberty but the recognition of the rights of *all* the sons of men? Are we ready for such liberty? Would we recognize it if it came thus, full-grown? We wonder. After all, Liberty comes to us only as we are able to comprehend it.

THUS far, we have only appreciated the reflections of the sun of Liberty rather than the sun itself. The toilers for Liberty in the past have striven mostly for political and intellectual freedom. But, slowly, mankind is beginning to realize that economic freedom is the basic form of Liberty. Political, yes, even intellectual

freedom, may be said to derive from economic freedom. But the work of those who toiled for Liberty has not been in vain. The rays of the sun do not penetrate an overcast sky. The clearer and purer the atmosphere, the more radiant is the solar glow. Our forebears in the struggle for Liberty have helped to clear that atmosphere. We, who toil for economic freedom, will find our work easier because of what they did.

"Please, Son—Carry On!"

THE following letter was written by Joseph Dana Miller, in 1934, to a student of the Henry George School of Social Science. Mr. Miller had an abiding faith in Oscar H. Geiger's vision—to spread the truths of political economy and real democracy by educational methods.—ED.

"Dear ——:

"This is indeed a personal letter.

"This is an appeal from a man who has devoted a half century to the propagation of a religious conviction, to one who has recently acquired a knowledge of this philosophy, and to whom the old man cries out:

"'Please, son—carry on!'

"You do not know me, perhaps. I am Joseph Dana Miller, the Editor, for over thirty years, of LAND AND FREEDOM, official organ of the Single Tax Movement in America. During these years I have recorded in the pages of this bi-monthly the activities, ideas, hopes of thousands of men and women who have poured out their life's blood at the altar of economic liberty.

"In all these years no single effort to advance the movement, to increase the number of those familiar with the philosophy, has been nearly as successful as the class method developed by the Henry George School of Social Science. In only two years thousands* of thoroughly-informed converts have been added to the movement, and plans afoot indicate that within less than a decade at least one hundred thousand followers of Henry George will be recorded.

"My one wish is that my life shall be spared until I see that achievement, for from the dynamic force of so many devotees, the political enactment of at least part of our philosophy will be more than a possibility.

"But, even if I am not here, I hope there is some provision in the scheme of things beyond that will permit me to look on while you and others like you carry on the work, to bless you, and to comfort my soul with the thought that the years I carried the torch were not in vain.

"You will, I am sure, carry on.

"Yours sincerely,

"Joseph Dana Miller."

* Today, the number of graduates and students is around 13,200, according to a recent report of the Henry George School of Social Science.

The Economy of Spain

By ROGELIO CASAS CADILLA

IN the fourteenth century, Spain was a free and prosperous country. The arts were cultivated, the profession of letters was protected and many industries such as textiles, steel of Toledo, silks, spices and carpets, were very flourishing. From all countries people came to buy and sell their products. Freedom of thought was respected in all its purity. No one was persecuted for his ideas. Mohammedans had their mosques, Jews their synagogues and Catholics built their cathedrals. The most famous cathedrals of present-day Spain were constructed in that epoch.

The dignity of man and the sacred respect for individual rights had always been the glory and honor of the Spanish people. The citizenship which evolves from individual liberty was a quality of the Spaniard of those glorious times. Kings were treated familiarly and they were denied the right to reign if they lacked the support of moral law. This was the indomitable race of the "Fuero Juzgo"; the Court of Leon was convoked seventy years before the English established their parliament in London in the twelfth century, in the Court of Borja, the predominance of the community or peasantry was recognized and from the time of Alfonso the Third the right and duty of insurrection was proclaimed. In Aragon the mar called "Judge" became superior to the man called "King." The fearful "yes" or "no" of the Justice was upheld before the throne. It was a people who, at birth held Charlemagne in check, and at death repulsed Napoleon.

The intrigues of religion brought into power the daughter of King Henry of Trastámara and the famous battle of Toro gave the power to that lady who, meanwhile, had married Fernando of Aragon. This marriage brought about what is known as "National Unity"—the beginning of the downfall of the Spanish people. The attempt to dominate the whole Peninsula involved them in a struggle over the region in the hands of the Arabs. After sixteen years of bloody warfare the Catholic monarchs emerged victorious. At the end of the war, which was really one of extermination, Queen Isabella granted honors and titles to all who had aided her economically and gave them dominion over the towns and lands. The common people who had been happy with their "ejidos" or public system of land ownership, were gradually impoverished. Under their public or municipal system of land ownership they aged were provided for; there was no need to impose taxes upon consumption and there were ample funds for public education. However, when the newly created nobles deprived them of their lands and properties, they lost everything.

Queen Isabella realized the great error she had made in paying for services rendered with lands and properties that were not hers, and she requested, in several royal

decrees, that the lands and resources be returned to the cities, but she was never obeyed. At her death, in her famous testament, she again requested that the lands be returned to the people, but the newly rich, the famous Spanish nobility that she had founded, were immovable. They not only disobeyed Isabella's request, but they demanded more lands, saying that they had been paid very little for their services and they should be given the Province of Castile, in addition to Andalusia and the parts of Estremadura which had already been granted them. Cisneros, tutor of Charles the Fifth and a man of great talent and dignity, opposed the demands of the nobles but the fatuous Charles the Fifth gave himself over to them wholly, and, with the aid of his German invaders, destroyed the Communities of Castile and beheaded the leaders who defended the sacred right of every man to the products of his labor.

Charles the Fifth was the worst king Spain ever had. He launched wars of conquest, established a dictatorship in Spain, created the commercial monopoly of the trade with the Indies and destroyed with cannon-balls the free cities of Italy where the Renaissance and The Modern Age had their beginnings. He ended the free trade between cities and liberty of thought disappeared. Under his son, Phillip the Second, the economic situation grew worse from day to day. Hatred towards the liberty of man increased. During the reign of Charles the Second, who was known as "The Bewitched" and was the last ruler of the fatal house of Austria, prayers were screamed in the streets, so desperate had become the condition of the people. A nation of thirty-two millions of inhabitants was reduced to seven millions. The industries of silks, mosaics and knitted goods, etc., had disappeared. Roads went to ruin because of lack of traffic. Communication became impossible. The best careers open to a man were to enter the church or become a highwayman. The Church swayed the kings to its will, and when the state had even million ducats of income, the Church had thirteen millions. It is impossible, in a few words, to explain how work was carried on in this epoch. A directed economy dictated by unions and guilds had reached unbelievable limits. For example, a sardine fisherman could not fish or any other kind of fish because the authorities would not allow him to sell it later. The carpenter of oak could not work in pine wood.

The people of Spain had entered into a hell of their own making. They are still in it, and to come out of it will cost much sacrifice and effort.

With liberty in Spain the country could be a cauldron of industry where now one finds only misery. The Americas would again turn to Spain by the mere attraction of its enlightenment and prosperity. Liberty is the magnet of progressive association. Liberty and the return of the land to its rightful owners, the people, would bring to Spain:

Production without tariffs, consumption without taxes, communication without blockage, industry without proletariat, riches without parasites, speech without gag, law without deceit, strength without armies, fraternity without class consciousness, work for all, and harness for none.

It would be the *ideal* become the actual, and as there exists the guide swallow, there could exist the guide nation.

A Spain of equal citizens sharing equal rights in the land, would be a vigorous Spain. A democratic Spain would be a fortress Spain, a supreme, inexorable reality.

Liberty is immutable. It is always tranquil because it is indivisible, and invincible because it is contagious. He who attacks it, acquires it—is absorbed by it. The army that is sent against it rebounds against the despot.

A Spain with liberty and without private property in land would be an irradiation of the true, a promise for all. Totalitarian Spain awaits the spirit of Henry George.

One of Rent's Masks

BY LAURIE J. QUINBY

DURING the days when land values were booming, I remarked to a merchant that as land rent advanced wages and interest declined. This he disputed, saying, "You will agree that in this location land values have at least quadrupled in the past ten years, while our payroll and interest (dividends) have enormously increased."

"I agree to your former statement," I replied, "but doubt the latter part of it. Do you keep a cost-finding system?"

"Yes," said he, "and I can show you."

"But wait a minute," I asked: "You own this building *and the site* on which it stands. Do you charge against merchandising business a rental, and if so, how often do you revise it?"

He replied, "Yes, we do charge a rental against the merchandising business, but, coming to think of it, we have not revised it during the past ten years. We are still charging the same rental as then."

"Well, then," I suggested, "would you mind looking over your cost system as to your relative payroll and earnings then and now, in comparison with what is a fair rental now?" He assented.

Several days later I called. As I approached, he smiled. "I am having fun with my partners," said he. "I am proving to them that we are losing money."

"So," I rejoined, "you found that you are profiting not as merchants but as landlords?"

"That's about it," he admitted. "And I wonder how many other merchants who own their properties are overlooking that fact."

Henry George, Employer*

By LOUISE CRANE

WE have become familiar with the figure of the great leader of men, the friend of humanity, the noble, patient well-wisher of mankind—Henry George. He has been pictured to us as the philosopher, the economist, the teacher and friend, the husband and father. But would we not like to know something of him as the employer of labor? Was he a kind master, humane and fair? Or was there, after all, a marked difference between what he preached and what he practiced, as is too often the case with some self-styled "friends of the working-man?" Engrossed with the subject in the abstract, they reject as trivial the suggestion that charity ought to begin at home.

I bethought me of a friend who was once a member of the staff of *The Standard*, militant journal founded by Henry George. William T. Croasdale, the editor, had a "right-hand man," who was a woman. This woman is the friend I speak of. I took paper and pencil, consulted her, and brought away the following:

"How we loved Mr. George! How we valued his approbation, and how little we ever thought of deceiving him, or of imposing on his generous, patient spirit! I count among the happiest hours of my life those I spent over the routine connected with the presentation to the public of the Single Tax doctrine.

"Our offices were quite the reverse of sumptuous. They were on the second story of a somewhat dilapidated building on Union Square, reached by climbing, at your own risk, a flight of rickety and none too clean stairs. The offices were cleaned every morning by a large, fat, office boy, and this was his system: After removing the top layers of newspapers, with which the floor was always littered, John would appear with an enormous, green, sprinkling can, which he would ply with a fearless, impartial hand. If you sat down at your desk before John had finished 'cleanin' up' you shared a like fate with the office furniture and the parlor stove (which kept us warm). John was a well-meaning, hard-working boy, but his duties were multitudinous and varied and he could not always arrange them in regular order.

"When everything was in a drip, he would fetch a muddy broom, and with it push the floor clear. The papers dragged dirt along with them, but the broom left muddy traces to relieve the monotony and altogether it was a most unusual-looking place after John got through. So much for the sanctum sanctorum, which consisted of two rooms, one of which was what is known as a hall bedroom. What they did about the cleaning in the

business office (the room in the rear) I never did know and I never voiced a suspicion I had that the subscription clerk got down on his knees and scrubbed the floor after we had all gone home. It was just that much cleaner in that room.

"But we were all so happy there! Mr. George would favor us with a visit every now and then. He took no part in the office work, being busy with his books. Once in a while he would ask one of us to come to his house and help him, and how gladly we would go! Always good-tempered, he never misjudged anyone; he never spoke sharply, or unkindly. The sweetness of his disposition, and his affectionate nature made him a delightful master, who held us to our duties out of respect for the man.

"A man of indefatigable energy himself, he never had an idle moment. He was said to have been intolerant of drones but I have more than once observed that it took him a long time to notice remissness in an employee. I remember a case in point. We had taken in an extra office-boy temporarily, who, as is quite common, worked while you were watching him, and dawdled the rest of the time. One day Mr. George came in and seeing the extra boy, began to question him. The boy became very much confused because he feared he had been detected, but Mr. George kept on, like a man gathering statistics, too much engrossed for a time to observe the boy's embarrassment. When he did finally notice it he left the room and the building abruptly without another word. Not long after Mr. George said to his son, Richard, then our bookkeeper, 'Would you say Dick, that that boy is a faithful worker?' 'No, father,' was the reply, 'but he is only here temporarily.' 'Humph,' was all Mr. George said. But we urged Richard to discharge the boy.

"Whenever Mr. George came to the office he asked the why and the wherefore of everything that was going on, but he always had a preoccupied air, which often deceived us into thinking he was not listening. And then some day long after he would surprise us by referring to some trivial thing which we would have thought safe to say he had passed over. It was his habit of asking questions that led newcomers to the office to believe him a very exacting, suspicious and distrustful employer who wasn't going to allow himself to be bamboozled if he could help it. But they didn't think that way very long.

"It was immediately on his return from a lecture trip in Australia that I first met Mr. George. He wore a cheap suit of light brown clothes that hung loosely on him, and a square-top brown derby hat pushed far back on his head. By the way, I think I never saw Mr. George in anything but a Prince Albert coat. Turning to greet me he gave me a hearty handclasp and a genial, kindly encouraging smile, saying, 'Why, Croasdale, she's a mere child!' 'Is she?' answered Croasdale, 'ask the child

*This interesting document was originally published as a newspaper article twenty-five years ago.—Ed.

what she knows about the Single Tax.' 'The Single Tax as we call it, for want of a better name,' I began, without waiting for Mr. George to speak, and mimicking the words and gestures of one of our best-known speakers of whom I knew Mr. George to be very fond, 'the Single Tax contemplates the abolition of all taxes save one on the value of land, irrespective of improvements.' Long and loud rang out that hearty laugh which was one of the most charming things about him. And whenever he felt like 'having a good laugh' he would make me repeat that little 'lesson in first principles.'

"To Mr. George labor was sacred. The humblest worker had a dignity in his eyes and a casual observer might have found it difficult to determine which was employer and which employed, judging by their manner of addressing each other. Mr. George respected his office boy, but the office boy adored him.

"I once reported a club banquet given in Mr. George's honor at which I was the only woman present. He insisted on having me placed at his right, while at his left sat the president of the club. Mr. George sat with his back to a window, and once, between speeches, I remarked that I felt very warm. He called to someone to open the window and it was done very quietly so that the man opposite me didn't notice it for a time. But, always alert for the well-being of the great philosopher, he soon spied the open window. In a jiffy he had jumped up, closed the window, and, looking from Mr. George to me in such a way as to make me feel very guilty, he seemed to be making a mental comparison between us and decided against me. Mr. George laughed, shrugged his shoulders, and said. 'No use, Miss——!' And I answered, 'No use.' And that was all. And yet that man under almost any other conceivable circumstance would have accused himself of great rudeness if he had acted similarly. This shows that it was not only respect and admiration for the man that held all he met to him—it was love. In many cases, like this, one might almost say it was a protecting love, for he was ever careless of himself, ever underestimating his usefulness.

"Let me tell you something to prove what I said about Mr. George's wonderful temper. One day Mr. Croasdale sent word to Mr. Louis F. Post that he must have a certain lengthy article by the next Wednesday (I think it was). Mr. Post promised to send it by messenger boy on Tuesday. The article hadn't arrived on Wednesday morning, as Mr. Post had promised. Mr. Croasdale was a man of irascible temper, so he immediately began, violently: 'Why the devil, Post, don't you do as you say? You know I ought to have had that thing——!' 'What's the matter?' asked Post, invariably amiable. 'I sent the article, if that is the cause of your wrath, by messenger yesterday afternoon.' 'What——' dropped blank from Mr. Croasdale's lips. The two stared at each other and the same thought entered each one's mind. The boy must

have lost the manuscript! In an instant Croasdale's face flushed purple and then he uncorked the vials of his wrath, and the familiar pop fell on my ear, as I stood in the next room. I knew he would call me in and tell it to me in his own picturesque, diverting way, which you couldn't publish if I described it, and in another moment the summons came. As I stood listening sympathetically to the irate editor the door opened and a little mite of a boy with tear-stained face appeared. Instinctively, Croasdale knew it must be the boy. And what a terrible ten seconds for the poor child, before the door opened once more, this time to admit the dignified figure of Henry George, the champion of the weak. Then, of course, it had to be told all over again, but Mr. George didn't sympathize with his editor a bit. He was divided between his desire to laugh at Croasdale and the sympathy that welled up in his tender heart at the sight of the wretched object of so much splutter. He looked over at Mr. Post, who had seated himself at Mr. Croasdale's desk, and the latter's eyes followed his, 'That's right, Post, write a complaint. Have the miserable whelp——' 'Complaint,' answered the imperturbable Post, with a chuckle, 'I'm rewriting the article.' I wish I could do justice to the state of Mr. Croasdale's feathers at this announcement. They seemed to expand, puffed out with an ungovernable rage, and yet he was abashed, although disgusted, with this forgiving, what's-the-use-of-getting-excited spirit. He did not know what to do or say, so he turned his attention once more to the boy. But Mr. George said, quietly: 'Now, that will do, Croasdale. The child has explained the accident'—(at this word the editor bridled)—'and we will let him go.' The boy looked up gratefully at Mr. George, who put one hand on his shoulder and with the other offered him a coin, and pushed the sobbing wretch out of the room. To me this was always the most remarkable thing I ever encountered, because the man who had really suffered the abuse and who would be put to the inconvenience of doing his work all over again sat quietly, taking no part whatever in the 'trouble'. And Mr. George was pained, as was to be expected, at the injustice. It was plain that he felt the poor child ought not to have had such harsh treatment.

"I was about to say that I never heard from anyone in or around that office, any word about Mr. George that was not a tribute to some one of his many noble personal qualities, but on second thought I shall have to qualify that just a trifle. The compositors used to swear, not at him, I am sure, but certainly at his manuscript. It used to be common talk that Mr. George never sent back a proof without the margins filled with his closely written script. They made a test, so they said, at one time, and by an herculean effort turned out a proof that was typographically perfect, yet it came back with filled margins, like any other. 'On second thought,' he would

mutter, 'perhaps this would be better.' And then scratch, scratch, scratch. One day they threatened to cut the margins off, top, bottom and sides, but an inconsiderate foreman interfered.

But these little things were all on the surface. They might swear, but they loved him, as we all did. 'It is a way composers have.'

"And so we lived our lives in the effort to please him, made happy by his presence, and going home at night sustained by the hope of seeing him on the morrow, disappointed if he didn't come, and doubly glad when he appeared after an absence of a few days. Nobody loved him more than we did. To us no better man ever lived, and I, for one, never expect to meet another as good, as sincerely and truly noble as Henry George."

Free Trade—Pro and Con

PRO

By J. RUPERT MASON

THE most immediate opportunity facing us, it seems to me, is to fairly scream to every one within hearing to urge his Senators and Congressmen to support the reciprocal trade treaty efforts of this Administration. The opponents are sure to be ferocious!

Now that the President has appealed for authority to provide greater freedom of trade between nations, let us not fail to give the suggestion support in every way at the disposal of any of us.

No one realized more completely than Henry George that taxation of land values, alone, would not eliminate unjust privileges, and that the abolition of trade barriers between nations constituted just as integral and essential a step before justice can prevail.

Many Georgeists appear to have all but forgotten this, for they have all but limited their thinking to the importance of government collecting all of the publicly created rental value of land, instead of only part of it, as at present.

Henry George, who launched the Georgeist movement, was of a much broader turn of mind than are his followers. No one can deny that he saw the necessity of collecting all the rent of land. But he also saw the question of Freedom in its larger aspects. In an editorial in *The Standard*, signed by him (reprinted by C. Le Baron Goeller), we find the following:

"As for those of our friends who think we ought to leave protection undisturbed until we have succeeded in taking land values for public benefit, and those who express the same underlying thought by asking why free land will not lead to free trade much more naturally than free trade will lead to free land, it seems to me that they can hardly fully realize the great object which is to be attained

by the Single Tax, nor yet the practical means by which the adoption of this Single Tax is to be secured. Like those who oppose us, or fail to go with us from sheer inability to see how the taxation of land values can abolish poverty, their mental gaze seems to be concentrated on what we propose to do, ignoring what we propose to do away with. The great benefit of the appropriation of land values (i.e., economic rent) to public use would not be in the revenue that it would give, so much as in the abolition of restrictions upon the free play of productive forces it would involve or permit. It is not by the mere levying of a tax that we propose to abolish poverty; it is by 'securing the blessings of liberty.'

"The abolition of all taxes that restrain production or hamper exchange, the doing away with all monopolies and special privileges that enable one citizen to levy toll upon the industries of other citizens, is an integral part of our program. To *merely* take land values in taxation for public purposes would *not of itself* suffice. If the proceeds were spent in maintaining useless parasites or standing armies, labor might still be oppressed and harried by taxes and special privileges. We might still have poverty, and people might still beg for alms or die of starvation. What we are really aiming at is . . . 'the freedom of the individual to use his labor and capital in any way that may seem proper to him and will not interfere with the equal rights of others' and 'to leave to the producer the full fruits of his exertion.' To do this it is necessary to abolish land monopoly. And it is *also necessary to abolish tariffs.*"

By enlisting aggressively with this Administration with regard to its present attempts to lessen trade barriers, the Administration leaders *might* discover that there is much about which we both think alike.

We know that any lowering of tariff barriers must increase the difficulty of private interests continuing to pocket for themselves as much of the publicly created rental value of land as at present. Very few land speculators have caught this, so they may not be as vicious in their opposition to Secretary Hull's aims, as they are to any taxation of land values.

This seems to me to be the most concrete opportunity facing us in many years. I hope it may be soberly considered by every lover of liberty.

CON

By PETER D. HALEY

All the free trade in the world is not going to make better the lot of the German masses. Prior to the World War the German people were faring better than the people of England despite the fact of England's democracy, because landlordism was a little less intense in Germany than in England. The mass of people in tariff-protected

England today are faring as well as they did under the free trade regime of some years back.

Free trade can only intensify the suffering of the producing masses, since trade is the food which feeds the maw of rent collectors. There will be more nearly a parity of opportunity to all in a county where there is little trade. Trade breeds rent and rent is the vampire which sucks the producing masses to emaciation. Bright and Cobden soon came to realize that the benefits they expected from free trade did not materialize, that the rent collector absorbed it all and more.

Man's prosperity or well-being is determined by his relation to the land. All the tariffs in the world cannot have any influence on this. Free trade cannot affect it. There is no need of all this stupidity about free trade, trade barriers and other hokum. Man's well-being is governed by the terms on which he contacts land. There is no other formula. Free trade would be a virtue in a free society—a competitive economy. It is positively harmful to the producing masses in our land monopoly society, our sweepstakes economy.

The farmers of the South and the West have been free to engage in tariff-protected commodities. There is no law against farmers processing. All the farmers need to is to meet the terms of land monopoly. Tariffs apply alike to all the ports and to every inch of our millions of square miles of free trade area. This cry of the North and East having robbed the South and the West is the sheerest bunk. The South and the West have men who have fared as well as any in the East. Too, we have our millions in poverty and distress just the same as is found under the shadows of the tariff-protected factories of the East. These lines—North, South, East and West—mean nothing in economics. If Texas would open opportunity to the masses to contact the land on equal terms, it would soon be seen that the masses would be faring well.

Tariffs have nothing to do with our relation to the land, and that ridiculous idea should be liquidated at the earliest moment. Free traders, free silverites and free spenders of the Doc Townsend variety are of the same breed and we should weed them out. The evils society has suffered through ages have come largely from stupidity and not rascality. We are confronted with one crackpot scheme after another. Free silver has been put to sleep but men in high places trot out another will-o'-the-wisp to take its place.

Why cannot man exercise his brain and examine the fundamentals? Why does he have to go from one hokum to another? Land is the source of subsistence. Exchange of labor is the great facilitating factor in production. The terms of bargain are governed by the terms of contacting land for production. Taxation is the instrument to set the terms of contact in a free society.

House to House, Field to Field

By STEPHEN BELL

And he looked for judgment, but behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry.

Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth.

In mine ears, said the Lord, Of a truth many houses shall be desolate, even great and fair, without inhabitant. . . .

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

—ISAIAH.

ALL the wars of conquest waged in recent years, and all previous wars of conquest, have been the natural result of permitting the laying of field to field till there be no place for growing populations, and then trying to create employment by holding domestic markets against "foreigners," by which the economic life of all nations is choked in greater or lesser degree. Nations deficient in natural resources, though failing to adequately develop the resources they have, see supplies and markets abroad which they need, but see no way of acquiring them except by the might of their arms, though each and every one of them has it within its own power to remove half or more of the obstacles in its way by abolishing its own trade barriers.

There can be no doubt that Woodrow Wilson's outline of peace terms which embodied his famous Fourteen Points for a just and durable peace, the third of which called for "the elimination as far as possible of economic barriers," did much to break down the military morale of Germany and shorten the World War. As the German people realized what the old Imperial German Government had gotten them into they rose in revolution against it and it fell. It was the German Republic which sent its delegates to Versailles, where Wilson's Fourteen Points were cast into the discard and the Treaty of Vengeance was imposed on the German Republic.

I need not recite the many years during which the democratic and conciliatory elements in Germany sought ameliorations and concessions from the impossible terms of that treaty. In 1923 a young Austrian housepainter who had been discharged from the Army with the rank of sergeant, led a movement to overthrow the German Republic, declaring that conciliation would win nothing for Germany, and that Germany would get no relief until she was strong enough to take it by force. He failed and was imprisoned. He wrote a book, "Mein Kampf," and after his release from prison continued his efforts.

He had little success until in 1931. In that year, Germany and Austria decided to provide a little relief for themselves by abolishing the tariff wall between them

which was hampering their trade, and to form a customs union. This they invited their neighbors to join, pointing out that it was in line with the efforts of Briand of France and Stresemann of Germany to form a United States of Europe. It certainly did afford a nucleus for such a federation.

This undertaking required the consent of the League of Nations, to which the German Republic had adhered. Britain was complaisant, but France and Czechoslovakia, both strong citadels of the "Protectionist" superstition, interposed their imperative veto. Such a customs union could lead only to the political union of Germany and Austria, and they scented danger in that, though it is not easy to see what danger there could be in such a union if it were brought about amid general good feeling. As for Czechoslovakia, self interest should have dictated her joining the union, due to her geographical position. But the undertaking had to be abandoned.

That settled it. Germany thereafter lent a more willing ear to the preachings of the Austrian ex-sergeant and ex-housepainter, and two years later Hitler became Chancellor of Germany.

Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord. I will repay!

When the Allied representatives at Versailles and in the League of Nations decided on their policy of vengeance, confusing it with justice, they usurped the prerogative of God, and the consequences of this usurpation has come back to plague them.

The manner in which the present war is being conducted, each side "pulling its punches" as it were, like two gladiators in the prize ring, each knowing the other packs a twenty-mule team kick in either hand and anxious to avoid it, suggests that none of the warring nations really want the war, and that an early peace of some kind may yet be possible. But it must be an *economic peace*, such as was outlined by former President Wilson in his Fourteen Points, and also in a resolution passed by the German Reichstag in July, 1917, to which neither the Imperial German Government nor the Allied governments paid any attention.

They join house to house, lay field to field.

Why is Russia attacking Finland?

For ages Russia, with nearly half the territory and material resources of Europe and Asia, and in no need of territory in itself, has been seeking a commercial outlet on warm water, her vast extent of seacoast on the Arctic Ocean being useless. This was the main reason for her war on Turkey in 1878. This was the reason for her leasing Port Arthur from China, which aroused Japan's fears and resulted in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. Britain and Germany deprived her of her aims in 1878, and no one knows what would have been the result in 1905 had not President Theodore Roosevelt intervened and brought about a peace by which she lost Port Arthur and its hinterland to Japan. And now this

desire for an outlet to the sea is driving Russia on to Finland. Is such laying of field to field necessary? Would not free trade accomplish the same thing?

"Free trade is the best peacemaker," said Richard Cobden a century ago. It is—it is the *only* peacemaker. But Richard Cobden uttered another epigram which every one should paste in his hat where he can see it frequently:

"Free trade is the international law of the Almighty!"

Trade is the mother of civilization, for without trade none of us could have anything except what he could make himself unaided by others—a condition of savagery lower than anything we have seen. To broaden trade is to extend and deepen civilization. To restrict trade is to narrow and retard civilization.

Free trade teaches us that there are others in the world with whom we must seek relationships on an equal basis. The destructive course the nations today are pursuing is "that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth." If they persist in this damnable policy of "Beggar my Neighbor," civilization is doomed.

Sonnet—The Peace Maker

THERE is one way to checkmate future wars:
Take down the spite-wall tariffs! Let in trade,
Peace-loving Commerce. Her, the sons of Mars,
With all their bluster, cannot quite evade.
But they will start their "dumping" we are told—
These foreigners, whose cunning we concede:
Well, let them *dump!* for my part I won't scold,
If they fill *my* back yard with things I need.

For we *are* bargain hunters—all of us:
Only a few are Robber Tariff pets:
If most of us become necessitous,
Our loss is what the Tariff baron gets.
Down with the tariff! For every boat load in,
One must go out—and Trade Revival win!

HORATIO.

Wrath Over "Grapes"

THERE seems to be dynamite in that best-seller, "Grapes of Wrath," by John Steinbeck! It is banned in California; a St. Louis Library Board has ordered its three copies burned; in another state it has been prohibited by the censors.

A question arises: Are these authorities utilizing some occasional obscenities in the book as an excuse for banning it, in order to prevent its powerful picture of the woes of the landless from becoming too well known?

—G. I. C.

Causerie

CABBAGES AND KINGS

ON March 22, 1765, "the king having had his first attack of insanity," approved the Stamp Act sponsored by Lord Granville, says the historian.

- 1 shilling tax upon ecclesiastical-court documents.
- 6 pounds tax upon a grant or privilege from a governor.
- 2 pounds tax upon a college degree.
- 4 pence tax upon a bill of lading.
- 10 shillings tax upon a public job paying 20 pounds per year.
- 4 pounds tax upon a public job paying more than 20 pounds per year.
- 4 pounds tax upon a liquor license.
- 1 shilling tax upon playing cards.
- 10 shillings tax upon a pair of dice.
- ½ penny tax upon a half-sheet newspaper.
- 1 penny tax upon a whole sheet newspaper.
- 1 shilling tax upon a pamphlet.
- 2 shillings tax upon an advertisement.
- 2 pence tax upon an almanac.
- Etc., etc., etc., through fifty-five items.

This is our first discovery of kingly insanity being joined, in the same breath, with taxes upon industry. Lord Granville may have been aware of the opportune moment for such approval.

It would be enlightening to learn by what manner of sane reasoning Lord Granville proposed a shilling tax upon playing cards as against a ten-shilling tax upon dice; by what logic was the ten-shilling tax upon a 20 pound income jumped to a four pound tax upon an income of 20 pounds one shilling four pence half penny; by what power of deduction a penny tax upon a one-sheet newspaper was boosted to a shilling tax if the news-sheet was folded into a pamphlet.

There may have been a definite distinction between the lordly sanity which created the tax list and the kingly insanity which sanctioned it. This distinction no doubt stems from the "ancient and hoary wisdom" of which we heard so much during our law school days.

These were the days when Benjamin Franklin was actively engaged in opposing the motherland's tax methods as applied to our colonies, whilst, at the same time he was actively furthering the Grand Ohio Company's scheme to acquire twenty millions of colonial acres at a price of about ten cents for forty acres.

The landed gentry's tax torture of Franklin's fellow-men stirred him to action:

"If my countrymen should ever wish for the honor of having among them a gentry enormously wealthy, let them sell their farms and pay racked rents; the scale of the landlords will rise as that of the tenants is de-

pressed, who will soon become poor, tattered, dirty, and abject in spirit."

The Grand Ohio Company, supported by Franklin, made a heroic attempt to acquire enormous wealth by the very same means which Franklin deplored in the home-land's economic set-up.

Verily, kingly insanity may have been cause for national grief, but we find little choice between the sanities and insanities of men who agree to tax industry until revolutions result.

SOLVING MYSTERIES

A mystery which long has mystified our savants—since 1823, to be exact—finally succumbs to scrutiny.

Harking back o'er the centuries we come to a day in 1300 B. C. when a papyrus rolled off the press bearing an inscription as intelligible, to subsequent savants, as is today's Chinese laundry ticket to us. Naturally, being a papyrus, the document proceeded, in a matter-of-fact way, to become priceless regardless of what its unknown message meant. Real, old-time papyrus isn't obtainable on every five-and-ten stationery counter or book-rack. That the papyrus had something to say in an incomprehensive manner was no detraction from its value as a literary leaflet, consequently it escaped being used for kindling the kitchen fire as sacrilegiously as Republicans and Democrats and Socialists use Single Tax pamphlets because the simple language utterly confuses them.

In 1823 the Sardinian government stepped into the literary breach and buckled down to decoding the hieroglyphics. Specifically, the honorable Gustav Seyffart made the first venture at opening this literary oyster on behalf of the Sardinian savants and civil servants, but the best he could do was to analyse the texture of the papyrus and the weave of its fibres. Criminologists use the same methods today when tackling mysteries.

It wasn't until Professor Giulio Farina, the eminent Italian Egyptologist, took over the payprus puzzle ten years ago that the document was doomed as a mystery. In ten years' toil, to the year, this expert exposed to vulgar gaze the paper's meaning which heretofore had meant much less than a Wall Street ticker-tape and almost as little as a Bronx belle's first-year shorthand. Now that the mystery is solved it seems incredible that its exposure was any more difficult than opening a can of sardines in 1823.

The papyrus puzzle is simple. If we gave you ten guesses we are sure that nine of them would be "taxes," and you'd be right nine times out of ten.

And so 'tis now known that 'way, 'way back in 1300 B. C., in the day of Menes, tax lists were published and peddled just as is done by our meanies of today—tax lists which lumined the levies on inhabitants of a Lybian desert oasis (just as our assessors reach out their lean,

long, legal index-fingers to put on the spot our hicks out in the sticks). There is nothing so simple as puzzles once the light dawns, and inasmuch as tax lists always have ranked first we wonder why our savants of eighteen dynasties couldn't guess the subject matter long ago.

If mankind would but always keep taxation in mind, how long could any mystery remain a mystery? The mystery of poverty in the midst of plenty—the mystery of depressions in the midst of genius and untold natural resources—the mystery of millions of idle men in the midst of millions of idle acres?

When the subject-matter of a document is unknown, what else can it be but taxes?

LABORS IN VAIN

It is a far cry from Cleon and his civic notions down to this year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty. Cleon was a man with ideas, 429 B. C. He had aspirations somewhat comparable to those of a present-day alderman; that is to say, his notions were about as fitful and as fantastic when it came to pumping the bilge on the Ship of State. Cleon believed that if the poor had no bread to eat—well, let 'em eat cake, and to provide the cake Cleon whooped up the wage scale.

Two thousand four hundred years have cluttered the calendar since Cleon's notions proved to be not so hot, and in the interim an assortment of other notables have followed in his footsteps down the sands of Time, all of whom have aimed to brighten up the short and simple annals of the poor.

About 140 B. C. Polybius felt the urge to take his pen in hand and call the bluff of his political representatives who loosely used the words "freedom and democracy" whilst getting ready for the subsequent mob-rule. Then along came Diocletian, about 240 years after Polybius had cried "What's the use!", and he, the aforesaid Diocletian, took to monkeying with the gold content in the standard coin. Nothing startling occurred, however, except the customary "flop" in the program.

By the time the year 370 A. D. had rolled around the levying of taxes ranked as indoor sport No. 1 and, at this time it is alleged, there were as many tax collectors as tax payers which established a fifty-fifty basis in the art of getting and confiscating the coin of the realm. Things came to such a pretty pass that by 700 A. D. Herodotus was seized with the same urge that overcame Polybius, and the old "Hero" wrote a snappy column about the loss of individual rights and the discarding of old customs for a set of danged, new-fangled ideas.

The humanitarian urge to succor the idle poor in the midst of idle acres still persisted like the barber's itch and, in 1079 A. D., "the Chinese socialist," Wang An-Shih, was given carte blanche to lift humanity by its boot-straps. For ten long years he subjected society

to socialism, until he and his cohorts were classed as false alarms and were unceremoniously exiled to Mongolia.

Matters continued to alternate between hay and grass—between chills and fevers—until the same old Polybius-Herodotus urge made a return visit through the pen and hand of our own Ben Franklin in 1787. Ben summed up the previous innings in the age-old game of taxation, ambition and avarice and opined that our freedom and democracy—the same old stuff of Cleon's day—was aheadin' for a monarchy; and in 1850 Herbert Spencer nods his head and sez: "Them's my sentiments, too." By 1929 H. L. Mencken had delivered himself of his irritation over our grumbling farmers and ventured the drastic notion that farmers ought to be abolished.

As we look back over the pages of history it is apparent that we cannot accuse civic leaders of precipitousness in inquiring into the drab details and dreary days of "the poor ye have always with you." Nor can we accuse our modern colleges of ill-considered haste. Rather, a very conservative, cautious and slow approach has been made toward the ultimate economic freedom of the masses.

So while our judicial intellects are trying to find under which shell the economic pea is hiding—whilst Congress is nonplussed over the total lack of altruism on the part of our wealthy taxpayers, who thriftily take advantage of every loophole in every unworkable tax law on private enterprise—it is our ambition to raise a fund in the sum of ten millions of dollars in the next thirty days, with which to found an institute to compile every fix-it program which thus far has failed to improve on the laws of Nature.

Our institute will mail, every thirty minutes, a list of all unworkable social experiments which have been tried by man since the first tax on cave-homes was levied in accordance with the distance penetrated by the sunlight into the mouth of the cave. These thirty-minute mailings will go forward to each and every legislative member who is too lazy to read history and who believes that his own thoughts are original in the field of taxation, labor disputes and paternalism.

We hope that our labors shall not have been in vain.

BY THOMAS N. ASHTON

THERE is nothing so pathetic as the jobless man who is totally ignorant of his rights to use the earth. . . . An aimless, wretched, hungry man is a blasphemy and a contradiction of the intention of the Creator!

—FRANCIS NEILSON in "Man at the Crossroads."

MEN like Henry George are rare, unfortunately. One cannot imagine a more beautiful combination of intellectual keenness, artistic form, and fervent love of justice. Every line is written as if for our generation.

—ALBERT EINSTEIN.

Experience and the Future

By HON. JACKSON H. RALSTON

THOSE who may be classed as followers of Henry George have experienced a number of relatively slight advances and several severe checks. From the advances we have learned and can learn comparatively little. Our checks should be studied and they can teach us much if we examine them.

Following the apparently well-reasoned views of Henry George, those believing in his fundamentals have sought as the line of least resistance the gradual, or immediate, removal of all taxation from improvements and personal property and its transference to land values. In this way they have hoped to bring about equality in the gifts of Nature to all men. Acting upon this belief they have, in the United States, fought unsuccessful state-wide campaigns in Oregon, Missouri and California. In no instance have they come within striking distance of a favorable result. The last and perhaps most interesting attempt was in California in 1938. Into this recurrent condition let us make at least a superficial examination.

Are these failures the result of the groundlessness of the fundamentals for the recognition of which we have striven? None of us will accept this idea. As long as we continue to believe that all men have an equal right to life, we must recognize that the denial of such right must lead to human misery and the removal of existing wrongs as speedily as possible is righteous and imperative.

Accepting this hypothesis as indisputable, why then is not our proposition immediately accepted by the electorate, only a small percentage of which in any reasonable theory should oppose it?

Has such refusal of acceptance been due to want of education? Necessary as education in economics is, I do not think so. Better stated, I should say that I do not believe that any attainable degree of education will change the result. To illustrate, the number of men coming of age at any moment will, by an infinite number of times exceed the possible number which will take on education. (This will be entirely true unless we enlarge the meaning of the word "education" to include those who are instructed by their feelings and observation.) Useful as book-learning is, it is insufficient and a large percentage of such learners on an actual test will be swept off their feet by what they esteem to be their immediate self-interest. Education alone cannot be the answer.

In California we were opposed by every great interest in the State. With general unanimity the press, save for the Labor papers, fought us. As with one voice they spoke for their masters, the great financial institutions, the large landowners, the real estate dealers, Chambers of Commerce, farm organizations and all the bodies these could control, including the State and subordinate govern-

ments, women's organizations, service clubs, to a large degree, and others. The wonder is, not that we received only 372,000 votes, or about 18 per cent of those cast, but that we had such a large following.

But how came it that even the bodies of which I have spoken were able to mislead the electorate against the interests of the great majority? What appeal could they make to win success? Assuredly they must have made some appeal to large sections of the electorate.

From such examination as I have been able to make I believe the Opposition made a very successful play for the votes of the vast majority of householders and those they controlled. This one influence easily represented two-thirds or more of the electorate.

It may be asked how such an appeal could be successful in the face of the ultimate extinction of all taxation upon improvements and tangible personal property as proposed by us. The argument is this: "The Single Taxers say you will be relieved from house and certain other taxation. Very well. But where will the taxes rest? They will be laid on land values and wipe them out. You have worked hard to get the land on which to build. To all intents that land is to be taken from you and thrown into common ownership. This is near communism. Of what worth is it to you to be relieved from certain taxes if you are to lose your land?"

I need not stop to point out the shortcomings of this argument. The householder was in a panic of fear. With our success he saw all he had labored for taken from him, or at least his ownership rendered insecure. Nothing we could say or do could affect a mind impregnated with fear. Eyes and ears were closed against men who, they were told, would so wrong the home owner.

Again from the standpoint of a certain number our proposition seemed essentially immoral. In those cases the argument ran somewhat as follows: "People have invested their savings in land—perhaps buying for a home or for speculation, if you please. They have hoped thus to preserve their savings or, it may be, make some small profit. You Single Taxers come along and destroy all their hopes—hopes based upon the expected continuance of long-established relations for which every one in the community is responsible. This is wrong."

Again I shall not take time with the reply which seems to me conclusive. Those taking this position believed they were defending the cause of public morality and that we were antagonistic to human right.

Then the farmer. In many instances where the assessed value of his improvements was less than that of his land, his taxes, usually light in all circumstances, would be increased. He refused to look far enough to see that our plan would make a vastly better city market for his products than he now enjoys, this to his ultimate benefit. He thinks he is par excellence a land owner and for fifty years will refuse to see that his land values have been

and are being drained into the cities. With few exceptions he accepted the arguments of our opponents.

What conclusion is to be drawn from all this? We cannot undertake another campaign in California for a score of years, either by total or so-called "step-by-step" measures with the slightest hope of success. Past failures, of which I have spoken serve to confirm this belief. And the like situation, as I see it, prevails in every other State in the Union. The same forces and the same misrepresentations which have triumphed here will prevail elsewhere in like endeavors and this will, there, as here, hold for twenty years to come.

Does this mean that we are to remain hopeless and inert? I do not so believe, but it does mean that we have a lot more thinking to do as to the methods.

First, of course, methods of education in economics are to be cultivated.

Next we must develop popular government. Legislatures will be managed by adverse influences for a generation to come, perhaps several generations. The Initiative and Referendum must be materially revised and extended to new states. In California, for instance, it has become practically unworkable.

More importantly, we must study a new approach. I am sure that at some point the citadel of privilege will be found vulnerable. What that point may be I am not wise enough to say today. Want of success in our endeavors proves we have not yet struck the weakest spot.

It may well be that we should attack the great landed estates in city and country. The man who holds 10,000 acres imperfectly cultivated in the country or \$50,000 in land in the cities with only slum dwellings has few sympathizers.

Again there is a natural human feeling that every man is entitled to enough land to live upon and sustain his family. Shall we avail ourselves of this? Would this be departing in any degree from our basic principle of equality in human rights if we were to declare that thus much land every man shall enjoy without paying taxes to the state? Would this not be a true homestead exemption? It is interesting to remember that Lycurgus divided the lands of Sparta into equal holdings—with each man entitled to his own and with no right to transmit by inheritance.

It seems to me quite possible that on some such presentation our theories will offer a new appeal. Then at any rate it would not be said that we sought to take from a man the land on which his house rested. Only the pure land speculator would be left out in the cold.

The popularity of homestead exemption should suggest something to us. To extend its protection to assault from the State as well as to the grasp of creditors has much in its favor. This kind of proposition no householder would fear. Secure in the friendship of the home owner, our further advance should be repaid.

Land and Landless

THE following interesting information about land ownership throughout the world appeared in the December, 1939, issue of *Progress*, a Geogist journal published at Melbourne, Australia:

"In Great Britain when the last survey was made some 40,000 people—one-tenth of 1 per cent—owned nearly three-quarters of the country. Some 44 millions owned no land whatever. In Scotland 96.4 per cent owned no land. Twenty-five landowners claim to own one-third of Scotland. In Wales recently the Marquis of Bute (Scotch) sold 117,000 acres, including half the City of Cardiff for £40,000,000. In Australia 85 per cent of the people are landless. In Italy more than two-thirds of the land is owned by less than 4 per cent of the landowners. One-half of one per cent possess 47 per cent of all the cultivated land. 40,000,000 own no land whatever. In Hungary one-third owns no land. The Esterhazy Estate of 223,287 acres includes 159 villages. In Poland 70 per cent are peasants in appalling conditions. One aristocrat owned 340,000 acres. In Czechoslovakia a land reform administration was appointed to function. Germany has crushed that advance. In Spain before the recent struggle 1 per cent owned 51.5 per cent of the land. 65 per cent owned only 2.2 per cent. Franco supported by Germany and Italy fought to retain these conditions. In Mexico in 1910 2 per cent owned 70 per cent of the land. In the United States 16 people own 47,800,000 acres of timber lands. In Manhattan (New York) 1 per cent own about 85 per cent of the island, valued at 4,022,000,000 dollars (1937). In the United States 75 per cent do not own their own farms. Denmark shows progress. In Denmark only 5 per cent of the farms are held by tenants. The Georgean Movement is strong there. Until interfered with by Japan it was growing in China. In Japan half the arable land is owned by about 1½ per cent of the total population. 22,000,000 try to exist on about one acre per household. The density of population is only half that of England. In Nanking, China, 12,000 delegates were to meet last September to discuss the policy of collecting economic rent and the abolition of taxation. The publication office of their paper was destroyed by the Japanese."

IF I am asked, what system of political philosophy I substituted for that which, as a philosophy, I had abandoned, I answer, "No system: only a conviction that the true system was something much more complex and many-sided than I had previously had any idea of, and that its office was to supply, not a set of model institutions, but principles from which the institutions suitable to any given circumstances might be deduced."

—"Autobiography," by JOHN STUART MILL.

The Sharecroppers

By GRACE ISABEL COLBRON

AT long last, Washington is taking the matter up. A conference has been called, this second week of January,* for a meeting of "all interested groups" to consider the matter of the sharecroppers facing eviction from their homes in Missouri, Arkansas and Mississippi.

These "interested groups" include landowners, sharecroppers, Federal and State officials, and it's an easy guess that the landowners will be the first to present their side of the question, and to get the notice of the press.

It's a full year now, since the sharecroppers sprang into public attention by a revolt of the dispossessed who, nearly one thousand strong, camped beside a public highway in Missouri. That made the front page, that became news. For the moment only, until other front page news supplanted it. But for a few weeks this mass migration of whites and negroes driven from their poor unstable homes by . . . well, the landlords blamed it on "mechanization of farming," and that is the way most of the newspapers presented it to the general public. Said general public, hardened by now to apparently unavoidable conditions of poverty and unemployment, filed this case with the others and forgot about it.

But not everybody forgot. A series of excellent articles in one evening paper, a couple of good novels (particularly "The Sharecropper," by Charlie May Simon) painted the picture in colors of such strength that some of the public at least must have realized this worst of all examples of the evils of landlordism our country has to show. The situation *has* been realized sufficiently to call forth this conference in Washington, which may either bring it all up to the light of public knowledge—or else smother it completely under pages, and hours of official discussion. It is to be expected that the landowners will give the keynote of the discussion, and that the press notices will follow suit. It will be interesting to watch. There may be something more to say about this in subsequent numbers of LAND AND FREEDOM.

Meanwhile, let us take up the matter as it now stands. Who are the sharecroppers? They are—officially—merely tenant farmers in the South Atlantic States, the East South Central States and the West South Central States. The evils of tenant farming in Europe and in other parts of our country are well known by now. It was these evils in Europe that brought thousands of good farm workers into our country as immigrants, hoping to get a little farm of their own. And most of us know how many of these immigrants found themselves again tenants of new landlords in America—and in enough cases, of the same

landlords they had left at home! Small choice of results anyway.

But this sort of tenant farming, bad as it is, is mild, compared to that known as sharecropping, in the cotton lands of the Southern states of East and West. Here the arrangement known as "sharecropping" means that the tenant receives a small share of the cotton he has picked for his landlord, is therefore subject to uncertainty as to cotton prices, and extra deductions from the landlord. Also he has to buy at the "commissary store", which takes what little he has earned, said store being usually run by the landlord. At the very most, the average cash income of sharecropper families in a number of states has, for a long time, been less than \$200 a year. At the end of the year, the cropper generally finds himself in debt to the store-keeper and the landlord.

This was certainly bad enough, but at least the sharecropper had his little home, such as it was, and a feeling of stability with it. Then came the AAA and other well-meant government schemes to help the farm tenant by raising the price of cotton. They helped—in a very few cases. But in by far the greater number of cases, the increased return from cotton prices was absorbed by the landlords, and the sharecropper was worse off than before. Much worse, because the majority of landlords, desirous of capturing the entire benefit of the Federal program, began to change from a sharecropping system to a day-labor system. In other words, the sharecroppers, who had lived up till then on the big plantations in homes that were quite rickety, but still their own, now became mere day laborers with no right to anything but the low wage of a Southern farm day worker, for a few weeks, or at most a few months of work in the year.

This, finally, brought about the mass revolt that won newspaper notices (for a week or so at least) for the hundreds of former sharecroppers camped beside the Missouri highways. Work was found for some of them, charity helped a few others, about five hundred were placed in a better organized camp, largely by the efforts of a negro preacher who undertook to arouse public sympathy.

But sympathy is not the final remedy for a situation growing worse each day. And blaming the plight of dispossessed, wandering, homeless farm workers on "mechanization of farm work" is not an explanation, nor is it a solution of the problem.

It will be interesting to see how the Congressional Conference in Washington works out this problem. What solution will that Conference find for the ever-growing troubles resulting from the fact that a few may possess the earth needed by all?

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**A Free Copy of LAND AND FREEDOM
is an invitation to become a subscriber.**

*This article was submitted early in January of this year.—Ed.

The College of Tomorrow

By J. H. McMIX

A LARGE corporate enterprise bought space in a Metropolitan daily newspaper to advertise an idea. They said: "We must do more along the lines of vocational education and adaption to prepare youth for the world of tomorrow. We must make it possible for more of our deserving young people to attend institutions of higher learning—an enrollment of 1,250,000 students out of a population of 130,000,000 is not enough." Two thoughts are here conveyed; one of practical preparation of hand and mind, and the other stressing a quantitative increase in the desire for education.

Ezra Pound, considered by many to be an authority on education, tells us that, "real education must ultimately be limited to men who insist on knowing; the rest is mere sheep herding." We have now before us two opinions, differing, but not necessarily in conflict. We cannot be certain what Pound means by "real education." If fundamental economics, taught with the same intensity as other major studies, is included, we cannot quarrel on that point. But when we think of having encountered college graduates, who claim the distinction of having majored in economics and still have but scant acquaintance with fundamental axioms and definitions, we must confess to some amazement.

The College of Today finds it difficult to abandon the "sheep herding" theory of education. Very, little if any, encouragement is offered to students for constructive thinking. Rarely does it profit a student to question the ideas of his Professor or the adopted textbook. The standing of a student in his class depends largely on his ability to hastily scribble notes in lecture periods and if endowed with a fair memory, he earns his mark accordingly. A parrot can be taught to say many things, but does he know what he is talking about? Scientific economists will continue to find "sheep herding" in education difficult of acceptance.

Still another viewpoint is obtained from a recent report of the Carnegie Foundation on Pennsylvania Schools. It advances the theory that we are now educating the wrong people in college; that there are too many young people of high academic calibre who are denied the opportunity because of economic circumstances. Something might be done to induce the Carnegie Foundation to recognize that the circumstances complained of may be directly attributed to the sort of economics with which the student is confronted upon his entry in the halls of higher education. The problem, in its entirety, cannot be sidestepped, nor should it be dismissed lightly.

Real conflict of opinion regarding education in colleges does not begin until qualitative methods are under discussion. It may, perhaps, be just as well that the percentage of college students to population is low, when

we consider the product upon emerging. If the College of Today persists in disregarding economic fundamentals, little hope can be held out for the youth girded with a parchment issued by the College of Tomorrow.

A recent issue of the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* suggests succinctly the trend of our educational problem: "As goes this throng of youth, so, in the years to come, goes the nation." Could the *Bulletin* editors have been thinking about the attacks to which both Harvard and Yale have been subjected for keeping "radical" professors? The University of Oklahoma is on the gridiron for teaching Communism. The assumption that the teaching of all doctrines, radical and conservative alike, is undemocratic, is wholly incompatible with democratic tradition. Tolerance of ideas is the essence of democracy.

It is the business of universities to teach Communism, Fascism, Bolshevism, Mormonism, Mesmerism, Republicanism and any other ism—but without fear or favor. The sin is in showing favoritism for *any* ism. How can a student be expected to make comparisons of philosophies and ideologies if only one is taught to the exclusion of all the other theories for social betterment? Under the direction of impartial tutors a student may accept or reject a point of view entirely in accordance with his ability to reason and differentiate. It is a flaw in reasoning to ask that no disturbing issues be touched upon in a university course; or to assume that students should emerge from college with exactly the same ideas with which they entered. Such a process would hardly be education.

The most far-reaching influence of education may be said to be qualitative rather than quantitative. The importance of a nation in its influence for good upon other nations depends upon the quality of thought and action of the people constituting such a nation. A single directing force may accomplish the greatest good—or the greatest harm. An Emerson, a Whitman, a Jefferson, can by the very force of their ideas affect their contemporaries as well as bequeath the quality of their spirit to succeeding ages.

The College of Tomorrow may well heed the need for the control of emotion. We are too often confronted with a theory of education which maintains that the latest fact conquers, when in truth we really live in a world in which the predominant emotion conquers. Business is built up or destroyed, laws are enforced or flouted, lives are redeemed or wrecked, all by love and hate. The college that does not recognize the importance of emotional training is derelict in its duty.

It is a large order to assign the responsibility for the present day curricula, for the selection and limitation of text books, and the methods employed in the propagation of a higher education. Many people who cherish their independence of thought and action have been greatly concerned about the possible influences which could be exerted by the creators of foundations and endowments. It is a serious matter to file an indictment of subservience against the faculty of any college. But what is one to

think, when confronted so repeatedly with the consistent refusal of faculties to accept and expound simple truths?

There evidently must be a vast number of teachers in our universities who are obliged to adopt the lines of least resistance, in order to assure their tenure. In the business-world, such individuals are characterized as "yes-men," and they seem somehow, not only to get along, but manage to get on, as well. But they never become outstanding personalities, such as we are so sorely in need of, both in the business-world and in our college faculties.

Who knows how significant may be the power of external influences? A man whose testimony cannot be disregarded and who has a broad experience as a college teacher and professor, recently remarked in the course of a public address: "I witnessed many honorary degrees conferred on philanthropically inclined gentlemen with profound citations; and I have heard those old rascals expound *their* theories of political economy, which were wholly incompatible with recognized authorities." All of which only adds to the problem, and emphasizes the injunction that it *cannot be sidestepped nor should it be dismissed lightly*.

Another task for the College of Tomorrow is to recognize that the need for straight thinking in economics is at least as important as in other fields of learning. That this is not yet recognized is well illustrated by the following story.

A small group of college professors were discussing the proceedings after one of the sessions of a New York State Conference of Single Taxers, back in 1914. They happened to be there, because the meetings were held in an upper New York University, through the courtesy of its head. Among those present was the Professor of Economics and the Professor of Engineering, who, much to the consternation of the former, gave his hearty approval to the proceedings. The Professor of Economics, in the most gentlemanly manner, touched with unmistakable signs of sarcasm, could not understand how such a highly trained technician could subscribe to such views. It was unbelievable, he said, that such an outstanding Engineer could not see through the fallacy of the proposals.

The Engineer maintained a dignified calm while the Economist was verbally chastising him. Finally the Engineer replied: "You see, my dear Professor, it does not matter a great deal what you teach *your* students. If they do not understand their text-books, they soon forget that they ever took up economics. If, perchance, what you teach, should permeate their skulls, and even if it turns out to be wrong, nothing very serious can result which cannot eventually be corrected. But in my department, it is entirely different. My greatest problem is to teach my students to think straight. And the penalty for their failure, or inability to think straight, is that the bridge will fall."

Prophetic Words

I CAME upon a sentence which I submit is prophetic in high degree:

"Is it too soon to hope that it may be the mission of this Republic to unite all nations of English speech, whether they grow beneath the Northern Star or Southern Cross, in a league, which, by insuring justice, promoting peace and liberating commerce, will be the forerunner of a world-wide federation that will make war the possibility of a past age and turn to works of usefulness the enormous forces now dedicated to destruction?"

Those words were spoken in San Francisco by Henry George in a Fourth of July oration, 1877. They are prophetic in their insight and prophetic in their appeal.

Shall we sit still indefinitely and let the world drift with all which that may mean, or shall we concern ourselves with the task of leadership in a broken, impoverished, and war-torn world? Shall we lead, or shall we sit and watch and wait and take the consequences?

—DR. NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

Natural Government*

By T. E. McMILLAN

AS one who had put in ten or more years of hard and enthusiastic work on behalf of social justice, holy justice, honest government, an equitable distribution of wealth, aiming to relieve man of the fierce, tigerish struggle for mere material sustenance, the conviction slowly dawned upon me that we shall never get this vision realized until we adopt the form of government fashioned for us by the Creator.

The word "factitious": "artificial, as contrasted with natural; sham, unreal, spurious," is a good description of our forms of government in the world today, and while we have them it will be useless for the world's statesmen to "reason together," for such conferences could only be like a modern Tower of Babel. Let us, in chastened mood, observe Nature's method of government, that is, the divine way.

We actually did adopt God's form of government when we first came out of the jungle into the clearing, but we have, in the complexity of progress, got right away from our natural social foundations. So we are back in the jungle. When we adopt the system God made for us, we shall have the master key to the solution of the social problems that now baffle and break the hearts of high-minded men and women. The Natural Laws are all simple, direct, unchangeable. By obeying them we shall come to the Kingdom on Earth, and by no other way. They are of the Kingdom. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness" (that is, rightness, justice), "and all these things" (material well-being) "shall be added unto you."

* From "This Struggle," reviewed in this issue.

Private Enterprise

BY LOUIS WALLIS

(Abridged)*

PRIVATE enterprise is the most precious economic force in civilization! Everything possible must be done to safeguard it against Communistic-Socialist onslaught and Nazi reactionism—both of which are now aiming deadly blows, not only against freedom in our country, but seeking to pull down the entire business regime of the world.

The only constructive proposal to safeguard private enterprise,—the only logical pathway of advance between the communistic "left" and the reactionary "right,"—is offered by the simple and easily effected program of Georgeism.

OUR FEUDAL SYSTEM

Georgeism seeks *the liberation of business* from certain feudalistic restraints embedded in the laws which we inherit from Europe. Already endorsed in principle by a heavy majority of the London County Council, and by two hundred and thirty municipal councils throughout England, Scotland and Wales, Georgeism is the latest phase of the struggle made through centuries to establish democracy and secure emancipation from kingly and aristocratic tyranny.

Our intolerable fiscal system, which threatens to smother private enterprise, is not native to America. It is a European invention. It was contrived long ago through the influence of the European ground-landlord class, whose ancestors and predecessors acquired the soil of every country in the Old World by military power and conquest. Let us therefore briefly consider the nature of the malevolent force which bears down with steadily increasing weight upon American business.

All governments in Europe were based at the start upon military adventure,—of which a good example is the Norman conquest of England. The conquerors of each country divided the *ground* among themselves, and thus gave rise to ground-landlord aristocracies enthroned above the peasant-masses in every community.

From this exalted position, the upper classes looked down upon the peasantry with disdain. They compelled the farm workers to pay *land-rent* for the soil, and also *taxes* to support the State.

In the midst of this agricultural world, a gradual up-growth of commerce and manufacture took place. Slowly and almost imperceptibly, the business class was born. And the ground-landlords looked with the same contempt upon business men as upon farmers. The growing tax burdens of Europe were piled more and more upon manu-

facture and commerce; *while at the same time, the landed estates and ground rental incomes of the aristocracy were wholly or partly exempted from taxation.* In other words, the European fiscal method is to *penalize* productive capital by heavy taxes, while *promoting* speculation in land, as well as *protecting* ground-rent as a perquisite of special privilege.

The European, aristocratic method of taxation was brought into America during our colonial period; and, with modifications of detail, it has persisted until now. That all kinds of productive enterprise—trade, manufacture, etc., are being smothered with burdensome taxation, is a fact which the reader probably realizes from personal knowledge. The reader also knows from personal observation that city lots, and vast amounts of ground in the rural districts and the immediate suburbs of all municipalities, are held idle *on a scale of assessment much lower than the tax rate upon private enterprise of all kinds.*

This problem was not so pressing at earlier periods of American history as it is today, for the reason that the burden of taxation was much *lighter* than it is now, and also because a big western frontier of territory open to emigration had the effect of keeping down the rental and selling price of land. But the silent and sinister operation of European tax methods in America has actively promoted speculative land-holding in this country; so that, gradually and imperceptibly, all unused ground of any promise whatever,—from coast to coast—has been taken up to idle holdings, while at the same time, the main burden of taxation has been thrown upon private enterprise of all kinds.

Thus, the total structure of American business—from coast to coast—finds itself in practically the same economic position as that of European industry. In other words, just because *vacant* lands, and the ground rentals of *occupied* sites, are assessed in lower degree than productive capital,—*just for this reason, private enterprise the country over is compelled to carry the double burden of high taxes and heavy ground-rent.* The problem is a mere matter of economic arithmetic.

We need more production of goods, more housing, more employment of labor, and greater purchasing power among the masses of our people. But in the present economic and fiscal set-up, the cards are all stacked against the widest and freest use of capital in productive enterprise. Production is *over-taxed*; while the mere holding of ground (whether vacant or leased) is comparatively *under-taxed*. Hence, there emerges into view the phenomenon of *ground-rent* available for appropriation by land holders as an unearned income parasitically burdening the entire industrial structure.

THE GEORGEIST SOLUTION

To relieve business enterprise from this intolerable economic pressure, Georgeism proposes to shift the burden

* *Private Enterprise*, a new thirty-four page pamphlet, is now available. We recommend it for distribution among business men. See advertisement on back page.—ED .

of taxation gradually from productive capital (i.e., improvements, machinery, merchandise, etc.) to the ground rentals of land *already in use* and to the value of land *held out of use on speculation*. That this proposal does not aim simply to tax vacant land alone, should be emphatically noted.

Georgeism therefore proposes to *reverse* the aristocratic, lop-sided, European fiscal methods which now penalize American productive capital, which promote land speculation, and which protect unearned ground rentals from specially heavy taxation. The reversal is to be accomplished by assessing land in one column, and improvements, etc., in a separate parallel column; shifting the tax burden from productive enterprise to the rent of occupied sites, as well as to the value of ground held vacant on speculation.

Georgeism, then, is a declaration that European fiscal methods are incompatible with private enterprise and popular government, and that democracy cannot survive indefinitely against the pressure of aristocratic taxation. *To oppose Georgeism is, by implication, to favor the fiscal system devised by ground landlords of the Old World and foisted upon America during the colonial period when this country was in leading strings to Europe.*

THE ERRORS OF MARXISM

According to Karl Marx in his "Communist Manifesto" (1848) and the first volume of his "Kapital" (1867); and according to his disciples who are known as socialists and communists; and according to many "intelligentsia" who do not call themselves communists or socialists *but who promote Marxist ways of thought*;—according to the ideology of this movement, *modern "capitalism" represents the victory of the "bourgeoisie" over the ground-landlord aristocracy of Europe.*

Marx wrote his "Kapital" in England, where he had found refuge after being driven out of continental Europe. But England gives the lie to his "Communist Manifesto" and to the first volume of "Kapital" by the very facts of her history. Becoming "the work-shop of the world," England, for that reason, became the pattern for modern Parliamentary Democracy. And what is the essence of legislative popular government? The modern British Parliament has grown up at the point of a long-drawn-out compromise between ground-landlord interests, represented since the seventeenth century by the Tory party, and commercial-manufacturing interests represented by the Whig-Liberal party. This compromise finds no explicit recognition in substantive law. It was a tacit, under-cover agreement by which the powerful elite owners of the island gave increasing parliamentary representation and political power to the "middle class," and finally to the laboring class, on the understanding that fiscal burdens were to be laid more and more upon *industry*, while at the same time, taxes were to bear more lightly in proportion upon ground-rents of leased land as well

as upon the value of land held out of use on speculation and in private parties and hunting preserves. This compromise came silently to a climax under Chamberlain, who "de-rated," or untaxed, all vacant land in Britain.

These facts and their economic implications find no place in the standard ideology of Marx and his followers, whether called socialists, communists, or by any other label.

The innocent reader of Marx's *Kapital* (vol. I), or of Schuman's *International Politics*, would not suppose that the system so glibly called "capitalism" is affected by, or has anything to do with, such trifling—such mundane—such insignificant matters as taxation, ground-rent, enclosure of "common" lands and the speculative withholding of city lots. *These matters complicate the entire system and process of modern industry; and yet they find no mention in the picture of what Prof. Schuman calls the "contemporary tragedy" of capitalism* (p. 525). The ultimate conclusion of Marxism, therefore, is that the entire situation discloses a simple, open-and-shut issue between the "bourgeoisie," on the one hand, and the "working class," on the other. Our old friends, "Capital and Labor"!

Marxism, in fact, got away to a wrong start by underwriting the uncritical, indiscriminate war between laboring people and their employers.

Ignoring the specific issues raised above, Professor Shuman makes no reference to Henry George and his writings, while giving ample recognition to Marx. Thus George and the proposals of "Progress and Poverty" are beneath notice in a large volume on contemporary politics.

On the other hand, many Marxists, instead of ignoring the specific issues raised by Henry George, declare condescendingly that Georgeism is valid as far as it goes. Thus, Norman Thomas proclaims that the ground-rent of land is the greatest legalized racket! *Yet socialists and communists, and all persons who adhere to Marxian ideology, say that if taxation is transferred from productive capital to ground-rent and to vacant sites, the big private capitalist will have power to exploit labor, oppress the public and put other capitalists off the map.*

Georgeism plants itself squarely across this current Marxist assumption by pointing out that *untaxed* capital, on an earth set free of speculation and monopoly by the taxation of both used and unused ground, *will be regulated by free competition for the first time in history*. Productive capital instead of being simultaneously penalized by heavy taxes and compelled to earn ground-rent, will be encouraged by fiscal exemption and by the break-up of land monopoly. Ground-rent will be absorbed as public revenue in lieu of taxes on production. Capital will thus flow more freely into productive use, will assist in the employment of more labor and the creation of more goods, with augmented buying power among the masses of the people.

The Marxist apparently is unable to rid himself of

mental habits acquired in a monopolistic world where the ground is undertaxed, while capital and merchandise are heavily over-taxed. Here is the crux of the argument between Marxist and Georgeist. Large aggregates of capital can exploit labor, oppress the public, and put other capital off the map only in a regime such as now prevails, *where unused land is held on speculation in city and country; where occupied sites are ground-rented; and where industry is compelled to carry a burdensome tax-load.*

Marxist assumptions could not run in a Georgeist economy; because a capitalist who deliberately undertook to be oppressive could be liquidated by competitive capital in a free market, on the ground of service as against exploitation.

All Georgeists freely admit that labor is exploited by the present economic set-up; and consequently the huge productive mechanism of modern industry is, to a large degree, "unearned" by its ownership. But at the same time, Georgeism declares that whatever may be the origin of capital, it should be untaxed in order to be freely employed in private enterprise under conditions which create a rising demand for labor everywhere. The danger attaching to capital under prevailing fiscal methods is the fact of its operation within the terms of a *restricted economy* which not only gives the owners of capital too much control over labor, but, at the same time, blockades the onward march of business itself by unemployment, low buying power, and periodical "crises."

Privately owned capital-equipment possesses no arbitrary control over labor and the general public. When working people, for instance, are thrown out of employment by installation of new productive machinery, *capital seems to deprive labor of the opportunity to earn a living.* But labor-saving machinery would not appear so despotic if land monopoly, together with over-taxation of capital and merchandise, were not artificially restricting the progress of industry and limiting the amount of employment. In other words, new kinds of machinery would not spell tragedy to labor *if capital in general were untaxed and had freer access to land throughout the nation.* For in a Georgeist regime (with no fiscal penalty on productive capital; with ground-rent socialized by taxation; and with speculative landholding impossible), the discharge of workers at a given point would tend to be followed by re-employment elsewhere.

PALLIATIVES ARE FUTILE

When the crash of 1929 came, the Republican party, after being in power for a decade, was helpless. The Democratic party presently took over the government; and while its policy has had no effect in relation to the fundamental problem, it has fed the poor by taxing the rich, and has prevented an uprising of the masses. But while the "New Deal" is only a stop-gap, its Republican

opponents are paralyzed by their inability to offer constructive criticism in a time of great national emergency. The Republican politicians, in fact, are showing up as poorly as did their predecessors the Whigs in the days of Webster, when that party was on the way out. If the Republicans carried the country, they would have to continue most of the New Deal, or confront a situation which nobody would care to face. There is no constructive statesmanship in either of the big parties; and the country will have nothing to do with Marxism or Naziism.

"But," says a reader, "suppose the Republican party should come into power and reduce taxes fifty per cent. Would not that program be constructive?"

Such a questioner would do well to observe that while Republican Congressmen are quick to demand cuts in expenditures for the New Deal, they are quick to vote increased appropriations for a gigantic navy. But suppose, for the sake of argument, that a fifty per cent cut in federal taxes were actually effected by the Republicans, or by any other party! *The resulting stimulus to capital investment would infallibly (as in the period before 1929) promote inflation of land values and ground rents all over the country, thus burdening industry with liabilities equal to, or exceeding, the tax reduction; and the result would be another "crash."*

No policy will now give relief except one which goes to the root of our economic problem, reversing our lopsided, aristocratic, European-made system of taxation by transferring fiscal burdens from productive capital and merchandise to the ground rentals of occupied sites and to the value of unused land. This policy would not only encourage private enterprise, the most precious economic force in human society; but it would create a growing demand for labor, a consequent reduction in "relief," an increase in wages and purchasing power; *while at the same time, it would call into existence an immensely greater structure of industry and property which would more equitably bear the expenses of government. There is no other way out of our present confusion.*

ANYONE who really fears a revolution in America ought to re-read Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," one of the great social documents of all time. . . . I first read "Progress and Poverty" thirty years ago. . . . In all these years I have never known his premises to be shaken in the least.

—KATHLEEN NORRIS.

PEOPLE do not argue with the teaching of George; they simply do not know it. The teaching of George is irresistibly convincing in its simplicity and clearness. **He who becomes acquainted with it cannot but agree.**

—LEO TOLSTOY.

Bummer and Lazarus

By JOS. W. FOLEY

THOUGH this age has been rightly called "The Age of Discovery," it so very seldom happens that the man in the street enters the ranks of the discoverer that the finding of even a small "nugget" gives a pleasing sensation of triumph. When the discovery is associated with Henry George the pleasure is increased; and the increase is greater when it throws light on some statement of his.

In Chapter V of the First Book of "The Science of Political Economy," Henry George writes:

"'Bummer' and his client 'Lazarus' were as well known as any two-legged San Franciscan some thirty-five or forty years ago, and until their skins had been affectionately stuffed, they were 'deadheads' at free lunches, in public conveyances and at public functions."

I suppose many readers, like myself, have often wondered who these two animals were. Not that their identification would add one iota to the sum of human happiness, or assist in the study of Political Economy; but the passage quoted above becomes intensified by knowing something about the animals themselves. And behind the animals lies a moving story of kindness.

Some ten years before Henry George reached San Francisco, another wanderer had landed there. His name was Joshua Abraham Norton, and he was an English Jew. He was about thirty years old, and his dress and bearing marked him out as being somewhat eccentric. This did not prevent him from prospering, for within a few months he was the occupant of a large building on one of the main streets, and advertised himself as "J. A. Norton, Merchant."

In less than five years this original building had increased fourfold, and Norton had become the owner of several others. For him, there was no need to run around seeking odd jobs at typesetting; for him no expeditions to Oregon or the Frazer River, chasing elusive gold and coming back "dead broke"; for him no going out to borrow five dollars from the first man he met.

Norton was indeed a "forty-niner," and he had the "forty-niner's" luck. "His name was writ in the list of 'our substantial citizens'; he had the courtship of men and the flattery of women"; but I doubt if he had "the best pew in the church and the personal regard of the eloquent clergymen."

Then by one swift stroke of fortune came disaster. The fire of 1853 almost blotted out the city. All Norton's fortune went up in flames, and heaps of ashes marked the places where but yesterday stood his substantial shops.

Stunned by the blow, he wandered aimlessly around, making no attempt to retrieve his losses; and when his friends, fearing suicide, offered their help, he did not

even answer, but walked away dazed with grief.

For a time he disappeared; and we can only picture some kindly soul looking after his wants and nursing him back to something like sanity. But when he reappeared he had raised himself to royalty! He was "Emperor of the United States of America" with the title "Norton the First." He announced that this honor had been conferred upon him by the state legislature, and later on, he added "Protector of Mexico."

It was well for the "Emperor" that he lived in such a backward age; for had he issued his proclamation today, a jury of "scientists" would have sat on him and discovered that he had a "split" mind, or that his hormones were not behaving themselves, and his royal palace would have been a lunatic asylum. But in those days he was accepted as one of God's afflicted, and treated as such.

His next proclamation declared that his subjects must pay taxes for the royal upkeep; and this was followed by "demand notes," which he served himself, acting as his own collector, and giving receipts bearing the royal seal. Fortunately for the San Franciscans, there was no national debt, and his entourage consisted of two collie dogs "Bummer" and "Lazarus," who followed him everywhere.

His "demands" were never excessive, generally two or three dollars, and when they were not met, which was very seldom, he threatened to "levy attachment," which soon brought in the cash.

Soon he came to be regarded as a fixture, and for nearly thirty years his claims were seldom disputed. As Henry George says, he and his dogs "were deadheads at free lunches, in public conveyances and at public functions."

On one occasion, travelling by train, he entered the dining-car and demanded a meal appropriate for Royalty. The steward, not recognizing his royal visitor, whose shabby clothes did not suggest a royal exchequer, took no notice of him; whereupon the steward was royally berated, and the rail oad company was threatened with the loss o its franchise.

It was only after some of the passengers had told the steward to fill the order and present the bill to them, and the steward had tendered a profuse apology, that the royal indignation subsided. Shortly after this the rail-road company sent the "Emperor" a pass available on any of its trains and dining-cars.

"We, Norton I, Dei Gratia Emperor of the United States of America and Protector of Mexico, do command that the steamship company for denying us a free passage to Sacramento be blocked on the river by the revenue cutter 'Shubric' till the rebels surrender."

This was a proclamation issued after a steamboat captain, unaware that he was carrying royalty, demanded payment of Norton's fare. Again his "Majesty" was acknowledged,

and he received a life-pass on all the company's boats.

The thought arises, was this revenue cutter, "Shubric," the same ship as that which brought George to California? It is very likely; for in one of his letters he says: "The Light-House steamer 'Shubric' will sail in a couple of weeks for California, where she is to be employed;" and there is a description of her in "The Life of Henry George" which makes it certain. "In addition to her regular duties of supplying lighthouses and maintaining the buoyage along the West coast, she was intended to give protection to government property along the seashore of Oregon and Washington from the depredations of Indian tribes, and was armed with six brass guns and a novel contrivance for squirting scalding water on the redskins when at close quarters."

Norton the First was "dear cousin" to Victoria of England and Francis Joseph of Austria, but scorned to hold converse with that upstart Napoleon III, and when the latter was rightly beaten by Norton's "dear cousin," the King of Prussia, San Francisco was placarded with a proclamation of rejoicing.

He did not disdain to take an interest in local politics, notwithstanding his connections with Europe's monarchs, and for twenty years seldom missed a session of the legislature, having his own special chair in the senate house. And when Grant was seeking nomination for president for the third time, the "Emperor" sent him a personal telegram commanding him to withdraw.

In 1868 Norton suffered his second great loss, for in that year died Bummer and Lazarus, and the Emperor was bereft of his court.

George refers to the dogs as "Bummer" and his *client* "Lazarus," and at first one is puzzled by the expression. But when one remembers the exactitude of George's language the difficulty disappears. For instance, many readers of "Progress and Poverty" are disturbed when they read "it is only necessary to *confiscate* rent," for there seems to be something unjust in the word "confiscate." But when its real meaning is shown to be "to put into the public treasury" the injustice vanishes. Again, in "The Science of Political Economy," he says "the confusions as to value which in the minds of the students of the scholastic economy have *perplexed the idea* of wealth." We are accustomed to thinking of the *mind* being perplexed; but when we discover that the word means "to make difficult to be understood," we realize George's grasp of the English language. And so with the word "client," which originally meant a dependent, or a follower; we can picture "Lazarus" following the lead of the more active or intelligent, or perhaps older, "Bummer".

But whichever it may have been, their funeral was attended by a "concourse of San Franciscans on foot and in carriage," and as George says "their skins were affectionately stuffed," and, it may be, preserved to this day in a public museum.

Their loss however, did not deter the "Emperor" from performing his duties, and he continued issuing proclamations till 1879 when at the close of that year his "subjects" were called upon to offer prayers of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the blessings of the year that was closing!

Did he know? Could he have numbered those blessings? Had he heard of a book which had been brought to birth only a few months before? We can picture Henry George reading the placard, and fervently responding to its call.

But the American Empire was nearing its close, for Norton died on the 8th of January, 1880, after an illness of only a week. His passing might have been that of an orthodox Emperor, for the newspapers published long accounts of his life, and "more than 10,000 people, from working men to millionaires, and including over 2,000 women and children, followed his corpse to the Masonic Cemetery." This was no mere theatrical spectacle, but their sorrow was sincere and genuine; and the Pacific Union Club bore the whole expense.

Food for reflection; and questions many. But only one will suffice. George has made the dogs immortal, but what of the man?

Here, one would think, is a character which he might have used to illustrate many of his points; but unless it is in some of George's earlier and less known writings, Norton is not mentioned.

It is quite possible that there are still living, "old-timers" who can remember both Norton and George, and may be able to say if George ever spoke of the "Emperor." But whether or no, linking the two together has been an interesting and delightful task.

On Masks

THE Brooklyn Museum has been exhibiting a remarkable collection of masks of all types and races. The exhibition was labelled, "Masks—Barbaric and Civilized." One might see the witch-doctor masks of the African Negro, theatrical masks of the Orient, ceremonial masks of the American Indian.

Interesting is the fact that one present-day mask of the "civilized" world is—a gas-mask.

That reminds us of Thomas Hardy's verse:

"Peace upon earth!" was said. We sing it,
And pay a million priests to bring it.
After two thousand years of mass
We've got as far as poison gas.

One of the reasons we have to don gas-masks today may be that our economists, and leaders in high places are wearing masks similar to the primitive witch-doctor masks.

One word in defense of the witch-doctor—there was no one to tell him better.

Signs of Progress

GEORGEIST ACTIVITIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Henry George School of Social Science

AT the headquarters of the School, at 30 East 29th Street, New York City, a step has been taken which ranks with the two or three major events in the history of the School.

In 1933, the School acquired its own headquarters. In 1938 it moved to a large building of five stories. Only the first three floors could be used. Now, in 1940, the building is to be completed and the top floors are to be used and filled with students.

Mr. and Mrs. Francis Neilson have generously offered to donate one-third of the expense of equipping these upper floors, providing the other two-thirds can be raised in contributions. The response so far has been heartening.

When the building is completed, it will consist of four large floors of classes, filled with students every day, and in addition, there will be offices, library, students' meeting room and cafeteria. The School is certainly the answer to what Harry Gunnison Brown calls "the void in college curricula."

The building is expected to be completed by the Fall, for classes beginning in October. In the meanwhile, Spring classes open at the School the week of February 5. An enrollment of 1,500 has already been reported, and more are expected. Especially encouraging has been the response of high-school students, to whom particular attention is now being paid.

Another interesting development is worthy of notice. Secretary Teresa McCarthy is now engaged in traveling to the various extensions of the School in different cities, to help build them up, and establish firmer contact with headquarters.

The vacancy thus created has been filled by Edwin Ross, Jr., of Arden, Delaware, who is now functioning as assistant to the Director. Mr. Ross has had a Georgeist background from infancy, and is fully equipped in his own right to become the Director's assistant. His uncle was Will Ross, who did yeoman service in the Californian "Great Adventure" campaign. The new assistant was formerly an actor in Walter Hampden's troupe. He was also one of the first speakers at the School in 1932.

The Sunday forums continue to attract new people to the School. At the one held on January 21, there was a debate between Charles Abrams and Alexander Goldfinger on the question, "Can public housing eliminate the slum problem?" Mr. Abrams, who took the affirmative, is a lecturer at the New School for Social Research,

consultant for the United States Housing Authority, and author of the recent book, "Revolution in Land." Mr. Goldfinger, who took the negative, is a lawyer and an instructor in the Henry George School, Newark, N. J., extension.

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES

More than seven hundred graduates received their diplomas on Tuesday evening, January 30, 1940. The affair was held in the Auditorium of the Engineering Societies Building in New York City. John B. English, a former graduate and now an instructor at the School, presided.

The principal address was delivered by Grover C. Loud, who was introduced as a Harvard graduate, an officer in the American Army during the World War, a former instructor in various American Universities, a former Professor of English Literature, and now on the editorial staff of the *New York Times*. Mr. Loud related a number of his experiences while on the faculties of recognized institutions of higher education and was convinced more than ever that nowhere can a student attain the mastery of the science of political economy as extensively and completely, as at the courses given by the Henry George School.

Jules Guedalia, a "Wall Street man," who originally came to the School to scoff and remained to study and become an instructor, delivered a scholarly address. He stressed the importance of the recognition of equality in contradistinction to the present chaotic monopolistic control as exercised by a minority.

Frank Chodorov, director of the School, also spoke. He took for his theme, "Maintaining our Amateur Standing." He pointed out the importance of directing the work solely from the standpoint of an institution of learning. He declared that the phenomenal growth and future hope for expansion is solely dependent upon a continuation of this policy.

Several of the graduates were called upon to speak, and all of them testified to the revolution in thought they underwent upon studying at the School, and all of them professed that they were now dedicated to the cause of economic enlightenment.

The "old-timers" who were present at the meeting were quite impressed. One of them remarked, "What a sight this is to behold! We are witnessing a revitalization of the noblest cause yet evolved to benefit mankind."

SOCIETY FOR LONG ISLAND GEORGEISTS

The fifth Reunion Dinner-Talk-Fest of the Society was held January 4, at Jamaica, Long Island. About one hundred attended, including teachers, new and old graduates, and friends. Among the speakers were Gilbert M. Tucker, author of "The Path to Prosperity," who spoke on the difference between New Deal and Natural Law; Robert Clancy, who told the group about Oscar H. Geiger, Founder of the Henry George School, and about the ideas and efforts behind the educational movement; and Senor Rogelio Casas Cadilla of Spain, former editor of *La Reforma Sociale*, who prepared an address on the economy of Spain, which was read by Mr. C. O. Steele. (The address appears elsewhere in this issue.) Senor Casas also informed the group that the Georgeists in Spain are left unmolested by both Fascists and Communists. As long as they keep to their work of education, they may influence both sides, without being oppressed by either.

Dr. S. A. Schneidman, of the Society, has done much to build up the Long Island extension of the School. Following is a list of classes, with their opening dates, being held in Long Island:

Thursday, Feb. 1, 7:45 P. M., Sewanhakee High School, Floral Park.

Friday, February 2, 8 P. M., Flushing Y. M. C. A., Flushing.

Monday, February 5, 7:45 P. M., Andrew Jackson High School, St. Albans.

Tuesday, February 6, 8 P. M., Public School No. 109, Queens Village.

Wednesday, February 7, 7:45 P. M., Jamaica High School, Jamaica.

Wednesday, February 7, 8 P. M., Highland Park Y. M. C. A., Brooklyn.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Spring term of the Henry George School in Chicago opens with an imposing list of classes, both in the fundamental course in "Progress and Poverty," and in the advanced courses. Some of these courses are held at the Chicago headquarters, 139 North Clark Street, and many are held throughout the city and suburbs, in libraries, churches, schools and community houses.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Through the efforts of Grace Johnston, Helen Denbigh, and the Henry George Fellowship of Berkeley, classes are being conducted in two Y. M. C. A.'s, three high schools and one community house, beginning the week of February 12.

Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

WINTER REPORT BY V. G. PETERSON

ALASKAN PIONEER—The first Alaskan magazine devoted to the Philosophy of Freedom, has made its debut. *Frontier*, edited and published by Jim Busey, came from the press on January 22.

Last issue we told you about this ambitious young man who, through his magazine, hopes to mould the thoughts and actions of his countrymen. In a letter received today Mr. Busey says, "*Frontier* is bigger and better than originally expected. It has thirty-two pages, and although this first number appears on newsprint, I expect to get out the next on book paper and in such attractive form as to put us right up with the rest of them." Soon Mr. Busey will run, serially, a condensed version of "Progress and Poverty." Jim Busey deserves our assistance. He needs editorial material, articles, and, yes, a little financial help would not be amiss. Address your letters care of this Foundation or send them direct to Independence, Wasilla, Alaska. Let's pull together on this.

GEORGEIST NOEL—Our Christmas campaign was successful. Several hundred books, a thousand pamphlets and eight-hundred-and-fifty calendars were distributed during the holiday season. The calendar, an innovation, proved popular. From all over the country letters of commendation have poured in. One man, sending us a check to cover his purchase, said that he esteemed it a privilege to be able to purchase this handsome and effective piece of propaganda. "It should gladden the heart of every true Georgeist," he said, "to see this calendar on the wall." In homes and offices, libraries and other public buildings, these are hanging, to remain, we hope, throughout the whole of 1940.

NEW LITERATURE—During February and on through March and April, we expect to spend considerable time and money in the circularizing of a large group of high school teachers. Special material has been prepared for distribution to this important group and through our efforts we hope to influence the manner in which they will, in future, teach economics to Young America.

A new edition of "An Appreciation of Henry George," by John Dewey, has just come from our press. This beautiful tribute, which contains the often quoted passage, "It would require less than the fingers of the two hands to enumerate those who from Plato down rank with Henry George," appears now in convenient and attractive folder form. Single copies are two cents each. A dollar, because of decreased shipping costs, will purchase seventy-five.

"Why Penalize Building," a report of a special committee headed by W. R. B. Willcox, to the American Institute of Architects, is again available. And what

will be good news to those who like to purchase this effective pamphlet in quantities, is that the present lot runs considerably cheaper than the last. Single copies are five cents. A dollar will purchase twenty-five.

OUR BRITISH BRETHREN—From England we have succeeded in importing a small quantity of Leo Tolstoy's "A Great Iniquity." Twenty-nine pages, this booklet which sells at five cents, provides an hour or more of most enjoyable reading.

Also from London comes another five cent pamphlet, "Scotland and Scotsmen," an address which Henry George delivered in the City Hall of Glasgow, February, 1884.

Speaking of London, for the benefit of those who have wondered how our English workers fare during these trying days of war, we repeat here a portion of a recent letter from Mr. Arthur Madsen. He says, "We keep busy enough, rather surprisingly so, considering the circumstances. Instead of going, however, to the expense of curtaining our fifteen very large windows, we stop work during the winter at four in the afternoon and try to make compensation by all being here promptly at nine in the morning. The shorter hours mean that much work has to be taken home of an evening and for week-end attention."

FAME AND HENRY GEORGE—This year a group of one-hundred-and-fourteen prominent citizens will choose the names of eighteen famous persons for inscription in the Hall of Fame. The beautiful and historic "Hall" is an open air colonnade more than six hundred feet long and ten feet wide, situated on the campus of New York University, overlooking the majestic Palisades and the Hudson River. Carved in the stone, as exponents of its object and scope, are the following words:

THE HALL OF FAME
FOR GREAT AMERICANS
BY WEALTH OF THOUGHT
OR ELSE BY MIGHTY DEED
THEY SERVED MANKIND
IN NOBLE CHARACTER
IN WORLD-WIDE GOOD
THEY LIVE FOREVER MORE

In 1935, when the last election was held, Henry George received fifty-seven votes and comes up automatically as a candidate now. The Foundation will again undertake the campaign for his election. Such names as George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Daniel Webster, Benjamin Franklin, Ralph Waldo Emerson, are already there. It is fitting that the name of Henry George should join this distinguished company.

Manhattan Single Tax Club

FOLLOWING are extracts from President Charles H. Ingersoll's report on the annual meeting of the Club in December, 1939:

"Besides the election of officers and directors for the ensuing year, the following was voted:—that the name of the Club be changed to *The National Single Tax Association* or *The Single Tax Society of America*, or some similar name. Or, as an alternative, the formation of a subsidiary of this Club with such a name. The object is to broaden the scope of the Club, without weakening its local influence. In 1931 this question was voted on affirmatively, but action was not taken, due to President James R. Brown's illness.

"The Manhattan Single Tax Club was organized in 1896 by Henry George and his intimate friends. Its Presidents have been, so far as recorded: Robert Schalkenbach, 1896-8; Samuel Seabury, 1899; William B. McCracken, 1900; John S. Crosby, 1903; Frederic C. Leubuscher; John T. McRoy; James R. Brown, 1915-31; O. K. Dorn, 1931; Walter Fairchild, 1932; Charles H. Ingersoll, 1933 to date. The names of A. J. Steers, Ben Doblin, Alfred Bishop Mason and Lawson Purdy are yet to be placed in the record.

"There has been much anti-organization talk recently which this Club disapproves. Single Taxers are not obsessed with organization or politics, but they know of no other way of bringing their program to fruition without employing both. Teaching itself is organization, and unless done so in methodical organized ways, is ineffective. So the Club asks for the renewal of the generous and democratic support given during its whole notable career of nearly half a century."

Mr. Ingersoll continues his radio broadcasting activities. Following are a few of his pithy comments over the air:

CHAMBERLAIN SAYS MORE THAN HIS PRAYERS. HE SAYS THAT two-thirds of the people of England have small incomes. I'll say they have. It would surprise him to know (if he doesn't) just how small. As a reason for untaxing their necessities, he puts it very mildly. My guess is that 90 per cent of the 47,000,000 people of England have to watch closely their buying, and that it is limited to their current income; so that, with the kind of taxes England (and every other country) has, they buy only half what they need and want, which accounts for the millions of unemployed.

ONE OF THE MEANEST TRICKS OF GOVERNMENT, PLAYED ON THE People of New York, is the abolishing of push carts—and the hypocrisy of building big markets with consumer-taxes. This plays the landlord's game and—as always, exploits the mass consumer and the small merchant. Push carts are not aristocratic or lovely; but they sell stuff cheap, and they provide an easy way to get into business. *But they don't pay rent.*

WE NEVER EXPECTED TO SEE THE U. S. A. CONDUCTING A WAR for free trade against her forty-eight states. The U. S. A. is itself committed to the very opposite principle—or fallacy—that of protection. Yet when Uncle Sam sees his children setting up trade barriers between the different units of his happy family, his sense of justice, as well as his traditional common sense, revolts. The federal government has launched a campaign in the name of sound economics against states that have erected "artificially-created trade barriers" imposed to "enrich individual state coffers." This is the exact language of the free trade school of economists, whose wise counsel has for fifty years been disregarded while the international tariff wall has built up our monopoly system.

Great Britain

British Georgeists continue their activities *quand m'ême*. The January issue of *Land and Liberty*, English Georgeist paper, reports the sustained educational and lecture work of the United Committee, the English League and other organizations.

The following advertisement appeared in a Welsh newspaper:

STUDY ECONOMICS AT HOME DURING THE "BLACKOUT"

A Free Correspondence Course is offered to you. Your only expense apart from your postage will be 1 shilling for the text-book, "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George.

For full particulars, apply

HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

34 Knighttrider Street, London, E. C. 4

Thus, there will be *one* great light, at least, continuing to shine, despite blackouts. Of course, the war has to some extent created difficulties for the Georgeist movement in Britain, but it is carrying on. And when there is no longer need for blackouts, it will still be in the field. Frederick Verinder, in reporting on the English League, quotes one of the younger members: "As soon as I am demobilized, I shall be ready for the fray in a combat far more fundamental—that of 'land restoration.'"

Denmark

We have received the following letter from Denmark:

"We young Georgeists here in Denmark would like to found a better link of connection between young Georgeists in all countries in the whole world.

"We should be very glad if you could place in your paper a notice that young Georgeists in other countries want to correspond with American Georgeists, and that if they turn to me, I will try to find a correspondent for them in another country.

"Would you please ask your young readers to state in which language they want to correspond: English, German, French or Esperanto.

"Yours truly,

"Svend E. Hansen."

The Danish organization of young Georgeists is the Justice Youth Association, and the man to contact is Svend E. Hansen, Vangedevej 2, Gentofte, Denmark.

This is an encouraging step in the right direction.

The Georgeist movement is world-wide, and the more it is unified, and the more interactions are established, the more progress it will make. We urge our readers to begin such a correspondence as is suggested by Mr. Hansen.

Australia

With the idea that the pen is mightier than the sword, a group of Australian Georgeists propose the formation

of a Liberty Readers' Book Club, the aim of which is to stimulate the printing and reading of works on the Georgeist philosophy. We quote from the December, 1939, issue of *The Standard*, Georgeist paper printed at Sydney, Australia:

"What is a Book Club? It is a community of persons actuated by common aims, who undertake to purchase monthly one book at a low cost devoted to the support, or written by a supporter of those common aims. There is no subscription; cash on delivery of each book. The books may cover matters of wide interest which seem to lie beyond the immediate scope of Georgeian interest, but which in reality are shown to be the result of private ownership of ground-rent and the like. The Book Club thus becomes an important factor in propaganda, and, wisely used, must greatly increase the influence of Georgeism amongst people who would otherwise take no direct interest in it. The Book Club performs two particular services:

"(1) It guarantees a large circulation of certain books before publication, and thus enables a publishing house to sell, at a low price, books that are usually very expensive.

"(2) It ensures that worth while books supporting the common aim (Georgeism) are widely read and discussed. . . .

"The Great Reservoir of Economic Truth, the stored wisdom of Georgeian philosophy, is like the water which has to be reticulated to the desert lands. It won't flow there of its own volition, or if it goes uncontrolled, it will just seep away without great benefit resulting, or may even start up the rank growth of noxious weeds. This is what has happened to a great deal of Georgeian teaching, but partly understood in ill-prepared minds, which become the prey of socialist and communist teaching claiming to be more advanced.

"The Community is athirst for information, and will imbibe any kind of matter made sufficiently attractive. Probably about ten per centum of the people will take interest in some form of political propaganda, and it is amongst this section that we have to find individuals who will become receptive and transmitting points for Georgeism. . . .

"The Georgeian interpretation of current affairs can only be presented today in a desultory manner, because the average publisher cannot risk his money on a Georgeian book owing to lack of support. The Movement can and must assist Georgeian authors who now have little chance of presenting major works to the world and are mainly confined to pamphlets and leaflets. As valuable as are these smaller publications, they cannot have the lasting effect upon the minds of readers, especially of those whom we desire most to win to our Movement. The way to assist the Georgeian author is to assure success for the sale of his books so that the publisher won't be left with unsold copies on his hands. This can be accomplished by the L. R. B. C.

"Scores of titles of world interest suggest them-

selves upon reflection. There are innumerable matters of deep interest about which known Georgians of ability can write in a way never before attempted, i.e., presenting the facts before the enlightening background of a Georgian philosophy, more by suggestion than by direct propaganda for Georgeism, revealing to what degree the land problem, as we understand it, is the father of most of the folly and distress to which our poor is heir. . . .

"The foregoing suggests that dynamic authors, with special knowledge and something new to say, would receive encouragement to present the Georgian viewpoint. The History of Mankind needs re-writing from that viewpoint in order that the great mass of the people shall be permeated with the Georgian philosophy. There will be plenty of work for the men of the New Pen-Age to do, and still more for the readers. . . .

"Thus, by scientific method, and armed with modern and efficient weapons (including the spiritual equipment of the Georgian philosophy) can be created the—

"New Democracy, resting upon the enlightenment of large masses of people, sustained by the eternal vigilance of an enlightened and active minority, whose purpose is not to stir up discontent or strife and strikes, but to enlighten those about them. Movements of a small group of men have done much towards saving civilization in the past, and such Movements as this Liberty Readers' Book Club, may well become the means of saving our civilization."

South Africa

At Johannesburg, there is at work a Geogrist organization, called the Farmers' and Workers' Party. The chairman is F. A. W. Lucas, and the secretary is Mather Smith. The official organ, *The Free People*, tells us something of the aims of the Party:

"In February, 1936, four men, and three of them very poor men, seeing that none of the existing political Parties had any intention of tackling the root causes of the ever increasing poverty in our land, decided to start a new political party on their own. Since then, the Gospel of Deliverance has been preached right through South Africa, and has been accepted by many."

The Party leaders are at present active in spreading economic truth to the masses of unemployed that collect at the Labor Bureau in Johannesburg, looking for jobs. Mr. Lucas points out to them the absurdity of capable men having to parade up and down with placards marked "We Want Work" (and "Ons Vra Werk"), and he urges them to demand the cure for unemployment as presented by the Farmers' and Workers' Party—which is, of course, the Geogrist reform. The Party leaders report that their appeals are well received.

An Appeal for Action

By HENRY J. FOLEY

I BELIEVE that the time is ripe for the formation of a society to work toward placing the principles of Henry George on the statute books. Not that we can hope to change the laws this year or next, but to work intelligently and unitedly and everlastingly until the law is changed, whether it be in ten years or a hundred. The purpose is to capture and put to work the energies which have no outlet now except in hopes and prayers, and in describing to one another the beauties of the Single Tax. The grains of powder which now give us interesting fireworks displays could be massed in a cannon which would batter down the walls of monopoly and privilege.

The aim of the society:

1. To spread the simple doctrine that rent is the creation of society, and that the appropriation of rent by individuals, and the resulting taxation, are a double form of robbery.

2. To coordinate the efforts of Single Taxers who are now unacquainted with one another, and to get concerted action which will (ultimately) bring our desires to the attention of legislatures, and thus bring Single Tax out into the open and make it a live issue.

3. To enlist in the cause the dissatisfactions of those who do not understand the land question nor the rent question, but who are complaining bitterly of the government restrictions and government confiscations which we know are the results of the present land system; the ten millions out of work and helpless, the industrialists hampered with a thousand forms of taxes, with "5,000 laws and 17,000 regulations," and pressure groups organized to save themselves from government at the expense of other groups.

The only thing which will bring in the Single Tax is the placing of a law on the statute books, abolishing taxes, and decreeing that all ground-rent shall be collected for the public revenue. This change in the law will not be made until the people demand it, and they will not demand it until they understand that the private appropriation of land rent by individuals is legalized robbery, making prosperity impossible.

Single Taxers have spun the doctrine through all the mazes of economics and philosophy and ethics and religion. Not that we have settled the questions. We still dispute on the fine points of interest, the exact definition of rent, whether rent enters into price, and a dozen other questions, while "all this poor world really needs" is the knowledge that the legalized theft of the rent is the cause of its miseries.

These questions are fine things for the education of teachers, and in books for the intellectually inclined, but they should be left to these fields, and the programme of Single Taxers should be rigidly held to the collection of rent for public expenses. I believe that Single Taxers should unite upon this one fundamental. The man who believes in this is a Single Taxer no matter how he regards any other topic on earth, and he should be a member of the proposed society.

This fundamental fact is simple enough to be understood by every man who has to pay taxes on his house, on his income, and on his cigarettes. It should get the ready assent of every one except the men who make a living by keeping the world out of work, and they are a negligible minority at the polls. But we shall have to keep the programme as simple as that. At the same time, it is broad enough to take in every believer in the doctrines of Henry George, and it offers a field of action wide enough to enlist all the energies of all Single Taxers regardless of their ideas on the moot questions which have divided them and distracted them, and rendered them impotent.

An organization based upon the demand for equal liberty, and the restrictions of the powers of government to protecting those liberties, should be able to secure the enthusiastic approval of the vast majority

**A Free Copy of LAND AND FREEDOM
is an invitation to become a subscriber.**

of American citizens. *And it would automatically include the Single Tax as its first objective.*

There is nothing in the proposed society to militate against the activities of any other Single Tax organization such as the Henry George School. There is more work awaiting us than all the societies together can accomplish, and we can cooperate with increased efficiency and better results for all. Recruits to this society will be interested in the schools which can give them a deeper insight, and all Single Taxers will find in the society the machinery by which they can put their enthusiasm to work. There is no good reason why any Single Taxer should not be a member of the society.

I suggest that Single Taxers solicit their friends to join, and thus start by individual work. When our numbers are sufficient we can collect the funds necessary for mass meetings, press campaigns, radio, and lectures to such groups as manufacturers' associations, merchants, and civic groups. A good speaker might even hope to induce some of these groups to join in a body, as the only way in which they could ever hope to secure the benefits for which they have come together.

The reader is asked to suggest a name for the society, a name which will not label us as a brand of land reformers or tax reformers, but which will attract those who still believe in human liberty and in the right of men to live their own lives and to own what they have worked for.

I should be glad to hear from those who feel that there is room for such a society, and who would help in forming it.*

* Mr. Foley's address is 88-25 173d Street, Jamaica, L. I., N. Y.

Single Tax—A Misnomer

BY GEORGE C. WINNE

WHAT is the goal of the followers of Henry George? It is to spread his gospel of abolishing taxes in order to create equal opportunity. Do the words "Single Tax" suggest such an inspiring message? What greater virtue has a Single Tax over the present system of multiple taxes? Does not the thought of a tax produce resentment, a thing to be avoided, shunned, curtailed or reduced? It is an odious thing. Does the term "Single Tax" give a true description of a great social advance for equal opportunity, a great step forward, to eliminate undeserved poverty, from which flow so many social ills? How can those who are uninformed feel an inspirational impulse when we suggest a Single Tax? To many, a Single Tax suggests another fiscal innovation, which may be heavier and more burdensome than a diversified form of taxation.

Can we say the community-made rental value is a tax? If I earn a certain compensation, can it be considered a tax? If a group of people, which we may choose to call a "community" earn a certain compensation from one member of the community, can it be considered a tax? A person who has paid a rental for occupying a certain plot of land is only paying that rental because other persons also desire the opportunity to occupy the same plot of ground. If one or more persons would not compete for the privilege of occupying a certain plot of ground, it would not have a rental value. It is only the presence of people competing for that privilege that will give the land a rental value.

We may define a tax as "a charge or pecuniary burden laid upon persons or property for public purposes; a forced contribution of wealth to meet the public needs of government" That which we strive for is foreign to that purpose. We are not endeavoring to meet the needs of the government. We are endeavoring to meet the needs of the individual. The desire of the individual is to have equal opportunity.

We do not suggest making a forced contribution. Why then should we place our philosophy in an improper classification? If it is not a tax, why should we call it a tax? Our doctrine has

none of the characteristics of a tax. Our principle is to abolish taxes, retaining not even a Single Tax.

Taking the full community-made rental value for community purposes is not an idealistic theory, but a realization of a means whereby an equal opportunity may be granted to man to use natural resources for the satisfaction of his desires. In order for man to satisfy his desires he will be obliged to apply his mental and physical labor to reduce a certain portion of natural resources to possession or to further advance that which someone has reduced to possession. What does he have to pay for the privilege of reducing a certain portion of nature's resources to possession? Only that which he individually has not created, but which he has collectively created with other men. The presence of a society of men has created markets and exchanges, not any individual man. The competitive rental-value of the use of a certain plot of ground may be readily determined by the mere competition for the privilege to use it.

So let us strive for the abolition of all taxes. It sounds good. It has a sales appeal. It will gain adherents. It is a truer characterization of that for which we strive.

BOOK REVIEWS

FINANCING ECONOMIC SECURITY IN THE UNITED STATES

BY WILLIAM WITHERS

Columbia University Press, New York City. 210 pp. Price \$2.75.

This volume, by an Economics Professor at Queens College, attempts to survey the problem of economic security in the United States. Its publication could be justified only if it were written with special skill (and it is), with fresh intelligence, and with a sound interpretation of the problem of relief.

In a circular accompanying the book, we learn that another Assistant Professor of Economics, at Columbia University, considers the book "illuminating," and believes that the author "carries his erudition lightly and has written a refreshingly clear and lucid book."

As a factual account of the sorry mess called Federal Relief, Professor Withers treats the subject with reasonable thoroughness. As a study of the causes and cure of the problem, the book is barren and of little value. This is particularly true because of the inexcusable failure of Professor Withers to enlighten his readers on the basic principles of taxation and the profound influence they exert on the problem of unemployment and insecurity. The question arises: can we expect a Professor of Political Economy to give us light, when he himself is in darkness?

Cautiously, he informs us that unemployment is the main cause of economic insecurity. He writes (p. 4):

"In the depths of the depression in the early thirties, probably from fourteen to seventeen million Americans, about one-third of the working population, were unemployed. Even in 1937, when business conditions had markedly improved, unemployment was still estimated at from seven to nine million."

This reviewer would pause here to make a few important observations. For instance, how has the Federal Government attempted to cope with a problem of such magnitude? Has it sought to ascertain the *cause* of unemployment? Has it any conception of what unemployment really is? Has it ever considered why the Pilgrims who landed here in 1620 never suffered such a problem? Or why savages, today, in darkest Africa know no such problem?

The Federal Government has spent over twenty-five billion dollars since 1930 in its vain efforts to solve the problem.

With what results?

Along with the unsolved employment problem, we are now suffering:

- (a) An unprecedented tax burden.
- (b) The heaviest national debt in our history.
- (c) Lack of confidence on the part of the investing public.
- (d) Continuous antagonism between government and business.

It has not dawned on our politicians, and professors of political economy, that taxation, by robbing Peter to give to Paul, never can solve the unemployment problem. If it has, they have given no indication of that fact.

Today, taxes absorb one-fifth of our entire national income! That means that every year, more than 20 per cent of the earnings of the American people are being seized by their government. A recent economic survey showed that as a result of stupid relief measures and heavy taxation, the United States lagged near the end among twenty-three nations trying to recover from the depression of the past ten years.

With so little inducement to work and produce (because the government counts itself in as your partner when you succeed, and forgets all about you when you fail) is it any wonder that business has been steadily folding up and withering away, and the very problem of unemployment relief intensified?

What does Professor Withers suggest for this terrible condition? *More taxes!* Yes, dear reader, *more taxes.* By a parity of reasoning may we not fairly assume that he would attempt to cure an opium addict by prescribing more opium?

But let us quote Professor Withers (page 97):

"Under ideal tax systems five billions more of state and of local revenue than were obtained in prosperous years might be secured. It was pointed out earlier that the Federal income-tax system might be improved by broadening the base of the income tax. One or two billion dollars of additional revenue might be secured in this way. Millions might be obtained from reductions in evasions, avoidance, exemption, and unreasonable delinquency. . . . The reasoning outlined above leads to the conclusion that Americans are not over-taxed, and that instead, they are badly in need of tax reform. . . .

"If the citizens of nations which resemble the United States in wealth and in economic development are paying higher taxes than Americans pay, it is plausible to conclude that American taxes are not too high. If the taxes in other countries are not forcing a crisis in capitalism, it may be that the American economic system could stand higher levies."

This from our colleges and universities! No wonder the man in the street has lost faith in professors of political economy. Such balderdash has compelled producers, strangled by steadily mounting taxation to look elsewhere for an understanding and solution of the problem.

We looked to our colleges for bread, and they offered us a stone.

B. W. BURGER.

A CLASSIC REMODELLED

"Progress and Poverty," by Henry George. Rearranged and abridged for modern readers by Harry Gunnison Brown. Henry George School of Social Science. New York, 1940, 232 pp. 25 cents.

Professor Brown in this edition has not so much abridged the whole book as he has deleted chapters and paragraphs which he considers unnecessary for the reader of the nineteen forties. The latter part of "Progress and Poverty" is permitted to stand, but the first part—the sections on the wages-fund theory, the Malthusian theory and the laws of distribution—is cut down quite considerably. Brown's purpose in this was to present, in George's own words, a smooth-flowing argument, suitable for the modern reader, without too much of the difficult or obsolete matter that would tend to make the reader stop and figure it out.

In his prefatory remarks Professor Brown says: "It is not unlikely that numerous intending readers have so lost their interest, before finishing these chapters, that they have thrown aside the book

and never examined at all those analyses for which it is most notable and in which, had their patience lasted only a little longer, they would have been keenly interested. For no other writer, probably, has ever written so appealingly and at the same time so forcefully, in the field of economics, as did Henry George."

It is true, as Professor Brown also says, that "the message of 'Progress and Poverty' is certainly as applicable today as when the book was first printed." For this reason, it is also true that a modernized version of George's classic may be needed. Brown has opened the field. Perhaps his work will pave the way towards other short-cut methods of stimulating reader interest.

CENTENARY SOUVENIRS

"This Struggle"—written and compiled by Dr. Edgar W. Culley for the Centenary of the Birth of Henry George—Melbourne, Australia, 1939. 92 pp.

This is one of those charming books in which gems can be found on every page. It is a collection of writings on the Georgeist philosophy which deal with the ethical and moral phase. And the book preserves this lofty tone throughout. It brings into interesting relationships such subjects as religion, politics, medical science, economics, philosophy—and shows the basic oneness of the problems underlying these fields. The author's closing words suggest what that oneness is:

"Science and achievement, with the will to live in harmony with Infinite laws, will point the way to the perfect day dawning in the distance."

Dr. Culley has also compiled a neat little work of 16 pages, under the auspices of the Henry George Leagues of Australia. It is entitled, *A Centennial Year Booklet*, and abounds in words of wisdom from important historical characters. The various excerpts lead up to and support Dr. Culley's concluding words: "Learn and Obey the Natural Law."

No price is mentioned in either of the above works. Those interested may communicate with Dr. Edgar W. Culley, 450 Collins St., Melbourne, C I, Australia.

Correspondence

THE McGLYNN CASE

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

I want to express my appreciation of and thanks for P. J. O'Regan's comment on my book, "Rebel, Priest and Prophet," which is most informing as well as interesting. I can find in it only one point on which he seriously dissents from my view of Father McGlynn, who, he insists, was not a "rebel." The word seems to carry in Mr. O'Regan's mind an odium it entirely lacks in mine. There are rebels and rebels, and judgment on them must hinge on one's judgment of the merits or demerits of their rebellion. That Father McGlynn was no rebel against the true Church or its doctrines I will admit at once, yet it is a historical fact that a misuse of ecclesiastical authority by his archbishop forced him into the attitude of a rebel against such misuse of authority. His subsequent complete vindication and restoration to the priesthood without being required to retract one word of the Georgian land doctrine which his archbishop had condemned so strongly, seems to me to have justified his rebellion against the "ecclesiastical machine" rather than altered the fact of his rebellion.

I want especially to thank Mr. O'Regan for his recital of former rebels against misuse of ecclesiastical authority who were later vindicated, much of which is news to me, and most informing. It would be well for the present "higher-archy" of the Church of Rome—and the authorities of other Christian churches as well—to ponder

their mistakes of the past, re-examine their present attitudes on the issues which impel men, classes and nations to conflict, and see if and how far they have departed from "the law and the prophets" which Jesus of Nazareth so strongly endorsed in His Sermon on the Mount (Matt. V, 17-18).

Especially do I regret knowing nothing of the letter of Archbishop Walsh of Dublin in which he said of Archbishop Corrigan's pastoral letter of 1886: "It is very plain, very painfully so indeed, that the Archbishop of New York whose pastoral condemns it ('Progress and Poverty') so strongly, cannot have read it at all," for I would have been pleased to quote so high an authority on that point.

In the recent Encyclical of Pope Pius XII I think I see the beginning of a fulfilment of Mr. O'Regan's confident prediction that "men will yet arise in the Church to pursue the path indicated by Bishop Nulty and Father McGlynn," for in the course of it he commented thus on St. Paul's declaration that "God hath made of one blood all mankind to dwell upon the whole face of the earth":

"A marvelous vision, which makes us see the human race in the unity of our common origin in God, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all, in the unity of nature, which in every man is equally composed of material body and spiritual immortal soul; in the unity of his immediate end and mission in the world; *in the unity of the dwelling place, the earth, of whose resources all men can by natural right avail themselves to sustain and develop life.*"

Man has travelled far from the path of freedom and justice blazed by Moses and the prophets and confirmed by Jesus of Nazareth, and it will be long ere he regains that path, but that he will do so eventually there can be no doubt. He could regain it quickly if he but would.

Delawanna, N. J.

STEPHEN BELL.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Re Hon. P. J. O'Regan's article in your Nov-Dec. issue, we all know that Father McGlynn was never a rebel against the Catholic Church.

His boyhood ambition was to be a priest. His young manhood's desire was to be a priest. He became a priest of outstanding ability and character. He was a rebel only against the politics of the New York City officials of the church.

When he was excommunicated it hurt him physically as well as spiritually. We all rejoiced at his reinstatement. Henry George's telegram was: "We are kneeling before the altar of your old church in thankfulness for your restoration. Signed Annie and Henry George." This I got from Sylvester Malone's notes.

He was received back into the church *standing*. This he told a few of us at an intimate meeting after his return to New York.

He did not get back to St. Stephen's Church—not until he was dead. Home at last.

His address at Henry George's funeral was excelled only by that of St. Paul on Mars Hill.

I hope that when the Church gets ready to canonize him (as it will) they will give him his full name—Saint Edward McGlynn.

LONDON, CANADA. CHRISTINE ROSS BARKER.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

I have yet to find a Henry Georgeite who would or could write a practical plan for changing over from our present general property system to the land tax system.

I have attempted it, in a proposed tax amendment to the New Jersey State Constitution.

I hold, too, with the Editor of *The American City*, that the land value tax would not give us enough revenue.

Holmdel, N. J.

THERON McCAMPBELL.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Congratulations on the article "Concepts of Rent," which shows that there is no fundamental difference of reasoning between the Eastern and Western concepts. One approach is perhaps more political, the other more politico-economical. The best one will be the one that gets started, the one that will be voted for.

To me the concept of rent from the West has the advantage of being clearer concerning *ownership rights*. But fundamentally, the reasoning is the same, and based on justice.

Cashmere, Wash.

W. VAN DER MAATEN.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

No Georgeist who has read the last number of LAND AND FREEDOM should hesitate a moment about helping to support it financially. While we all feel the loss of Joe Miller, LAND AND FREEDOM has not suffered by his death. I enclose my mite.

New York City.

FREDERIC CYRUS LEUBUSCHER.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

We like the fair-minded way in which you report both sides of questions and give the other fellow a chance to tell his side of the case, even if you do not see things the same way. The paper is a valuable worker for the cause.

Toronto, Canada.

D. E. COATE.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

I have circulated all the numbers of LAND AND FREEDOM after reading them and hope very much that the ideals and common sense of that wonderful man, Henry George, may thereby spread and take root. I wish you every success in your splendid endeavors in giving to the public a paper of such worth as your journal.

Montreal, Canada.

(Mrs.) L. V. COWLES.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

I congratulate the Editors of LAND AND FREEDOM upon the high quality of the magazine maintained since the death of Mr. Miller; and hope to see its circulation and influence constantly increased.

If I should offer any suggestion it is that the working Single Taxer, in explaining it to the man on the street, does not, and need not, know accurately all of the finer distinctions in economics. For instance: Does society create ground-rent? or only the value of ground-rent? If the man on the street can see that ground-rent is an unearned income to the land owner, he has gone a long way in the right direction. The experts need not waste too much time or printed space on the finer technical distinctions.

Oshkosh, Wisc.

JOHN HARRINGTON.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

About a year and a half ago I was introduced to the Georgeian philosophy. After completing six or seven classes of "Progress and Poverty" my interest in these sessions began to lag, because of the feeling that these studies were a bit too deep for me.

But I was fortunate in that I had a most ardent follower of Henry George, John Radcliffe, our Secretary of the Cleveland extension of the School, take time outside the class hours to help me understand the concept of justice, the importance of which I had failed to realize before.

It is with this realization and appreciation that I enclose my contribution at this time to keep LAND AND FREEDOM going—and may it never stop.

Cleveland, Ohio.

STANLEY BANASIK.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

WE have just received the sad news of the death of Abel Brink, noted Danish Georgeist, and for many years a special correspondent of this paper. A fuller account will appear in our next issue.

ANOTHER good comrade has passed on; another ardent worker of the earlier days of the Henry George movement. Dr. Walter Mendelson, physician, died January 19, at his home in Germantown, Philadelphia, at the ripe age of eighty-two. We quote from the *New York Times* of January 20:

"A man of versatile mind, Dr. Mendelson enthusiastically embraced numerous activities in addition to his professional duties. He was an ardent believer in the Single Tax doctrine and was a close friend of the late Henry George, foremost exponent of the theory. . . .

"Henry George was one of Dr. Mendelson's patients. They became close friends and the physician did all he could to further the political fortunes of Mr. George and the doctrine of the Single Tax. In 1897, when Mr. George felt it to be his duty to run for a second time for the Mayoralty of New York City, Dr. Mendelson warned him that he would thereby endanger his life. Mr. George entered the race and died during the campaign."

There are those who recall Henry George's unforgettable answer to Dr. Mendelson's warning. "This campaign may prove to be too much for me," he said. "But if it does kill me, perhaps my death may do more for the truth I have tried to preach than all my life has done."

Dr. Mendelson retired from active work in his profession many years ago. But to the last he remained an ardent Georgeist who never missed an opportunity to speak for the truth, and bring it home to others.

MARY FELS has rewritten the life of her late husband, Joseph Fels, who was a believer and prodigious worker in the doctrine of Henry George. The book is now in the hands of the publishers, Doubleday, Doran & Co., and will appear shortly.

ELIZABETH MAGIE PHILLIPS of Arlington, Va., inventor of the Landlord's Game and that other game, Monopoly, which took the country by storm a few years ago, is now at work on a new game which will deal with Free Trade.

HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM, editor of *The American City*, has an article in the February, 1940, issue of *Survey Graphic*. This is a special issue on housing, and Mr. Buttenheim's article deals with the taxation phase, and is entitled "Taxes in Search of a Resting Place." He analyzes the various possibilities of tax sources, and shows that land value taxation is the most stable. He also points out the absurdity of confusing land and buildings together in the term "real estate."

ALBERT L. MEGGINSON, violinist and pupil of L. D. Beckwith, is circulating a very interesting tract which expresses the Georgeist proposal in a simple chart which can be seen at a glance. On one side of the chart is the present system:—Rent, pocketed by landlords; taxes, levied for government; and the remainder for labor and capital. The other side represents the Georgeist plan:—Rent, to finance government; the remainder for labor and capital and no taxes.

WE have received a set of the tracts which Charles Le Baron Goeller prints for circulation. They are pithy little things, fine to hand to novices. In one of his tracts, Goeller urges Georgeists to read "An Introduction to Mathematics" by A. N. Whitehead. "When people become mathematically precise," says Goeller, "and employ logical reasoning, they are forced to become Single Taxers. Socialism, Communism, etc., are the result of loose thinking."

L. D. BECKWITH has reprinted in his paper, *No Taxes*, the article "Concepts of Rent" by John R. Nichols, which appeared in the Nov.-Dec. issue of LAND AND FREEDOM. Beckwith praises the article for its fair-mindedness, and answers it by upholding the concept of rent out of the West—which is, that rent is paid for public service alone and not for the intrinsic differential qualities of the soil.

THE Single Tax Corporation of Fairhope, Alabama (the largest enclave of economic rent in the United States), held its annual meeting on January 15. The treasurer reported that rent collections for 1939 amounted to \$27,020.88, of which \$19,664.13 had to be paid for the taxes levied on the land, improvements and personal property of the lessees. This consumed more than two-thirds of the total. The remainder was spent on improvements for Fairhope. The budget exceeded the rent income by \$1,532.52, and this was raised from other sources. The excessively high taxes levied prevented the rent income from taking care of all expenses, but on the whole, the report may be considered encouraging, since rent collections for 1939 were higher than in many years.

WE have learned from Don L. Thompson of Spokane, Wash., that William Matthews, veteran Georgeist, has passed away at the age of seventy-four. Mr. Thompson writes of Matthews:

"No sacrifice was ever too great for this untiring soul to make in his efforts to contribute something to the economic enlightenment of his fellow citizens. Very few people have had a better understanding of our economic problems than he, and no one has done more to help to solve them. He was always giving freely of his time and money to help usher in a better day for the forgotten man, even when it meant a loss of business and personal prestige.

"The Science of Political Economy has lost a real champion by the passing of this able disciple of Henry George. Were it not for the fact that the good work of men like him will continue to bear fruit long after their bodies have returned to dust, I would lose all hope for a better day for those who now live on this earth only by the sufferance of others."

SUPPLEMENTING our notice in the Nov.-Dec., 1939, issue of LAND AND FREEDOM, of the death of George White, we are glad to publish the following account, which was sent us by Mr. Charles H. Ingersoll.

"George White was one of the old timers of the Georgeian movement and a man of tireless and colorful activity in the cause.

"He was born in England and followed Henry George in his choice of the 'Art Preservative' as his trade and business. He was for many years manager of the New York branch of the Western Newspaper Union which was the pioneer in the 'Patent Inside' and 'boiler plate' country newspapers.

"I met George White along with a lot of the originals of the Brooklyn Single Tax Club, first in the year 1882, shortly after I arrived from Michigan. The names of Peter Aitkin, George Atkinson, John H. Maclagan, Nelson Gage, Martin Battle, Jerome O'Neill, and others were among these; all of them more or less active also in the Manhattan Single Tax Club whose organization had the distinction of being a little closer to Henry George.

"George White never sympathized much with the idea of the 'all-at-oncers' that taxation was not the best way to approach the land question; and his respect for Shearman led him, in the last year, to grow a luxuriant beard like 'Tearful Tommy's.' Shearman's firm, Shearman and Sterling, is still the Standard Oil Law firm.

"White was a good speaker and an even better writer and was always a leader in debates and very sound in his reasoning. In recent years he has lived in and around Long Branch; and besides all this mixing in civic affairs he was an inveterate letter writer and pamphleteer and rated high as a N. J. Single Taxer. He leaves a nephew, Frank, and in England many relatives."

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SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

ENGLAND: J. W. Graham Peace.

NEW ZEALAND: { Hon. P. J. O'Regan, Wellington.
 { T. E. McMillan, Matamata.

SPAIN: A. Matheu Alonso, Tarragona.

BULGARIA: Lasar Karaivanove, Plovdiv.

HUNGARY: J. J. Pikler, Budapest.

FRANCE: Jng. Pavlos Giannelia.

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

We declare:

That the earth is the birthright of all Mankind and that all have an equal and unalienable right to its use.

That man's need for the land is expressed by the Rent of Land; that this Rent results from the presence and activities of the people; that it arises as the result of Natural Law, and that it therefore should be taken to defray public expenses.

That as a result of permitting land owners to take for private purposes the Rent of Land it becomes necessary to impose the burdens of taxation on the products of labor and industry, which are the rightful property of individuals, and to which the government has no moral right.

That the diversion of the Rent of Land into private pockets and away from public use is a violation of Natural Law, and that the evils arising out of our unjust economic system are the penalties that follow such violation, as effect follows cause.

We therefore demand:

That the full Rent of Land be collected by the government in place of all direct and indirect taxes, and that buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries and incomes, and every product of labor and intellect be entirely exempt from taxation.

ARGUMENT

Taking the full Rent of Land for public purposes would insure the fullest and best use of all land. Putting land to its fullest and best use would create an unlimited demand for labor. Thus the job would seek the man, not the man the job, and labor would receive its full share of the product.

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Land and Freedom

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Comment and Reflection

THE cause of Free Trade has been advanced through the efforts of Secretary of State Cordell Hull. While he does not propose the elimination of all trade barriers, he deserves approbation for his sincere and intelligent attitude on international trade. He indeed appears to be one of the few men in the present administration who may be credited with a modicum of economic sanity. It is true that his program is by no means the full measure of Free Trade to which Georgeists aspire, but it is none the less a ray of hope in this strife-torn world. The trade agreements of the United States with other countries have undoubtedly contributed to gains in our foreign trade—and trade means peace.

IT is encouraging to note the endorsement of the Hull program now coming from various quarters hitherto silent. Outstanding authorities, even those previously known as high tariff and self-sufficiency advocates, are speaking out in favor of mutual trade agreements. Interesting, for example, is the case of Mr. Neville Chamberlain. Though his party stands for high tariffs, he is nevertheless the one statesman in England who is urging support for Hull's trade treaty efforts. Can it be that there is still a lingering nostalgia in England for her blasted Free Trade tradition?

IN our own United States, Thomas W. Lamont, a partner in the banking house of J. P. Morgan, has also declared himself in favor of Hull's trade agreement legislation. This in spite of the fact that he is a staunch Republican. Mr. Lamont admits the failure of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act. That piece of legislation, he says, "was the last straw. . . . It raised the barriers as never before. . . . But its far worse consequences were its evil effects on the whole world of international trade. . . . A score of nations followed America's example and there developed the vicious circle of higher tariff barriers all around." Mr. Lamont makes a fervent plea for support of Hull's program, regardless of other party issues.

ANOTHER endorsement comes from a French authority. An article by Paul Reynaud appears in the current *Atlantic Monthly*. At the time it was written,

M. Reynaud was the French Minister of Finance, but by the time of its publication he had been raised to the position of Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. In his article, Reynaud praises Cordell Hull for the results achieved in the extension of the trade pacts "and the courageous reiteration of his policy in spite of the war." Reynaud wisely stresses the need for Europe's economic reorganization after the present conflict, "if peace is to be something more than another brief armistice." He is in agreement with the widely-held conception that the Treaty of Versailles has been responsible for the misfortunes of Europe, "in making the customs boundaries coincide with the political frontiers . . . when it would have been possible—at least within certain limits—to impose upon them a customs union."

REYNAUD points to the example of the forty-eight sovereign states of the United States, and declares that our country is "the greatest area of free trade opened to human activity that exists today." In fairness to the truth, however, we should remind M. Reynaud that this "greatest area of free trade" looks better at a distance than it does at home. The growth of interstate barriers within these United States is being viewed with some apprehension. Nevertheless, it serves to emphasize the importance of Mr. Hull's good work in the international area.

IN the face of these and other difficulties; it is yet heartening to observe the transition of some of our leaders to Free Trade thought. The World of Today is suffering from the errors of its leaders of the World of Yesterday. Perhaps today's leaders are becoming sobered by the frightful results of past errors, not the least of which was the extreme nationalistic spirit that has prevailed in the interim between the two world wars. All of this may serve to remind us of the implied prophecy in: "Is it too soon to hope that it may be the mission of this Republic to unite all nations—whether they grow beneath the Northern Star or Southern Cross—in a League which, by insuring justice, promoting peace, and liberating commerce, will be the forerunner of a world-wide Federation that will make war the possibility of a past age and turn to works of usefulness the enormous forces now dedicated to destruction?"

Georgeism and Thomism*

By ROBERT C. LUDLOW

THE opening chapters of Henry George's "Science of Political Economy" are so congenial to Thomistic thought that the question in many minds is why neither system has made any great use of the other or why attempts at a rapprochement are met (usually by Thomists) coldly. I think there are two basic reasons for this—one, that each school looks at problems with a different "mind-set" and the other, difficulties rising from verbal definitions—the use of words having a distinct meaning to one and an indistinct meaning to the other. The use of the word "capital" is an example of this latter and to it we could add such words as "freedom," "liberty," "laissez-faire."

As to "mind-set" (and it is probably the most difficult obstacle in the way of assimilation), a typical Thomist outlook is expressed in the recent statement of the episcopate that "there are two attitudes which represent extreme positions respecting our economic and social order. The one attitude is espoused by those who reject any and every kind of economic planning or organization. They constitute the group of extreme individualists or so-called school of economic liberalism. They want no interference whatsoever with the individual either from the government or from the social pressure of group organization. They will tolerate no restrictions upon individual initiative or personal enterprise. They are liberal only to the extent that they wish to be liberated from all social responsibility. They call it free enterprise, but the freedom is for those who possess great resources and dominating strength rather than for the weak or those who depend simply on their own labor for well-being." Or, to put it briefly, the Thomist casts his lot quite definitely with the "social planners." His outlook is historical. He might see that if the sources of production were free, free enterprise holds no dangers—but he sees that in fact they are not so and seldom have been so and on that basis he forms his judgments.

But the Georgeist has his own "mind-set." To quote Mr. Frank McEachran: "Granted the public appropriation of land values, capitalism in its essence would still remain, but so changed in range and manner of operation that the first to derive benefit from it would be the worker and the worker, moreover, as an individual. . . . Far from being too laissez-faire the nineteenth century was not laissez-faire enough and it is possible that in

pointing this fact out we may perform a service of the greatest importance."

Here we have the two outlooks. Can they assimilate? I think so, when Georgeists forget a bit about paper logic and Thomists realize that, provided the possibility of private (absolute) ownership of natural resources be abolished by public appropriation of economic rent, the best kind of planned economy may be an unplanned one. But the way is not made easier by uninformed treatments of the Georgeist philosophy common among Thomists, or by uncritical approaches to current affairs shown in some Georgeist books.

And now as to verbal disagreements. The word "capital" will serve as an example. While it is true there is nothing to fear from capital, as George presents capital, yet the Georgeist system is not the capitalist system as it exists today. And while Georgean writers speak of capital with a logical definition of it in mind they often overlook the psychological reaction in the radical mind to the terms "capitalism" and "laissez-faire"—this because they are almost invariably considered by most people in the historical rather than the logical sense. And that capitalism and laissez-faire, historically considered, are not compatible with the Georgean system seems rather evident to me. It will of course be pointed out that the Thomist criticism of capitalism is only criticism of the capitalist in the role of land-owner. But that overlooks what many writers term the "soul" of capitalism. And it is this "soul" or "spirit" that many radicals have in mind when they reject the system.

Thus by capitalism in the historic sense I mean capitalism as a system of thought or a mode of life—as related to the rise of Protestantism by Weber, Tawney and O'Brien and traced further back by Fanfani, or, more recently, dissociated from Protestantism by Forrester. Of course when we come to the "capitalist," Georgeists are correct in seeing him a person for evil only in his role of landowner. Nevertheless historians do write of capitalism and we do have a period we speak of as the capitalist period and we do connect laissez-faire with the Manchester school of economics, and that school of economics is certainly no foundation for the Georgean doctrines. Not that principles of the Manchester school cannot be utilized, but that Georgeism is more than Ricardo tacked on Adam Smith.

Now Georgeans are rightly annoyed when told it is moral reform we need rather than economic reform (indeed it is, but only in the sense that economics, as the Thomists say, is but a subdivision of moral theology), and point out that however angelic man may be, if our present system remains unchanged, poverty and social grief will still be with us. But this should not be made cause for asserting that after Georgean principles have been adopted (in a sense we quibble, for will Georgean

*By Thomism is meant the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas. It is considered the official philosophy of the Roman Catholic Church, and is accepted by most Catholic thinkers. Mr. Ludlow, the author of this article, is a graduate of the correspondence course of the Henry George School of Social Science.

principles be adopted without moral reformation?) moral reform will follow of itself—and so make unnecessary any attack on the capitalist spirit as such. And this because capitalism (historically considered) has starved the souls of men, has made the economic criterion supreme and has denied the legitimacy of extra-economic considerations. And it has mechanized man and has debased culture to the seeking after gain, has commercialized the stage, corrupted our newspapers and hindered the progress of science.

Criticisms of the capitalist system by such men as Penty, Robbins, Belloc, etc., are not to be lightly passed over. As regards machinery, for example, Penty contends that it should be restricted where it conflicts with the claims of personality or with the claims of the crafts and arts—and not be allowed to trespass seriously upon the world's supply of irreplaceable raw material. And there is room in Georgeist thought to treat of these things—for George did not offer his system as a panacea and would not contend that the single tax when applied would do away with all the problems connected with industrial capitalism. To socialize land rent is not necessarily to solve the money problem or the problem of the mechanization of man.

Fanfani contrasts the capitalist and pre-capitalist spirit—pointing out that the pre-capitalist “considers that appraisements of value in the economic sphere should be governed by moral criteria” while the capitalist “would make the economic criterion the sole norm of such appraisements.”

“Capitalism,” says Berdyayev, “turns relations of men into relations of things. . . . Marxism is a revolt against capitalism, but it has been bred by it and carries the fatal mark of its materialistic spirit.”

It is the refusal of capitalism to consider extra-economic standards which proves so formidable a barrier to the acceptance of Georgeist teachings. And this because James' philosophy of pragmatism gives foundation to the capitalist outlook and denies George's teachings. For once we deny objective morality, once we accept only relativist and evolutionary standards we undermine the whole structure upon which Georgeism as a philosophy rests. If the test of truth is the practical success of it *here* and *now*, if there are no such things as natural rights and if fundamental truths are not proof against the ages—how can we argue the truth of Georgeist teachings? Who is to tell pioneer man his ownership of land is unjust when it “works” for him here and now? We can say nothing to him if we have no teachings valid in themselves, we cannot answer him if we ourselves are pragmatists and deny the existence of natural rights.

And then what of laissez-faire liberalism? Critics accuse Georgeists of making a fetish of the land. They

might as well arraign them for making a fetish of the air. But they might be on firmer ground were they to charge some Georgeists with making a fetish of freedom. For to make freedom an end in itself is to make a fetish of it. There may be some people who think of the supreme good in terms of the pleasure of choosing between this and that, but not many can think thus. A stringent philosophy of liberty fails to meet the psychological needs of peoples. And it comes of carrying the doctrine of rights too far—it assumes the compulsion of always exercising rights in the individualistic sense. A man has a right to the products of his labor, but is there any moral principle preventing him to forego that right and pool his products in a communitarian society? And so with freedom—it is a means, not an end. The end of any economic system must be the common good, and that takes into consideration man's dignity and does no violence to his freedom and so does not end in totalitarianism. And because the end is the common good it presupposes the people to be willing to forego certain individual goods for the common good. And George, I think, would admit that, and that is not laissez-faire liberalism. For laissez-faire liberalism makes a fetish of freedom, refuses to allow the State to function for the common good, and ignores the communal nature of man. Of this George said, “I differ with those who say that with the rate of wages the State has no concern”—and his whole system calls for the State to put it in action.

The Georgeist teaching on the dignity of man and the necessity of objective moral standards and the right of extra-economic considerations to prevail over capitalist materialism—all these are held in common with Thomists and are the need of men today. In a short article such as this the many problems to be considered in an attempted rapprochement between the two systems of thought cannot all be mentioned and even those mentioned are treated cursorily. But that an earnest attempt of such an assimilation should be made will, I am sure, be the hope of both Georgeists and Thomists.

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Cooperation and Democracy in Denmark*

By HOLGER LYNHOLM

THE world looks with amazement upon the progress Denmark has made towards attaining Economic Democracy. Students come from all parts of the world to marvel and learn what secrets lie behind the efficiency and success of her cultural and economic undertakings.

In agriculture particularly has cooperative democracy been achieved. The Danish farmer is above all a thorough cooperator. He functions in harmony with other economic units more successfully than do agricultural workers in any other part of the world. He is linked in a net-work of cooperative organizations. It has been truly said of Denmark that "the threads by which a modern agricultural undertaking is linked economically with the world around are almost all spun by a cooperative organization".

The store from which the farmer buys his goods, the credit association from which he borrows his money, the organizations from which he purchases his seed, fodder, fertilizer and cement, the company from which his electricity is supplied—all are cooperative associations. Likewise, when he wants to sell his produce, he is serviced by various cooperative produce exchange associations. He deposits his savings in a cooperative bank. Even his farm education is made available through cooperative agencies. Information on breeding and well-bred stock is offered by cooperative breeding associations, and he has at his command the most up-to-date theories on agriculture, through consultants appointed by the agricultural control unions.

This cooperative work and control is the factor which gives to the produce from many small farms a uniformity and stability of quality which make it so desirable and well fitted to secure a place in the open world market.

Perhaps the greatest satisfaction to be derived from the success of this cooperative movement lies in the fact that no paternalistic ruler was instrumental in bringing it about. Farmers, teachers and artisans have been the leaders in both local and national associations. The leaders grew with the movement. It has paid so well and worked so smoothly that we find here a country, not only of contented cows, but of contented men and women as well—which is equally important!

Agriculture has not been the only occupation to adopt the system. In Copenhagen, the Danish capital, we also find the movement strong. There are cooperative building associations and many consumer clubs.

*As we go to press, we learn of Denmark's invasion. May God protect her!

The student will naturally inquire into the inception of this movement.

Let us go back to the early part of the nineteenth century. What do we find? A nation almost in ruins from the effects of the Napoleonic wars, in which she had become involved with England, Russia, Sweden and Prussia. She had lost Norway to Sweden and Helgoland to England. And she was ruined economically as well as politically. The peasants were poverty-stricken, and oppressed by the unmerciful landlords. Under such conditions the people became morose, sullen and suspicious, and hardly capable of associated enterprise. There was no such thing as getting together for cultural purposes. In short, "association in equality" did not exist. So when we now find these people so progressive, cheerful, scientifically-minded and resourceful, we ask: What are the causes of such a remarkable change in the make-up of this people?

Goethe said, "Character makes Character". This, I think, must have had much to do with the change.

A number of great-hearted men arose to inspire their fellowmen by their teachings and their lives. The teachings of these men were such that their precepts were instilled into the life of the whole nation. The results of their work have proven the truth of the epigram: "Educational bonds make the strongest ties".

In 1783 a man was born who was destined for a great work. This man was N. G. Grundtvig, liberal theologian, poet, philosopher and educational reformer. In 1832 he declared his ambition of establishing schools in all parts of Denmark, accessible to all men and women, where they might become better acquainted with life in general and with themselves in particular; where they might receive guidance in civic affairs and in their social relations. He had studied the old Norse cultures and had become familiar with such educational reformers as Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel, and was greatly influenced by their emphasis on the participation of the individual in his education. In Grundtvig's proposed schools, personal growth was to be stimulated. He envisioned a new social life born in freedom, and a new nation brought forth from a new education.

Grundtvig began his work with a series of outdoor meetings, the first being held on Hymelberget, the highest hill in Denmark, with beautiful surroundings. These meetings were arranged somewhat on the order of the old Greek festivities.

The first school was established in 1844. It failed, but seven years later another school was opened which proved successful. However, it was not until after 1864 that the movement took on a definite form. By 1885 a hundred of these Folk Schools were spread throughout Denmark.

The immediate effect of these schools (which we

might say were the birthplaces of modern adult education) was the establishment of a vast number of meeting houses, or community centers, throughout the land. These might be termed the continuation schools, where leaders or teachers usually led the discussions.

Grundtvig conceived of each nation as having a Spirit of its own which expressed itself in the life and ideals of the people. According to this view, it was necessary that much of education be of a historical nature if the students were to better understand themselves as a people. Before Grundtvig's time, art and science were available only to the small so-called cultured class. But Grundtvig wished these higher pursuits to reach all his countrymen. He sought to use his poetic gifts to create art, not only for the few who had esthetic tastes, but for all the people, high-born and lowly, rich and poor. Much of his poetry has been put to music. A good deal of modern Danish culture can be attributed to this great man.

One of Grundtvig's chief educational aims was to reach the soul of the student, to teach him that he can be noble in mind even though he may be engaged in such a lowly pursuit as milking cows or cleaning stables.

At the present time the Folk Schools serve as a constructive and uplifting element in the life of the Danish people. The schools are in reality small communities. The larger buildings serve as lecture halls, gymnasium and dormitory. These are surrounded by a dozen or so cottages for the teachers, usually in a beautiful setting.

The schools are privately owned. The state gives aid either by grants toward teacher's salaries, or by subsidizing needy students without attempts at political control.

The accomplishments of these schools are distinctly related to the intensive development of farmers' cooperatives. It is here that men learn to trust one another. In the cooperative enterprises that trust is translated into terms of associated credit.

The Folk Schools gave the people a new vision, a new mental outlook on the world. In the students a yearning for knowledge was aroused with the added desire to apply their learning, to put it into practice. With the culture and faith imparted by this education, the young men and women have saved not only agriculture but the whole nation. As the feeding upon knowledge begets hunger for more knowledge, and as with the increasing complexities that arise with an advancing civilization new problems are to be met, we find this alert people grappling with bigger and more fundamental problems.

In 1886, Henry George—who had been making an exhaustive study of world conditions, and who only a few years previously had written "Progress and Poverty" which was gaining world attention—was lecturing in England. Jakob Lange, a botany teacher in one of the

Danish agricultural schools at that time, who at an earlier time had attended Oxford, went to England to meet George, and to better acquaint himself with his theories. He was deeply impressed, and two years later he wrote his first article on George's teachings. It appeared in *Hojkskole Bladet*, the journal read by practically all Folk School students and teachers. This article, entitled "Freedom and Equality", brought forth much discussion, which culminated in the founding of the first Henry George Society in Denmark, in 1889. This group edited their own publication, and flourished for a while, but expired in 1894. However, the seed thus sown seems to have been re-germinating, for new shoots sprang forth in 1902, when the Henry George Society which now flourishes all over Denmark came into being.

I will not now endeavor to give a history of the accomplishments of this movement. There is an excellent work on the subject by Signe Bjerne, entitled "The Growth of World Thought among our People". I hope that this valuable work will some day be translated into English. Suffice it to say for the present that the Georgeist philosophy is now taught almost universally in the Folk Schools; that Henry George's picture hangs on the walls of most of the small farmers' homes; that there is no section of the country that has not been affected by the many efficient campaigns which the leaders of this movement have waged for true economic emancipation. One of the outgrowths of the Georgist movement has been the organization *Retsforbundet* (The Society for Social Justice), the aim of which is to bring about "The State of Social Justice".

The results of the movement can best be seen in the many legislative reforms, conforming to Henry George's ideas, which have been made during the past twenty-five years. The first step was the revaluation of land separate from improvements. Another step was the granting of home rule to communities for taxation purposes. As a result, many communities have decreased the improvement tax and increased the land value tax. While we in America are faced with the growing problem of farm tenancy, in Denmark 95 per cent of the farmers own and operate their own farms.

In recent years the Georgeist groups have felt themselves strong enough to enter politics with a party of their own, and now have four members in the *Rigsdag*.

So the result of a liberal education which never ceases with age, and which reaches the hearts of a whole people, is the nation of which Frederic C. Howe spoke when he said: "Denmark is a State that is conscientiously planned. It is an exhibit of agricultural efficiency. In no country in Europe is education and culture so widely diffused. In no country is landlordism so nearly extinguished, and in no State in Europe has Economic Democracy evolved with so much intelligence as in Denmark."

Handicaps on Building*

The Australian and New Zealand Solution

By H. BRONSON COWAN

THERE is a growing volume of authoritative opinion that the depressed condition of the building and allied industries on this continent is due to well-defined causes that are capable of adjustment. Similar conclusions were reached in Australia and New Zealand forty years ago. As a result their municipalities and governments have obtained a long start in the application of solutions that only now are beginning to receive serious consideration on this continent.

An imposing list of findings by Canadian and United States commissions, and of statements by municipal and other authorities, could be quoted to show that there are two principal causes of existing conditions. These are, first, speculation in urban land, with consequent inflated prices, booms and depressions, and, second, heavy taxes upon buildings which discourage their erection. These matters are discussed, and methods of dealing with them suggested, in an excellent report entitled, "Our Cities," issued in 1937 by the Urbanism Committee of the National Resources Committee, a body set up by the Federal Government of the United States.

The Committee emphasized the importance of recognizing:

The injurious results of speculation in urban land,

The necessity for obtaining and using a portion of increasing urban land values for the benefit of the public, and,

Reducing municipal taxes on improvements and increasing taxes on land values.

URBANISM COMMITTEE'S FINDINGS

The following statements are taken from the report of the Urbanism Committee:

"Gambling in land values has contributed to alternate booms and depressions, raising false hopes, encouraging over-ambitious structures, wiping out private investors, and, all in all, has been one of the major tragedies of American urban life.

"The dispersive developments of recent years have left blighted vacuums in the interiors of our cities and have themselves been vitiated by land prices at a level too high to permit a desirable standard of urban development." (Page 59)

*This article appeared in the February, 1940, issue of the *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*. Reprints of it may be obtained, at five cents per copy, from the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 32 East 29th Street, New York City.

"A real property inventory of 64 cities made in 1934 by the Department of Commerce and the Civil Works Administrations showed that more than one-sixth of 1,500,000 residential dwellings were substandard, about four-fifths of the dwelling units are made of wood, about one-third are over 30 years old, a large proportion are in a state of serious disrepair. Even at their most reasonable figures rentals are so high that they exclude vast blocks of urban families from housing facilities of minimum standard.

"We are now faced with the problem of arriving at a rational urban land policy which, while affording private owners and developers adequate opportunity for wise and profitable land uses, will curb the forms of speculation that prove calamitous to the investing and the tax-paying public." (Page IX)

"A study should be made of the increment tax on real estate in lieu of special assessments, to see whether such a tax would make possible the financing of public improvements more nearly through tax revenue derived from the increased values which these improvements create, and whether such a tax would aid in combatting speculation in land." (Page 81)

"In order that a large proportion of American urban families should not continue to live in unfit dwellings, and in order to supply the urgent need for housing facilities conforming to an acceptable minimum standard for the low-income groups and thus to attack the serious problems of health, welfare and order, which are directly related to inadequate housing, the Committee recommends that:

"State and local authorities should consider the reduction of the rate of taxation on buildings and the corresponding increase of such rates on land, in order to lower the tax burden on home owners and the occupants of low-rent houses, and to stimulate rehabilitation of blighted areas and slums." (Page 76)

CANADIAN FINDINGS

The foregoing conclusion agrees with Canadian findings on the same subject. As far back as 1916 the Ontario Government appointed a Commission on Unemployment. The chairman was the late Sir John Willison. Included on this commission were Ven. Archdeacon Henry J. Cody (now Hon. Dr. H. J. Cody), W. K. McNaught, C.M.G., and other prominent men. In its report to the Government, the Commission said:

"The question of a change in the present method of taxing land, especially vacant land, is, in the opinion of your Commission, deserving of consideration. It is evident that speculation in land and the withholding from use and monopolizing of land suitable for housing and

gardening involve conditions detrimental alike to the community and to persons with small means.

"Further, land values are particularly the result of growth of population and public expenditures, while social problems greatly increase in proportion as population centralizes. The relief of urban poverty calls for large expenditures from public and private sources.

"It appears both just and desirable that land values resulting from the growth of communities should be available for community responsibilities. Wisely followed, such a policy involves no injustice to owners of land held for legitimate purposes, and the benefits which would follow the ownership and greater use of land by wage-earners justify the adoption of measures necessary to secure these objects as quickly as possible.

"Your Commissioners are of opinion that a reform of the present system of taxing vacant lands appears indispensable to lessen the evils arising from speculation in land which contributed to the recent industrial depression, and which makes more difficult any satisfactory dealing with unemployment in industrial centres."

THE REPRESSIVE TAX ON IMPROVEMENTS

A year and a half ago the Dominion Government called attention to the repressive effect of taxes on buildings when it induced Parliament to enact The National Housing Act, described as "an Act to assist in the Construction of Houses." In the preamble of this Act it is stated:

"Whereas, high real estate taxes have been a factor retarding the construction of new houses and it is therefore desirable to encourage prospective home owners to construct houses for their own occupation by paying a proportion of the municipal taxes on such houses for a limited period."

The fact that since the provisions of this Act came into force the Dominion Government has assumed the responsibility for paying 100 per cent the first year, 50 per cent the second year and 25 per cent the third year, of all municipal taxes on buildings, erected under the Act, costing \$4,000 or less, shows how clearly it is recognized that taxes on buildings interfere with their construction. It is of interest, therefore, to note that, whereas, only 12 per cent of the number of single-family houses built for owner occupancy in 1936 were valued at \$4,000 or less, and 30 per cent in 1937, these percentages, after this provision of the act came into force in July, 1938, jumped for the first full year to 56.5 per cent. Such an increase raises the question what the increase might have been had it been announced that all municipal taxes on buildings were to be removed permanently.

THE AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND SYSTEM

Forty years ago municipalities in Australia and New Zealand began to realize the injurious effects of having land held out of use for speculative purposes and of taxing buildings. In 1901 in New Zealand they began to remove all taxes from improvements and to increase them on land values. The results proved beneficial. Other municipalities soon followed the example thus set. Today 67 per cent of the people living in cities in New Zealand, and about the same percentage in Australia, live in municipalities where there are no taxes upon buildings and where the bulk of the revenue is raised from a tax on land values.

The Sydney Harbour Bridge in Sydney, Australia, affords a striking example of the benefits derived from retaining for public uses a large share of increases in land values created by the expenditure of public monies. It was realized from the start that the erection of the bridge, one of the largest in the world, which cost \$45,000,000, would enormously increase land values in the territories which it would serve. A special tax of one cent a pound (\$4.80) of unimproved land values was imposed in nine municipalities which would be benefited the most. This tax, which was reduced gradually, was in effect from 1923 until 1937. Small as it was, it produced a revenue of \$10,000,000 which was applied upon the cost of the bridge. In spite of the tax, land values increased. Thus no injustice was imposed on the land owners concerned, while the public benefited by escaping the heavy taxes which otherwise would have been imposed. The tax had the further effect of checking speculation in the land enhanced in value by the erection of the bridge.

Other examples of the same kind could be cited. For example, in New South Wales, the development of motor traffic necessitated expenditures upon main roads, which were beyond the means of local municipal bodies to meet. It was realized that these improved roads would increase land values in the territories served. A Main Roads Board was appointed. Part of the revenue of the board was drawn from a tax of one-half cent on each pound (\$4.80) of unimproved land values in the City of Sydney, the adjoining County of Cumberland and the Blue Mountains Shire. In one year \$1,158,273 was raised from this tax and the following year \$1,300,630. This tax was in addition to the bridge tax and the regular municipal taxes on land values.

NO TAX UPON BUILDINGS

The building industries received a great impetus when all taxes were removed from improvements and placed

on land values. The immediate effect was that land values were decreased through speculators relinquishing their holdings. This made it easier for those desiring to build to secure land for that purpose. Ultimately the demand for land for building purposes was so great it restored and finally greatly increased the former land values. The new values were actual as they lacked the former speculative element. The following statements by authorities speak for themselves.

Sydney, Australia, Roy Hendy, City Clerk: "Notwithstanding the municipal revenue is derived entirely from land values, land tends to increase in value; having increased, during the past 22 years, from \$155,000,000 to \$235,000,000—51%."

Brisbane, Australia, City Assessor's Department: "Land tends to increase in value. As far as we can judge, the system has come to stay."

State of Victoria, Australia, Frank A. Henry, American Consul, referring to fourteen municipalities: "The incidence is to bring idle land into use. It tends to increase land values."

Wellington, New Zealand, E. P. Norman, City Clerk: "There is no difficulty in getting revenue by this system."

EXTENSIVE BUILDING DEVELOPMENTS

The effect of the new system of taxation was to create a building boom that was based on a legitimate demand for buildings as well as on sound values. The metropolis of Greater Sydney affords an example. It comprises over 50 municipalities. All these municipalities, except Sydney, adopted the new system of taxation in 1908. The municipality of Sydney, which comprises the central business area of the metropolis, did not adopt it until 1916.

In 1925, Alderman J. R. Firth, who still is a strong advocate of the system, described the results of the first 17 years' experience under the new method of taxation. On that occasion he said:

"In Sydney there has been an enormous development. In the seventeen years from 1908 to 1924 our population has grown from 550,000 to just over 1,100,000 and by Sydney I mean the City and the surrounding forty metropolitan municipalities" (now over 50). "There has been an extraordinary building boom, interrupted in some degree only during the years of the war. The returns for 1924 show that the number of new buildings brought to completion and connected with the water supply is the largest on record.

"The official figures,' says the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* of 24th December last, 'indicate that the building boom has been more than maintained, as the building trades are busier than ever. The result is that the City is being transformed day by day, and as the old landmarks dis-

appear modern and palatial premises fill their places.' The 'old landmarks' referred to mean shanties and antiquated tumble-down buildings.

"Here are the official figures of new buildings in the metropolitan area as published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 24th December, 1924, showing the results for the last eleven years:

	Buildings Completed	Cost
1914.....	10,546	£ 6,775,548
1915.....	7,632	5,124,464
1916.....	6,283	4,479,118
1917.....	5,401	3,595,992
1918.....	4,998	3,726,896
1919.....	5,830	4,788,804
1920.....	10,015	9,273,569
1921.....	8,537	9,655,163
1922.....	9,084	9,917,963
1923.....	10,450	10,133,116
1924.....	12,180	14,346,071

"The increased population, all but a fraction of the half-million we have added, has settled in the suburbs where land had been 'held for a rise'. The vacant areas have been peopled and the houses have spread themselves out, because the inhabitants have not been held in by a ring fence of monopoly prices for land. I could give many examples to illustrate this spread of population where room was awaiting it. Thus the municipality of Canterbury, five miles from the central area, had a population of 4,000 people in 1901; today, it has over 50,000 people and I think it would be correct in saying that every one of the houses there has sunlight all round it. In my own borough of Strathfield we have made use of our powers under the law to limit houses five to the acre and we have neither terrace houses nor semi-detached houses. Each is a detached house. The growing population has got land cheaper than it otherwise would, and this has ensured liberal space for each house, larger than was provided before the new system came into operation."

BETTER BUILDINGS ERECTED

The following statements, made early last year, by municipal and other authorities, concerning the general effects of the Australian and New Zealand system of taxation (it is in use, also, in the Transvaal, South Africa), afford an interesting contrast to the results obtained under the system of taxation followed on this continent:

Sydney, Australia (Population 1,360,000), Roy Hendy, Town Clerk: "It has brought idle land into use, improved housing, and old buildings have been replaced by new buildings."

Sydney and New York

By WALTER FAIRCHILD

MISAPPREHENSION has developed among earnest followers of Henry George as to the extent and value of the progress made in Sydney (which has a population of 1,400,000) and other Australian cities, and in New Zealand, toward collecting land rentals by taxation, and relieving buildings from taxation.

Valuable material on the Australian and New Zealand situation is contained in the foregoing article by H. Bronson Cowan, of Peterborough, Ontario. Mr. Cowan has visited all the large cities of Australia and New Zealand, and has had an unusual opportunity to study, at first-hand, conditions in these two dominions. As a supplement to this article, I should like to present some further information obtained from Mr. Cowan on the taxation system of Sydney as compared with that of New York.

Mr. Cowan informs us that he has received a letter from a New York Georgeist, which quotes from an Australian source to the effect that the benefits derived in Sydney have not been as great as anticipated, and which emphasizes the claim that New York is taxing land values more highly than Sydney. It was stated that the rate of taxation in Sydney is only two per cent, whereas in New York it is almost three per cent. This would suggest that New York affords a better example of the application of the Henry George system of taxation than does Sydney, and that Sydney has received much advertising to which it is hardly entitled.

Mr. Cowan has replied to the argument of his correspondent as follows:

"You state: 'The only difference between New York and Sydney is that in the former we tax improvements.'

"That difference is a tremendously important one. The tax you impose upon improvements is a repressive one. The elimination of such a tax would make a great difference. It has in Sydney. I venture to say that there is no comparison between the record for building developments in Sydney and New York over a long period of years.

"You assume that the only tax upon land values in Sydney is the municipal rate of 2% which you mention. Here again you are far from the facts. The whole attitude in Sydney towards the taxation of land values is so far ahead of the attitude in New York, and in this part of Canada also, for that matter, that again there is little ground for comparison. For example, in addition to the municipal tax of 2%, Sydney has at least two additional taxes on land values, and at times more.

Brisbane, Australia (Population 360,000), The City Assessor's Department: "It has brought idle land into use, with fewer houses per acre. It has not created congestion. We have no slum areas. It has been advantageous to householders, industry and the public welfare.

Napier, New Zealand (Population 18,500), F. R. Waters, Town Clerk: "It has brought idle land into use, improved housing, and reduced slums. There is very little slum area. It has encouraged more houses per acre. In my opinion, it has been advantageous to householders, industry and public welfare. Value of improvements greatly exceeds that of land values."

Witbank, Transvaal, British South Africa, J. J. Turnbull, Town Clerk: "The system has tended to bring idle land into use for the reason that a man pays the same tax for a vacant piece of ground as he does for a similar site with a valuable rent-producing building thereon. Generally, better buildings are erected now than prior to the introduction of the system. Improvement values are more than four times the land."

COMPARISON OF BUILDING STATISTICS

The April issue of *The Municipal Review of Canada* contained a table giving a comparison of the building activities in eighteen countries. The following figures are derived from that table. The year 1929 is used as an index year.

	1929	1932	1935	1937
Canada	100.0	16.8	18.6	24.0
United States.	100.0	17.7	26.9	47.9
New Zealand.	100.0	22.3	49.5	81.8
Australia	100.0	22.7	80.0	99.5

After the war Canada once more will be faced with the necessity of providing gainful employment for thousands of her soldiers as well as for other thousands now engaged in wartime industries. Might not the adoption of the Australian and New Zealand system of municipal taxation provide a solution for this problem and at the same time place our building trades on a sound basis?

THE first man who, having enclosed a plot of ground, took upon himself to say, "This is mine," and found people silly enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. How many crimes, how many wars, how many murders, how much misery and horror would have been spared the human race if some one, tearing up the fence and filling in the ditch, had cried out to his fellows: "Give no heed to this imposter; you are all lost if you forget that the produce belongs to all, *the land to none.*"—JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

"In addition to the municipal rate, they have imposed what are known as Main Road Rates and for years they had an extra rate to pay for the Sydney Harbour Bridge. In 1937, the revenues raised from these three rates were as follows:

Municipal Rate	£896,615
Main Road Rates.....	41,108
Harbour Bridge rates.....	44,277
	£982,000
Total	£982,000

"In addition to the foregoing, the state imposes a special state tax on land values. The state tax is small in New South Wales but fairly heavy in some of the other states. In Victoria, it produces well over \$2,000,000 a year, and in Queensland, almost \$2,000,000 a year. Bear in mind that the population in these states is not large.

"The revenue raised in New South Wales—much the greater part of it in Sydney—for the Sydney Harbour Bridge alone, over a period of years, was in excess of \$10,000,000. That was all in addition to the municipal tax rate. Have you ever heard of New York, or any other municipality on this continent, doing anything of that kind? That is why I say that when you count in such taxes as these, add them to the municipal tax, and allow for the fact that improvements are not taxed, you are very far astray when you say, or intimate, that New York can be compared with Sydney in these matters.

"Mr. Hodgkiss states that they have slums and other undesirable social conditions in Melbourne. But remember that Melbourne still taxes improvements. Alderman Firth and other authorities state that there are no slums in Sydney. Note the following statement by Alderman Firth:

"Sydney and New Castle, in New South Wales, and Brisbane, in Queensland, the three cities that have made the most marvelous progress in Australia, all enjoy the new system of rating, while Adelaide, the capital of South Australia, under the old system, makes no corresponding progress. Melbourne also has stuck to the old system. It is a remarkable fact that while Melbourne not many years ago was larger than Sydney, it is altogether outdistanced by Sydney.'

"You further state in your letter: 'The elimination of the taxes on improvements, where the tax on land values is not increased to an even larger extent, is to stimulate speculation in land.'

"That is true only where a city needs improvements. The first effect of the elimination of the tax on improvements under such conditions is to promote the erection of the needed improvements—surely a fine thing—and this in turn increases the demand for land and enhances

the price of land. But that condition continues only until the needed improvements have been supplied. To erect improvements after that is just a waste of money. I have in mind two large buildings erected in Vancouver, during the boom period, costing several million dollars which have been scarcely used at all since they were erected.

"Now let us see what the effect of the land tax was in Sydney. Again I will quote from Alderman Firth:

"There was a case of a man in my own Borough of Strathfield who was paying under the old system £80 a year in rates on a section of land lying vacant. The first year the land value rating came into operation, he had to pay £800. The second year he had sold the bulk of his land. It was taken up by many who were eager to use it. At the same time, others whose land had been developed, who had their house and home on it, found that their rates of £8 or £10 a year had been reduced to £2 or £3 under the new system. In short, the new system is of immense benefit to the man who uses his land well, by taking from his shoulders the burdens he had to bear when improvements were taxed and land values were largely exempt.'

"Surely statements by such men as Alderman Firth, City Clerk Roy Hendy and others, and all to the same effect, as to the benefits derived under the new system, should carry weight."

"Harvest" — Man and Nature

IN recent years the French cinema has risen to the rank of a cultural achievement. The films produced in France combine poetry and realism in penetrating commentaries on different aspects of life. One of the best of them is "Harvest", the theme of which is "the mighty *deux à deux* between man and nature".

It is the story of a deserted farming village. All have left, except one man, Panturle, who lives a half-savage life, until the woman, Arsule, comes. Here now are the elements of a new society—man, woman and the land. Together they live, together they plough the neglected fields, sow the seeds, grow wheat. Panturle threshes the wheat with his own hands. Then he brings it to the market. There is a shortage of wheat that season and Panturle's wheat is the best in the countryside. He gets a good price for it. This from the land that was not considered worth cultivating, that was deserted for the lure of the cities. But, as the caption in the film tells us, Mother Earth will not tolerate being despoiled and deserted. Man must always return to her and learn the lesson all over again. Only thus will society thrive

More About Sharecroppers*

By GRACE ISABEL COLBRON

SHARECROPPERS Week (March 3rd to 10th) in New York City has come and gone. City dailies said a few words in advance, and the Grapes of Wrath Dinner-Forum on March 5th, at which Mrs. Roosevelt and other notables spoke, received some polite notice. But, just as the Washington Sharecropper Conference in January came to naught, as far as the public knowledge of it was concerned, just so the doings of that week in New York were of little avail, as far as public knowledge was concerned, to the Sharecroppers.

Some newspaper articles spoke of the "migrant workers" (particularly one series of excellent articles in a leading daily), but it was only the "migrant worker," individual and family, with whom all these stories dealt. The specific problem back of the case of the actual sharecropper of the South was touched on very lightly, if at all.

The migrant worker, the wandering farm worker, moving from place to place in search of seasonal work, is quite a different person from the Southern sharecropper. The migrant worker is, as a rule, a lone man cursed with Wanderlust, a "hobo" of a better sort. Jack London, for instance, was a migrant worker at one period of his varied career. He wandered, for many reasons, and found it necessary to work now and then to provide cash for incident expenses, or to work for a night or a week's lodging mayhap. But his case, as the case of most such migrant workers, cannot and should not be confused with the case of the sharecroppers—of many thousands of whole families who are victims of the worst examples of landlordism our country can show. We are just beginning to hear something of their case, their hopeless condition. But the news is changed in transit. The Sharecropper is treated as a "migrant worker", and the actual point, sum and substance of the situation is lost—deliberately smothered, one may well say. It is treated as an individual problem.

To deal with the case of the sharecropper as a social problem would interfere with a large vested interest—with the greatest, the most dangerous of all vested interests, the ability of one man, through undisturbed ownership of land, to make all others work for him, at his price. Working for a landlord at about 10 cents a day, these modern slaves of the landowner are much worse off than the black slaves of a former generation. For those chattel slaves were of actual money value to their owner. The sharecropper is of little money value

to his landlord, who can dispossess him at any moment, and take some one else on in his place.

But the sharecropper has won some friends. He has been organized into a Union that fights for his interests and the interests of his family. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, a comparatively new organization already numbering more than 40,000 members among tenant farmers, especially among the sharecroppers, has as its motto: **THE LAND IS THE COMMON HERITAGE OF THE PEOPLE.** A worthy motto indeed. But even this daring Union fails to see the only way by which landlordism can be robbed of its power to exploit. Here is what they suggest:

"For the dispossessed wanderers, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union proposes federal communities, co-operatively managed, where a new life can begin. It asks that sharecroppers be represented on local committees administering the federal agricultural program. It seeks for agricultural workers the benefits of federal social security laws and the National Labor Relations Act. . . . But the real solution, the Union insists, lies in the establishment of farms of their own, cooperatively run. These farms will produce not only cotton to sell, but vegetables to eat, milk to drink, timber for homes and schools."

Perhaps something can be done that way, but not all that is needed. However, the Union's power and its determination to put through some part of its program to rehabilitate the sharecropper—who asks nothing more than his little home, and earnings enough to support his family—seems to have disturbed, rather seriously, the Southern landlords, the "planters" who are resurrecting a sort of Ku Klux Klan in an attempt to kill the Union. One can respect the Union for the enemies it has made as well as for its constant efforts to bring the sharecropper problem before the public without confusing it with farm problems in general.

Now that the sharecroppers have created some public interest, some very amusing efforts have resulted on the part of those seeking public interest—and eventually, public office. Such, for example, is Thomas E. Dewey's vacuous program for achieving agricultural prosperity.

The attempt to put the case of the sharecroppers comprehensively before the general public has seemed, thus far, to have achieved nothing more than a deserved popularity for John Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath". But at least the surface has been scratched. It may lead to a clearer understanding of this most pitiful condition in our "land of unlimited opportunity". And when it is more clearly understood, the implications in the motto of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union will be more fully realized—the declaration that the land is the common heritage of the people.

* An article on the Sharecroppers by Miss Colbron appeared in the January-February issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

Society Psychoanalyzed

By FRANCIS JACOBS

I WANT to try an experiment. I want to examine economic society in the light of today's psychology.

Why is there sweated labour for some and no labour for others? Why, when we seek to improve our homes, do taxes leap up to kill our enterprise? Why are rents so high when so much land is left virgin? What force is at work damming the dynamic energies of industry and agriculture, preventing their harmonious flow?

The source of mankind's life and energy is the Earth. Greek and Roman personified her as the great Goddess of Plenty—Demeter, Ceres. Mankind was nursed at her breast, lovingly tilling her soil to gather her riches, penetrating into her depths to bring up her treasures. And no matter how far he may have wandered from her on his journey into modern civilization, he is still drawing his succour from her. It is his destiny to return always to her. When we die we commit our bodies once again to her care.

I want to try and reconstruct the first psychological crisis of the primitive community.

The drama is set in a fertile valley. Mountains enclose it. The first player is primitive, solitary man. He works all day on the land to produce the wherewithal to live. He lives crudely. His dwelling is a mud hut. He is bound up in Mother Earth. He is the infant. Others wander into the valley and settle on its fertile soil. The little egoist becomes aware of the family. He must become the little altruist.

Now he need no longer work all day. He can exchange what he produces most easily with the produce of other men. His "produce" is his first possession. It can be retained or released at will. By exchanging his possessions, he achieves leisure. There is opportunity for mental development. It is the dawn of conscious reason. Now some are building wooden houses. So he decides to pull down his mud-hut, not without some regret. If one considers the insanitary conditions prevailing in our slums today, one suspects that we have suffered a fixation at the primitive mud-hut level.

Now the first doctor enters the scene. He cures with herbs and is paid in produce. Another is expert at sewing skins; the first tailor is also paid in produce. Produce assumes a new value. It can be exchanged for service. Already man is being weaned from the soil. There is other work afoot. But there are always some left to till it—the farmers—the children. We call them "children of the soil."

As the valley becomes more crowded, *land* gradually becomes an object of possession, an object of love and strife. As the exchanges become more complicated, men

must learn to compromise. They must have laws and abide by them. They hear their first "don't." There are squabbles. So the little men go to the wisest and strongest man in the community; from his wisdom the great man judges between them. From his strength he punishes. He is loved and feared. He is the father of the community; the first king.

But this primitive king is not the wisest and strongest for nothing. He has the finest house and he is the first to stake out a fine piece of land, when land becomes heavily worked in the valley. It is royal, sacred land. It is "taboo." To touch it is death. The little men respect it in fear and love. The great father will devote his time to the community, but he also must live. In return the little men must sacrifice a proportion of their beloved produce, the bounty of their Mother Earth, to the protecting father. A service for a service.

Now a danger threatens the community. As it spreads down the valley, its boundary meets the boundary of another growing community. It is retreat or war. The little men go again for help to the great father. He is growing rich on the service of the community and would not have its boundaries lessened by an inch. It is war. He will be their general. But he will need food and weapons for his army of strong men; so the little men who stay behind must sacrifice a little more of their produce, their beloved bounty. The army returns victorious. The community is bigger and the great man more loved and feared than ever.

But, peace restored, he is no longer giving added service to the community. Will the little men dare to point out that *their* added service should also now be cancelled? The big man is not going to point it out for them. Besides, he now has an army. It is for the little men to speak. Will they accept this burden of added taxation, of added sacrifice, or is it to remain a single mutual tax? The mingled love and hate for the tyrant colour the wish to speak with guilt. Is he not also their protector, their judge, their all-wise, their all-powerful one, their God? The longer the wish remains unspoken, the more guilty it grows.

Yet another factor creeps into the complex situation. The great man is growing old and wishes to ensure his privileges for his son. He boldly encloses his piece of land with a fence. The little men stand speechless before the "taboo." The great man sees their fear and boldly encloses more and more land. The little men, who have already sacrificed so much, are now losing their grip on the beloved Mother Earth. The more they love the land and work on it—building roads and bridges—the more valuable the big man's enclosure grows. And as the inheritors of the land increase in numbers, the land grows more scarce and ever more valuable, their need for it ever more passionate. But it belongs to the father, the king.

How to meet this complex situation? The great father must be killed. Impossible! Impossible to kill the loved one; to entertain the guilty wish for a moment is to wish back certain death on oneself. Fly far from the country? But to the primitive mind there is no world beyond the community and the valley where it lies. To go away into the mountains is death.

Here is the first big decision of the community. Which is the safest and easiest way out? Dismiss it. Bury it. Repress it. With but few exceptions, this is the course mankind has taken. He accepts the situation as a loving dependent. If the services due to him from his king are lessened by a despotic ruler, will he dare demand that the ruler pay back the value of the land in kind?

He has branded himself, in fantasy, slave, and accepted the position of an impotent on the land. As far as he is concerned she can remain uncreative—virgin. His love for her is even turned to distaste. Like the neurotic, he is capable of only a debased relationship with Mother Earth. He pays money to a procurer for the privilege of using her. She is the prostitute. Does he demand anything but a barren return? He has denied his claim to the dynamic value of land.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries."

For, although the guilty hostile wish is banished, its shadow, its ghost—as it were—lives on in the unconscious, in the fantasy of the terrible avenging lord. The death-wish is projected on to him. He hovers over men like a doom, binding them in fear.

* * *

This type-case can be almost bodily applied to England. In it you can recognize her happy "kindergarten" existence under Alfred the Great, then the Danegeld, which collected an annual £72,000, twenty-seven years after the invasion was over, the Feudal System, the enclosures, and the "rogues and vagabonds" who swept over the country after the enclosures—the nucleus of today's unemployed, our economic impotents.

As the burden of taxation and oppression became more severe, the burden of apparent guilt shifted on to the other side, on to the land-owners. The little man who would not dare to speak in the first place now has his tongue cut out if he dares to squeal. When Parliament might have given him a voice, he could not raise it. If it were raised for a moment, a war was arranged to distract attention from the radical problem, to give scope for increased taxation, and to provide a safety-valve for the repressed hatred—still strong unconscious motives for war. In 1660, the Convention Parliament did actually propose the abolition of Excise Duties, and a Tax on

Land Values. The Stuarts retaliated with the trump card of Rulers—the Divine Rights of Kings. The primitive in man was face to face once again with the painful, ambivalent emotions aroused by the God-tyrant.

With the Industrial Revolution, our amorphous energies were suddenly harnessed to a new dynamo. It was like the coming of puberty to the boy, when the amorphous interests of the child are harnessed to the sexual dynamo. We can see the character-formation clearly for the first time. In England, we see a people already worn out by pestilence and torture. What should have been the greatest boon to mankind, they gratefully accepted at starvation wages and a sixteen-hour day. The great boon was only a source of added profit to the few, and added slavery to the many. Most of all, it has been the means of repressing still deeper the original situation. Housed in his dark slum, his nose eternally bent over the grindstone, the poor primitive has forgotten his gently sloping fields. So the neurosis "grows with what it feeds on."

What can be learned from this psychoanalytic approach to the Land Question? We can see, perhaps for the first time, the full strength of the resistance we are fighting. In the last chapter of "Progress and Poverty," Henry George says "The truth that I have tried to make clear will not find easy acceptance. If that could be, it would have been accepted long ago. If that could be, it would never have been obscured." We can give these lines a fuller meaning.

Beneath the defiant silence of the landowners, the infant is still clinging to its beloved "possessions." Beneath the slavish snobbery of the masses and the inarticulate ignorance of the poverty-stricken, the infant is still clinging to its paralysing fantasies. Beneath the sign "Trespassers will be prosecuted," we can read "taboo," and beneath "taboo"—death.

We see now why men shy away from their birthright like frightened animals; why they slip off the noose for a moment, only to slip it on again under another name—Democracy or Bolshevism; why those with the needed land reform are sometimes doubtful how to proceed; whether they should present the case under this name or that name, whether they should aim at a sudden upheaval or a gradual reform.

We must sow our seed where the resistance is weakest, where there is a healthy discontent with the existing order. The reviling of our opponents is clearly so much wasted breath. The fault, if you can call it such, is more in the oppressed than the oppressor.

Psychologically, the mass of us are still only school-children, and the process of education is bound to be slow. We shall need patience. Ferdinand Lassalle compares the reformer at work to the chemist, when his retort cracks in the heat. "With a slight knitting of his

brow at the resistance of the material, he will, as soon as the disturbance is quieted, calmly continue his labour and investigations."

Our reform can only come through the mass of individuals. It can only come with enlightened education. History, uncensored, must be taught in our schools. Among our teachers, the thinker must replace the sergent-major. Men's minds must be trained to think deeply and fearlessly. Whenever they think deeply enough, they can find the Single Tax.

A time may come when the mass of men will see their fear for the fantasy it is. Throwing off their burden of guilt, they will throw off their burden of taxation, and rediscovering the debt, forgotten so long ago, claim a Single Tax for a Single Tax. When the land is taxed to its full yearly value, the great monopoly will be broken and the country thrown open for the people. Then will private ownership of land cease to be a source of profit, and a man live only by his labour. Then will there be work for all and leisure for all, and the great energies of the community will flow ever back to replenish the community.

A Revolutionary Reform

By HON. HENRY H. WILSON

SINGLE-taxers are loathe to acknowledge the revolutionary implications of the socialization of rent and rental values. Our feudal economy is built on the privilege of private ownership of land, and all economic values are based on the power of exaction inherent in such privilege. This value has been capitalized and put under the charges of interest, and this capitalization is the depository of thrift, savings and security. It is represented in the assets and solvency of life insurance, fire insurance, and trusts, and in most if not all of private debts, such as mortgages, judgments, etc. Also a large proportion of corporate bonds and stocks may be included. Therefore to destroy the privilege of private appropriation of land values is much more than a shift in the incidence of taxation. A whole new economy will have to be evolved, and we will have to pay a great price for liberty, at least during transition. The reason single-taxers should squarely face the momentous changes, is that these changes, if not known, are at least sensed by the mass of the people, and I have no doubt that the opposition to the single tax emphasizes these changes, while its protagonists dodge the issue, and thereby lose a certain quality of appeal. The Marxists preach revolution of the disinherited against poverty and oppression. The single-taxers proclaim freedom—at a price, and the real work is to persuade people to pay it.

I believe that there are also other tactical errors into which the single-taxers fall, which give rise to a confusion of thought altogether disconcerting to the uninitiated. One of these concerns assessments. With value gone, what is to be assessed? Nothing but the privilege of occupancy and use, and the fixing of the value of the privilege can only be by governmental fiat.

Another error is in referring to unearned increment as a "fund", conveying the idea that it may be drawn on as a checking account. Taxes, or the costs of government, come out of the products of labor applied to land; they are really paid by the pick and shovel, just as rent is paid. The real objection is to double robbery, taxes and rent. The elimination of taxes, by rent being taken as a substitute, is the idea to be stressed. Every dollar the producer can withhold from the landlord and the tax-collector is a dollar for larger consumption and increasing production.

Again, single-tax is not a mere fiscal system. It is a method of determining the source and amount of government income. It proposes to use as the sole measuring unit the value of land irrespective of improvements. With a given sum to be raised, and site values determined, the tax fixes the contribution. This necessarily means a high tax on land, but in most instances, as where land is improved by homes, a lower total tax. The damage done the speculator will be compensated by the opening of opportunity, stimulation of building, and a general quickening of human life.

And finally, the single-taxers fail to appreciate that, in the last analysis, single-tax is a land question—agrarian at heart. As I understand the teaching, when the land speculator and the forestaller of opportunity have been put to rout, then labor may have some measure of choice between working for itself or for another. Where is he to go to work for himself and at what? The only answer can be on subsistence farms—as in frontier days—the new frontier being the land acquired by government through defaulted taxes. If this is not so, then the relief from the pressure of glutted labor "markets" is a false doctrine. Therefore the single-taxers should strive to foster the agrarian—by transferring values to it from the values of the urban—by supporting policies which directly and indirectly render farm life easier and more tolerable, and by taking the profit motive out of agriculture. The field must cease to be the servant of the factory, and we must return the factory as the servant of the field.

To be sure I am suggesting a large order, but I am convinced that it is the task before us.

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A Superior Race

By THOMAS N. ASHTON

"THE land that will produce luscious fruits, beautiful flowers, useful cereals," said Aristotle 300 years before Christ came to teach His principles, "will also produce a greater crop; that is, it will produce superior men and women, because man is a partner of all he sees and hears and grows through what he does, and the victories over unkind Nature are his."

Little did this teacher of Alexander the Great dream that the day would come when man, by means of private appropriation of public land-values would plunge illiterate humanity into such miserable poverty that luscious fruits would lie rotting in the shade of the trees which bore them, whilst man and woman went hungry for fruit; that weeds would grow in wild and rank abandon because the building site on which they flourished then appeared to be less valuable for taxation purposes; that cereals, lacking a market among hungry men and their families, would be burned for fuel.

Little did Aristotle dream that as humanity advanced in the arts and sciences the products of its ingenuity, labor and co-operation would be taken from it in the form of monopoly rent and taxes; that rather than a race of superior men and women there would be driven into economic slavery boys and girls from the age of six years and upwards whom, as an eye-witness of national fame avers, death sets free "inside of four years". Laboring from six in the morning until seven in the evening, "these weazened pigmies" munched in silence their meagre lunches and then "toppled over in sleep on the floor". The superior race envisioned by Aristotle proved to be, in part, mill operatives consisting of "dozens of little girls of, say, seven years of age wearing only one garment, a linsey-woolsey dress"; sleep-locked little tots who, at the expiration of the lunch period, were shouted at, shaken, cuffed and even kicked into wakefulness to resume their dulled watch for broken threads in the spinning frames—a long, weary watch carried on in monotonous repetition as little feet ceaselessly paced up and down the alleys between rumbling machines—a terrific rumble which "reduced nervous sensation in a few months to the minimum"—a deadened nervous system in which "the child does not think, he ceases to suffer—memory is as dead as hope: no more does he long for the green fields, the running streams, the freedom of the woods, and the companionship of all the wild, free things that run, climb, fly, swim or burrow . . . memory is seared, physical vitality is at such low ebb that he ceases to suffer. Nature puts a short limit on torture by sending insensibility."

This is the true picture of Aristotle's superior race as it existed a few decades ago in these United States. If there be alive today any of these seven or eight year old tots who, having worked in a mill a year, "could never learn to read", they now should be in the prime of life—well under two score years and ten. We wonder if the report of the writer on sociology accurately forecast the future of these little boys and girls—"a year in the mills and he loses his capacity to play; and the child that cannot play, cannot learn."

The same old tax system totters on. Publicly-created land-values are garnered into private pockets; privately-created wealth is publicly confiscated by legal sanction, legal decree and legal rigmarole—wealth which comes practically in its entirety from the none-too-large wages of ninety-five per cent of our population—wages which now are being augmented by WPA and PWA jobs created for many millions of unemployed men and women whom Aristotle once visualized as a superior race which was to come long after the ancient and venerable philosopher had made his last observation.

In this land which is thought to be "the land of the free and the home of the brave" there might have been the superior race in fact which it pleased the old-time philosopher to contemplate. Ten or fifteen millions of unemployed men and women have become superior in one or two respects—superior in the art of doing unnecessary "projects"—superior in the art of doing them over again, and all because our tax system—cast in plaster of Paris "precedents" born in the oppressive dignity of "law"—has hobble-hitched and hog-tied industry until it palpitates back and forth between tax-assessor sweats and labor-union chills.

If there be alive today any of these tiny tots we wonder what contribution they have made to Aristotle's superior race. We wonder if the children of these children are boys and girls of promising physique—well educated—and ready to advance this superior race one more generation toward superlative superiority. Or are the children of these children yet in the aftermath of man's inhumanity to children?

"I thought to lift one of the little toilers to ascertain his weight. Straightway through his thirty-five pounds of skin and bones there ran a tremor of fear, and he struggled toward a broken thread. I attracted his attention by a touch, and offered him a silver dime. He looked at me dumbly, from a face that might have belonged to a man of sixty, so furrowed, tightly drawn and full of pain it was. He did not reach for the money—he did not know what it was. I tried to stroke his head and caress his cheek. My smile of friendship meant nothing to him—he shrank from my touch, as though he expected punishment. A caress was unknown to this

child, sympathy had never been his portion, and the love of a mother who only a short time before held him in her arms, had all been forgotten in the whirl of wheels and the awful silence of a din that knows no respite.

"There were dozens of just such children in this particular mill. A physician who was with me said that they would all be dead, probably in two years, and their places filled with others—there were plenty more. Pneumonia carries off most of them. Their systems are ripe for disease, and when it comes, there is no rebound—no response. Medicine simply does not act—nature is whipped, beaten, discouraged, and the child sinks into a stupor, and dies."

If it is God's purpose to let us discover in ourselves the depths of our depravity—the stench of our social stinks—the degree of hardness in our hearts—the verity of our vanity in improving upon the laws of Nature—the pomposity of our professorial piffle—the banal ballyhoo of our stuttering statesmen—the petrified culture of our pretentious aristocracy—if all these discoveries are His purpose then our stupid slowness in awakening to our inhumanity o'er tops all other weaknesses, greed and avarice, poll-parrot pretensions and self-centeredness which consumes our days from birth to death.

Occasionally there is a commotion among the well-battered faces of those who cling tenaciously to things-as-they-are. Occasionally someone takes up the battle in behalf of the economic slaves who dully look with suspicion upon the pioneers who would save these slaves who have been led to believe that "the poor ye have always with you" was a command, not a warning. Occasionally a Luther, a Savonarola, an Emerson, a Garrison, a George, a McGlynn has stepped forth with vehement protest against this economic servitude only to be classed as a renegade by those who believe that poverty is essential to dividends and to "capital".

In 1900 the superior race envisioned by Aristotle, nearly twenty-five centuries before, easily could have marshalled, in one small area of this nation, "twenty thousand pigmy bondsmen, half naked, half starved, yellow, weazened, deformed in body, with drawn faces that show spirits too dead to weep, too hopeless to laugh, too pained to feel." Today ten or fifteen millions of fathers and mothers, maturing sons and daughters, easily can dwarf in numbers these twenty thousand pigmies as they form an army of unemployed—dwarf them in numbers, but not in shame, as the victims of a vicious tax system which buys the so-called culture for a vainglorious aristocracy which proudly bears a coat-of-arms in the sign of the almighty dollar.

The sweat-shops of Hester Street—the depravity and degradation of Whitechapel—the Ghetto of Venice—the mines of Siberia—these have been the incubators of Aristotle's superior race.

Rent in Jurisprudence

By JACOB SCHWARTZMAN

ALL Georgeists know—or should know—the law of rent as formulated by Ricardo, and since accepted by all economists of note. In *Progress and Poverty* the law of rent is stated thus:

"The rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use."

In this article, I intend to discuss not the law of rent, but the law on rent, i. e., the definitions and functions of rent as interpreted and decided by authoritative legal minds.

The definition of rent as given by Henry George is as follows:

"Rent is that part of wealth which is given for the use of land."

The following are the definitions of rent by accepted authorities of the legal profession:

"Rent (Lat. *reditus*, a return). A return or compensation for the possession of some corporeal inheritance. A certain profit, either in money, provisions, or labor, issuing out of lands and tenements, in return for their use.

"The compensation, either in money, provisions, chattels, or labor, received by the owner of the soil from the occupant thereof." (Bouvier's Law Dictionary)

The late Professor John H. Easterday, in *The Law of Real Property I*, 1932 edition, pp. 51-52, defines rent as follows:

"A rent is a right to a certain profit issuing periodically out of lands and tenements.

"A rent may be created either by conveying land to another person and reserving the rent to the grantor or his heirs, but not to a stranger, or by granting the rent to another person and retaining the land. . . .

"Care must be exercised by the student at all times to note the exact sense in which the term 'rent' is used. The right to demand a profit should never be confused with the profit itself."

Formerly, it was possible not only to sell land, and thus to realize capitalized rent, but also to reserve a perpetual rent in the land conveyed. Such rent inhered in the land, and was forever payable to the original grantor, his heirs, or to any person or persons to whom such an everlasting right was sold. It is interesting to note that while the New York State Constitution abolished such rent, so far as agricultural lands are concerned, this rent in perpetuity may still be conveyed in the cases of city structures or lots, mining lands, etc.

A tenant's liability for rent is not affected by condemnation of part of the leased premises; but where the estate

of both landlord and tenant in the entire premises is extinguished by condemnation, the obligation to pay rent ceases. (*Corrigan v. Chicago*, 144 Ill. 537.)

Payment of rent has become a sacred ritual. Rent must be paid on the day it is due, and courts are very strict in enforcing this rule. No day of grace is given to a tenant. In *Walton v. Stafford*, 162 N. Y. 558, the New York State Court of Appeals affirmed a ruling that rent falling due on a legal holiday other than Sunday is due on that day.

An unconscious recognition of the fact that wealth must be produced before a division thereof goes to the landlord as rent is indicated in the case of *Smathers v. Standard Oil Co.*, 199 App. Div. 368, affirmed 233 N. Y. 617; where the Court said:

"In construing the lease before us, it is also important to recognize the rule that the presumption is that rent is not payable until after it has been earned, and that, in the absence of an express agreement to the contrary, rent is payable at the end of the term, and not in advance."

In *Smith v. Barber*, 112 App. Div. 187, the landlord's holy right to rent has been further perpetuated, this time without any regard as to tenant's actual earnings on the land. The Court there decided that the obligation of a tenant to pay rent after the beginning of the term does not depend on his possession of the demised premises. If he acquired perfect title thereto by virtue of the lease, which would include the right of possession, he is liable for rent under his covenant to pay the same, regardless of whether or not he actually obtained possession.

Thus it is seen that while the definition of rent is vague, and includes the return for the use of tenements and furniture, the Courts have, none the less, insisted that the payment of rent is a natural act, and have in every way enforced it.

To come back to the definitions, we see Professor Easterday cautioning the student to be careful in his use of the word "rent," and yet, in the same passage, he further defines rent as "the right . . . against realty to receive from it some compensation or rent" (*Van Rensselaer v. Read*, 26 N. Y. 558, 564.) He himself has fallen into the error of including in a definition the thing being defined, in this case, *rent*. It is like defining land as consisting of air, water, and land.

The foregoing authorities, in discussing the origin and the definition of rent, are united in the assertion that rent must consist of profit. They do not define what profit is, but use the term in its common meaning, as defined by Henry George: "Profit is the amount received in excess of an amount expended." Now, by what stretch of imagination, legal or otherwise, could it be said that rent is an amount received in excess of an amount expended? What amount was expended to create land?

If it could be claimed that certain individual landlords

have worked as wage-earners nearly all their life, stinting themselves of all pleasures, working, slaving, and saving enough to buy a share of the infinite universe, the answer is that firstly, in political economy, which deals with a community generally, we are not interested in individual transactions, and that as a whole, the class of landlords did not derive its claim to land by exchanging the result of hard labor for real estate. And secondly, were it possible that every landlord today actually did purchase land by means of wealth accumulated at the expense of daily toil, it still would not change the fact that title to that which cannot be owned cannot be passed, irrespective of the good faith or the honestly-possessed wealth of the purchaser. Ironically, the rule just quoted is a legal axiom so thoroughly ingrained in the annals of the law, that it is never even questioned by gentlemen who prattle about legal rent and profits.

Unfortunately, we live in a world where the acceptance of status quo is tantamount to the acceptance of truth, so earnestly searched for by the ancient philosophers. In a world where mental garbage passes for impenetrable—and therefore, deep—thought, all such ambiguity is appreciated, as faithfully summarizing the chaotic nonsense existing in the present order. Scholastic pulpits impress upon us the value of ten-syllable words; lawyers, carefully splitting thin hairs into infinitesimal principles of law, pompously clothe such principles with all the parasitic medals with which this world abounds. Questions like "Are you still beating your wife?" and "How many angels can stand on top of a pin?" are earnestly debated; and the fury exerted to discover who swindled whom in what, trains the mind to waste itself in futile endeavor.

By-products of Education

By WILLIS A. SNYDER

AT the Henry George Centenary last September, I "scraped acquaintance" with a banker who spoke disparagingly of the effectiveness of the Henry George School extension class he was conducting. Perhaps it has been excessive modesty on my part, but I myself have been so discouraged at the number who break their promises to join our classes, at the number of others who drop out, and even those who "complete" the course and then seem to feel no concern to help spread the doctrine, that I wonder if other Extension Secretaries of the School do not share my sense of frustration.

I have been encouraged to persist partly by the instances of indirect results that have occasionally come to my notice, some of which I would like to pass on for the encouragement of others who may be tempted to abandon their work or deterred from starting a class by the scarcity of tangible results.

An executive in a manufacturing concern eight miles from Hudson, New York (where I teach), who would never attend a class, has bought four copies of our text-book, "Progress and Poverty," to give away. In his office recently I noticed one of the tracts printed by Mr. Goeller that I did not recall giving to him. He said it had come back to him with acknowledgment of a "small contribution" he had made to Gilbert Tucker's group, the Tax Relief Association (I had sent them his name), and that he kept it on his desk "to start arguments with"!

I experienced one of my bitterest disappointments when the social science teacher from the Hudson High School dropped out of my class. A year later I had a chance to tell him that President Knarr of our Henry George Fellowship had recently seen a Cornell University text-book which gave considerable favorable treatment to the Georgeist Philosophy. His reply was, "Why shouldn't they? There are no arguments against it. I teach it as much as the Syllabus will permit."

A local merchant who "had no time" for class borrowed my copy of "Significant Paragraphs from Progress and Poverty." He kept it so long that I finally asked him to return it unread so I could lend it to someone else. He stalled and when I finally recovered the book he had read it and said he was convinced that Single Tax would work if it were possible to get it tried.

I could give many more instances of books sold to people whom I unsuccessfully solicited to attend classes at the school. Some were influential people, some were not. Some read the books, others did not. I always have a copy of "Progress and Poverty" in my car and have sold them to all kinds of people in all kinds of places. I hope these facts may encourage some other teacher who is working alone "out in the sticks" where you cannot send out a thousand class announcements to a thousand *new* names twice a year but have to get your pupils by knocking them down and dragging them in. I feel if the class had continued in Albany and the one promised in Poughkeepsie would start, it would not only produce results both tangible and intangible in those cities, but would add to the prestige of my work in Hudson. Every outpost helps, but it is harder to keep up one's courage on the frontiers than where one attends large faculty meetings every few months.

One way we try to get publicity for the Hudson Extension is by exhibits in the windows of vacant stores. I like to think that there may be some intangible propaganda there—that some prejudice against our ideas may be broken down in minds of people we never contact in any other way.

The way of education is a long, slow way, it is a hard struggle. But it is *not* a futile endeavor. The "by-products" that we may never hear of are incalculable. In the work of education the best advice to follow is—haste not, rest not. "Its growth is in other hands."

Abel Brink

IN the death of Abel Brink, early in January, 1940, the movement in Denmark has lost one of its ablest adherents. Of Abel Brink it can indeed be said that he toiled for the Truth, suffered for it, and died for it. Never robust, Brink spent most of his life in fighting for the rights of man. He died in his early fifties after a long illness. His mental and spiritual energy, his power of faith and devotion to the Truth, were too much for his frail body to support any longer.

His interest in political economy dates from his school years. Scarcely twenty when a pupil in Jakob Lange's People's High School (Adult High School), Brink translated an English book on political economy, the effort incidentally affording him an easy way to learn English. He was then planning to come to the United States. Later when he did come to this country, he spent several years on a relative's farm, then returned to Denmark to finish his education and get his University degree. He subsequently entered Government employ, and became a member of the Valuation Commission, interesting himself particularly in Land Valuation. If Denmark today has one of the best land valuation systems in the world, a system that is part of the governmental functions, it is because of Abel Brink's many years of work. He studied the systems in use in other lands. Among the systems he introduced was the Purdy Unit (New York City) system of urban land valuation for Copenhagen and other large towns. He also mapped farm land and did many things to make the government and the people of his country understand the immense importance, as a sound basis for political economy, of a proper understanding of land values.

For over twenty years Mr. Brink has been prominent in the Georgeist work in Denmark. He was a spearhead at all important meetings in his own country and at many a Conference in other lands. A quiet, shy man, a rather dry speaker and writer, the facts he had to tell were nevertheless of great importance. The papers written by him for various conventions would, of themselves, make an enlightening record of the work in Denmark.

For many years Mr. Brink had been editor of *Grundskyld*, the official organ of the Danish Henry George Association, or, as it subtitles itself, the "Association for Ground Debt and Free Trade." Our Danish comrades, incidentally, do not call themselves Single Taxers, but Georgeists. They do not speak of "Single Tax" but have, as the basis of their work and teachings, the words "Ground Debt" (*Grundskyld*, i. e., the debt owed to the community for the use of land).

Abel Brink was as faithful at this work as at all his other labor for the Truth in which he believed. As he was not gifted with the personal magnetism that aids

other workers in the Cause, in Denmark as elsewhere, Brink's influence relied mainly upon the unassailable truth of his argumentation, upon his astounding knowledge of facts, and his ability to marshal them. His keen sense of justice, his unswerving devotion to the Truth burned through his quiet, rather restrained, manner, and made itself felt whenever he spoke and wrote.

The January issue of *Grundskyld* was devoted mainly to tributes to Brink by leading associates, Jakob Lange, veteran of the Danish movement; K. J. Kristensen; F. Folke; J. L. Bjorner and Mrs. Signe Bjorner, as well as many others. His comrades spoke at the funeral ceremony, and a memorial meeting was held by the Henry George Association, in the form of a dinner at the Grundtvig House in Copenhagen. The tone of this meeting, as described in *Grundskyld*, was hopeful and cheerful, as Brink himself would have wished it. The speeches told of his fine work, of the tributes coming from other lands. It was on this occasion that Mr. Folke told of Abel Brink's last wish, his request that the words THE EARTH FOR THE PEOPLE might be carved on his gravestone.

Abel Brink's life, and the prominence he attained in the work for the Truth in which he believed, were a fine example of the power of faith. Lacking, either in appearance or manner, in that personal charm that attracts attention to the individual himself and may outweigh the cause he advocates, Brink worked his way up to a leading position in the Movement by his steadfast faith, his unswerving loyalty, his clear incisive understanding. He will be greatly missed in Denmark as elsewhere where Georgeists meet. And his name will stand high in the ranks of those who remained faithful . . . "even unto death."
—GRACE ISABEL COLBRON

Fellow Journeyman

THREE famous men have passed away recently, all within a short time of one another, all distinguished in their respective fields, all friends of the Henry George cause. They are, Raymond V. Ingersoll, Hamlin Garland and Edwin Markham.

It was a useful public career that came to an untimely end with the passing of Raymond Ingersoll, on February 24, 1940, at the age of 65. His interest in public affairs began forty years ago, when he was active in the New York City election which threw out the Tammany mayor, Van Wyck, and brought in Seth Low, who was then President of Columbia University. From 1919 to 1924, Ingersoll was secretary of the influential civic group, the City Club of New York. In 1924, he was selected as Impartial Chairman to arbitrate the labor disputes in the cloak and suit industry. He received wide com-

mendation from all sides for his fair and impartial adjudications. He resigned this post in 1931. In 1933 he was elected President of the Borough of Brooklyn, New York, and was re-elected in 1937. This position he retained, honorably and efficiently, up to his recent death. Though not active in the Georgeist cause, he was known to be very friendly, and was always prepared to lend his aid and influence when called upon to do so. He preferred to be known as a tax reformer rather than a single taxer, but conceded that his entire knowledge of taxation came to him from his study of Henry George.

Hamlin Garland, the "dean of American letters", died March 4, 1940, at the age of 79. He came from a pioneering family, and was born in Wisconsin in its frontier days. His chief sympathies and interests lay with the frontier pioneers, whom he has immortalized in his literary works. His travels took him to Iowa, Dakota, California and the Yukon. He foresaw the defeat of the pioneers in the economic system that was taking hold. Garland's accepted masterpiece, "A Son of the Middle Border" is the story of his own family, and its westward migrations, in the constant driving search for better land on which to settle. Having had the privilege of observing the land question at first hand, Garland was greatly influenced by Henry George. He was a member of the first National Conference of Single Taxers in 1890, and it was he who officiated in welcoming Henry George back to America after his travels abroad.

Our third friend, Edwin Markham, died on March 7, 1940. He would have celebrated his 88th birthday on April 23. Markham was born in Oregon, wrote verses since childhood, and worked on farms and cattle ranches. He lived in obscurity until his 47th year, when the poem that brought him fame was given to the world. "The Man with the Hoe" has been circulated more than any other single poem. Markham said that he was inspired by Millet's painting of the same name, in which the apathetic hoeman did indeed seem to be "bowed by the weight of centuries". "The yeoman," said the poet, "is the landed and well-to-do farmer. You need shed no tears for him. But here, in Millet's picture is his opposite, the hoeman, the landless and soul-blighted workman of the world." Markham's sense of outrage at this economic inequality resolved itself into his poem.

"Plundered, profaned, disinherited,
Cries protest to the Judges of the World,
A protest that is also a prophecy."

The founder of LAND AND FREEDOM, Joseph Dana Miller, was one of the first to bring Markham's poem to public attention. While Markham was a prolific writer and lecturer, he has not been able to escape the onus of being a one-poem poet. But he might well have been consoled with the knowledge that no one else ever made a deeper furrow with a mere hoe.

Signs of Progress

GEORGEIST ACTIVITIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Henry George School of Social Science

REPORT OF EDWIN ROSS, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

CLASSES—At the middle of this spring term there are fifty classes in "Progress and Poverty" being conducted at headquarters, out of an original fifty-one at the beginning of the term. A comparison with previous mid-term data reveals that there has been a smaller percentage of drop-outs this term than ever before.

There are six classes for high school students, and judging from the report of their instructors they are splendid classes. The students evince a disposition towards logical reasoning, and they are less obsessed with pre-conceived notions than are their elders. They require less help from the instructors, and they readily correct themselves when in error. The results of educating this group warrant more attention being paid to them. It is expected that the number of such classes will be increased in ensuing terms.

STUDENT GROUPS—A group of students have formed a debating team. To begin with, they will limit themselves to intra-mural debates, and as experience is gained, they expect to branch out. The purpose of the group is to attract the attention of those unacquainted with the philosophy of Henry George, to the end that they will take up the study more thoroughly in classes.

Another student group that has been formed is the Current Events Discussion Group, which meets at the School every Wednesday. Sidney Abelson, who also conducts a writing group, acts as Chairman. Topics of current interest, such as the Finnish loan, the Japanese embargo, and New Deal measures, have been discussed by a group averaging twenty-five in number. Controversial subjects are treated in the manner of a debate, each side being represented by a speaker, with general discussion following.

EXTENSION CLASSES—Due mainly to Secretary Teresa McCarthy's intensive efforts in New Jersey, classes are being conducted in Elizabeth, Bloomfield, Perth Amboy, Irvington, Dover, Orange, Newark, Kearny, Montclair, North Arlington, Union City, West New York, Hackensack, Paterson, Pompton Plains, and Lincoln Park.

Most of the big cities in the United States are represented by classes. Among those that have more than one class are: Boston, Mass., with ten classes; St. Louis,

Mo., with five; Philadelphia, Pa., three; Chicago, Ill., twenty-five; Hartford, Conn., five; Long Island, N. Y., seven.

Not all the extensions have reported yet for their Spring term plans. More are expected.

In Boston an unusually large class graduated at a meeting of the Henry George Fellowship held at the Y.W.C.A. John S. Codman was chairman. Francis Goodale delivered the principle address. New classes started April 1. A broadcast over a Boston radio station announced the commencement of these classes.

SPEAKERS BUREAU

Dorothy Sara, in charge of the Speakers Bureau of the School, reports that the service of supplying Georgeist speakers to various social groups is a most efficient means of stimulating public interest in the Georgeist philosophy, and in getting people to take the course at the School.

Louis Wallis, noted Georgeist author and lecturer, spoke before the Paterson Rotary Club, in New Jersey, on March 15. Out of eighty-five members present, fifty-eight enrolled on the spot for the correspondence course in Fundamental Economics. The meeting consisted mostly of business men, a type of audience which Mr. Wallis is particularly qualified to handle. His remarks were on "Our Lopsided Taxation", a topic he has often used, always with favorable results.

A new service has been established in the Speakers Bureau. While most speakers deliver their speeches *ex tempore*, some of them write out their speeches, and afterwards place them with the Bureau, thus making them available to others. A file of speeches on a variety of subjects has thus been built up. When some organization wants to hear a talk on housing, or the depression, for instance, the chosen speaker may study and use the speech already written on that topic.

So valuable has the Speakers Bureau in New York City proven, that Extension Schools in other cities have been inspired to start their own lecture service bureaus. Among the cities that have already gotten their bureaus under way are: Newark, N. J.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Berkeley, Calif.; and Montreal, Canada.

SOCIETY FOR LONG ISLAND GEORGEISTS

The proposed classes of the Society, reported in the last issue of *LAND AND FREEDOM*, are now in full swing, and arrangements for four new classes in "Progress and Poverty" have since been made.

Besides taking upon himself the large order of covering Long Island with classes, Dr. S. A. Schneidman, leader of the Society, has established a series of forums similar to the ones held at the School headquarters. The Long Island forums are held Tuesday evenings at the Jamaica Y.M.C.A., and the whole series for this Spring has already been planned. Among the lecturers who have already spoken are: Holger Lyngholm, on "Cooperation and Democracy in Denmark" (which appears elsewhere in this issue); Ralph Borsodi, Editor of *Free America* and Director of the School for Living, on "The Doom of the Modern City—Decentralization Program for Social Change"; and Dr. Henry Neumann, leader of the Brooklyn Ethical Culture School, on "Building the Ethical World of Tomorrow". Many more prominent speakers appear on the program for future forums.

A fine statement of the aims of the Society appears in the announcement of the forums: "The Society for Long Island Georgeists is bravely attempting, in these chaotic times, to bring together socially spirited men and women inspired by the teachings of Henry George, that these may in turn help others into an understanding of the possibility of realizing economic democracy—the basis for a meaningful life—in this day and age."

CHICAGO, ILL.

One of the aims of Oscar Geiger in founding the School was to produce, not only converts to the Georgeist philosophy, but also leaders who would themselves sustain and expand educational activities.

The fact that this aim has borne fruit is well exemplified in the Chicago School. Forty students of the Winter term met at the Chicago headquarters on March 9, to consult on plans for Spring classes, and for the commencement exercises. One of the students suggested that a representative from each class discuss the needs of the School with his fellow students and help support its activities. The suggestion was unanimously accepted.

Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

REPORT OF V. G. PETERSON, SECRETARY

TAXATION TURMOIL—Readers who enjoyed "Taxation Turmoil" by W. R. B. Willcox, will be pleased to know that the publication has now been taken over by a New York concern and a new edition, now in production, will be available later on this year. For those unfamiliar

with the book, perhaps the best summary is the author's prefacing statement: Mr. Willcox says, "The following pages were written in a spirit of protest against what seems to be a settled policy of those who direct and influence the affairs of government." His answers to the questions of what can replace taxation, who will pay for the government, which of our existing taxes is the most vicious and what class of men is hardest hit by the present system, make up one of the most widely discussed books of contemporary Georgeist literature. The publishers have established a price of \$2 for the new edition and orders may be placed with the Foundation.

PEARSON'S LONDON—It has been suggested that we bring to your attention Doctor S. Vere Pearson's excellent study, "London's Overgrowth" (reviewed in the May-June issue of *LAND AND FREEDOM*). While treating, as the case in point, the City of London, Dr. Pearson undertakes to answer many of the questions about our own cities that have long perplexed us. The book is a pleasant voyage of exploration into the economic, geographical and cultural forces that combine to establish, develop and maintain the city as a special form of human association, and the understanding which the reader gains sets the problem completely in perspective. Dr. Pearson's inquiry into the part the land question plays in complicating every urban issue, however remotely connected it may seem, is the reader's guide into a realm hitherto reserved for the experts—some of whom have found it expedient to keep the public ignorant and the territory uncharted. The book, a recent import, is available from the Foundation at \$2 a copy, postpaid.

PAMPHLETEERING ACTIVITIES—The value of pamphleteering has long been acknowledged, and is bringing results in special work we have been doing this winter among high school teachers of economics. Nearly two hundred copies of "Progress and Poverty" have been purchased by members of this influential group, extra literature for class room use has been requested, and we have reason to believe that, in many high schools, more attention is being paid to George.

A new campaign has just been started among architects of New York State. We are distributing the pamphlet "Why Penalize Building", with a letter pointing out how the building trade and allied industries would benefit by the abolition of taxes on buildings and other improvements.

FAME MOVES APACE—Our efforts to have Henry George elected to the Hall of Fame this year, move on apace. Friends who have helped in previous elections are being urged to again put their shoulders to the wheel. New friends who would like to assist are invited to get in touch with us. If you are personally acquainted with

any of the one-hundred-and-fourteen electors whose names have been appearing in the daily press (or a list of whom we can send you), will you please communicate with the Foundation? It will be a great satisfaction to all of us when Henry George receives the recognition due him, and is awarded his place of honor in this American Valhalla.

Manhattan Single Tax Club

PRESIDENT Ingersoll has of late been issuing his current events radio addresses more frequently. His aim is to reach people of average intelligence, and this aim, he says, makes urgent the need for a simple and clear statement of economics. This, he believes is the task ahead of the whole Georgeist movement.

Mr. Ingersoll considers that one reason Georgeists have not made headway with colleges—and with the whole educational system—is their failure to present their economics in a form suitable for distribution (teaching). He follows the business analogy of manufacturing and selling. The Georgeist failure has been in the market place.

Following are extracts from President Ingersoll's recent broadcasts:

ONE OF THE SIGNS THAT OUR FRONTIERS ARE CLOSED BREAKS forth in a big story from California, telling of the spring parade of "jalopies" containing emigrant workers and their families. From fifty to one hundred thousand of these workers enter the state each year and are considered a menace in various ways. I am writing to J. Rupert Mason of California, to inquire whether in his state there is any shortage of land, or whether it is made short by its monopolizers. Our frontiers are closed in many states by half the land being subject to sale for taxes due from broken-down speculators. That amount of land would take care of all our unemployed.

DEMOCRACY IS NO HANDSOMER THAN ARE ITS ACTS. IT IS EVEN more unlovely if it is undemocratic. The Republican Party was in power during the most constructive period of our struggles toward democracy. It would have been logical for them to adopt the democratic program of killing consumer taxes and shifting them onto the basic monopoly, land. They have failed to do this. The Democratic Party might do it if it really knew the meaning of the words "New Deal". So we have to keep shouting from the housetops till one of these parties wakes up to the obvious. If they slumber much longer, they ought to be buried, and a real *democratic* party founded.

IT APPEARS THAT SOME POLITICAL WISDOM IS ABROAD IN THE Democratic camp; and that it may be concentrating upon the economic sector. While Secretary Hull is bent on extending Trade Treaties, there is more than a suspicion that the President is firmly behind him, and has been, during their four years of cooperation. Secretaries Morgenthau and Eccles are covering the more vital principle of domestic free trade. The mere declaration against piling consumer taxes higher is a big step toward democratic economics.

League for Freedom

REPORT OF JOHN P. FINNERTY, SECRETARY

Mr. Foley's "Appeal for Action" in the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM met with an enthusiastic response and as a result, three meetings have already been held. A society was formed under the name League for Freedom, to bring about the following changes in the laws:

1. The abolition of all taxes of every kind, and the collection of ground rent for government expenses.
2. The restoration of individual rights, the right of every man to live his life free from governmental restrictions and interference; government to be limited to its legitimate province—the protection of individual freedom and the rendering of public service.

The League expects to reach thousands who are now complaining of the restrictions and exactions which are strangling private enterprise. The following plan has been initiated:

1. To enroll existing Georgeists as a nucleus.
2. To form them into active working groups in every district, and to offer a program of work to every member.
3. To coordinate the resources of the League in a concerted effort to enlist the public in restoring human rights.
4. To use all the existing facilities, literature and publications in the Georgeist movement to promote this work.
5. To disseminate the philosophy of freedom everywhere, to everyone, regardless of party, race or creed.

When our membership shall have grown to a number the votes of which will appeal to lawmakers, we shall give support to bills introduced which embody our aims. The very debating on such bills will bring our aims before the public and give us an audience we could secure in no other way.

Dues have been tentatively set at one dollar per year. These dues are entirely voluntary. All who wish to join are asked to send us their names. Pending the establishment of permanent headquarters, please write to the Secretary, League for Freedom, 1351 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

National Prosperity Legion

Almost simultaneously with the formation of the League for Freedom, a group of Chicago Georgeists have been at work launching a national Georgeist organization, to be known as the National Prosperity Legion. The leaders of this group, Clayton J. Ewing and Thomas Rhodus, have circularized Georgeists throughout the

country, inviting them to help form the organization. A National Convention is being planned, at which programs for action will be taken up.

This group is convinced that the educational method is the most effective. "Truth is mighty and will prevail," they tell us, but continue with the admonition, "but only if those who know the Truth do something about it. Through this militant organization, let us boldly, eagerly and effectively give the World our message."

This suggests a mass education scheme, and it is. The work is to be done through pamphlets, petitions and political action, as well as through the more thorough forms of education that reach only a small number of people.

It would be logical for this group to cooperate with the League for Freedom, and already steps have been taken towards this. For those who may be interested, the address is: National Prosperity Committee, 5307 Ravenswood Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Alaska

The first issue of *Frontier* (mentioned in the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation report in the last number of LAND AND FREEDOM) has reached us. This latest Georgeist publication is edited and published by Jim Busey. It appears to be even more ambitious than we thought. Instead of being a bi-monthly, as was originally intended, the first issue, dated February, 1940, is announced as a monthly, to be "devoted to Alaska, to Alaska's problems, and to the freedom for which Alaska stands."

Frontier has thirty-two pages chock full of informative articles and vital Alaskan affairs of the day. Among the articles is Donald MacDonald's "Stagnation of Alaska", in which he exposes the land grabs of that territory which robbed the workers of free access to the mines and other resources. Another article is "Scandinavia and Alaska", by Mr. Busey, which is an interesting comparative survey, geographic and economic.

Why the name "Frontier" for this publication? Mr. Busey explains in his editorial:

"The word 'frontier' stands for more than simply a new pioneering country. A frontier means freedom. It is a place where free men, working on their own free land with their own hands, mould for themselves their own future, according to their own ambitions.

"Thus, a frontier is a place where there is no limit to the imagination, the hopes, the ambitions and the possibilities of a man. The frontier stands as the eternal emblem of progress, liberty, and equality.

"That is why we chose the name FRONTIER."

Jim Busey is a man with vision. We consider the venture worthwhile and deserving of support. The subscription rate of *Frontier* is \$2.00 a year, and the present address is Anchorage, Alaska.

Argentine

A Georgeist paper is published at Buenos Aires, by Juan Bellagamba. It is called *Nueva Argentina*, and is a four-page bi-weekly, in the format of a newspaper. Articles on the Georgeist philosophy are presented newspaper-like, with headlines, in a form likely to attract public attention. One of the articles recently printed was a Spanish translation of Oscar H. Geiger's "Sex Problem", under the heading, "El sexo no es un problema".

Another very interesting article in a recent issue of *Nueva Argentina* was by Dr. Ignacio E. Ferrer on the fiscal system of Cordoba, a province in Argentine. Cordoba's governor, Amadeo Sabattini, maintains the reform introduced by his predecessor Carcano, a high tax on land values and low taxes on buildings, labor and industry. Of course, the great landowners denounce it as a "demagogic and pernicious confiscation", but in his article, Dr. Ferrer brilliantly answers the arguments of the opposition.

One of the editors of *Nueva Argentina* is Dr. Felix Vitale, noted author. Last year, Dr. Vitale wrote an article on the land values taxation movement in South America. This was intended for presentation at the Henry George Centenary, held at New York last September, but unfortunately it did not arrive in time.

Canada

THE SCHOOL SCENE—The Canadian Henry George Schools at Toronto and Montreal are keeping abreast of the School in the United States. Montreal has opened a Speakers Bureau similar to the one in New York City. In the classes, not only the Fundamental Economics course is offered, but advanced courses as well. And now correspondence courses are being offered. There is one feature about this that is ahead of the New York School. While only the "Progress and Poverty" course is given to correspondence students in the United States, in Toronto correspondence courses are also extended to "Protection or Free Trade", "Social Problems", "The Science of Political Economy", and "Democracy Versus Socialism".

ONTARIO WAKING UP—The January-February issue of *The Square Deal*, Toronto Georgeist bi-monthly, carries an interesting article reporting the steps which the Ontario legislature has taken to deal with the unemployment problem. We quote from this article:

"Owners of unused land in Ontario will be required to forego the privilege of keeping their land idle from now on, for legislation has been passed empowering the Director of Unemployment Relief to put garden plots at the disposition of unemployed families on relief beginning from this spring. Nor are the relievees the only ones entitled to cultivate idle land, for municipalities

are also authorized to declare such unused land as they may designate available for cultivation and anyone may make application, upon payment of a fee, not to exceed one dollar, to cultivate a garden plot.

"One feature of the legislation is that a landowner who cannot prove to the satisfaction of the authorities that he is going to make his land productive either by erecting a building on it within the year, or by other use, must allow his land to be used, and cannot claim any compensation for its use. At the same time he has to pay the taxes assessed upon the land, even though he gets no revenue from what may be grown on his land. For the cultivators are to be entitled to everything that they grow.

"In the case of those on relief, it is mandatory that they shall apply for a plot and cultivate it, but there is to be no reduction in the amount of their vouchers because of such additional income. The idea is that their labor shall supplement public relief and that any increase in the cost of living, entailing shrinkage in the purchasing power of vouchers, will be thereby compensated. The public authority will provide seed, fertilizer, small tools and shanties for storing them, supervision and caretaking of the plots, and will do the first ploughing and breaking up of virgin soil."

Great Britain

A MISCONCEPTION CORRECTED—The Editors of *Land and Liberty* wish to correct a notion prevalent among Americans with respect to the British Government's war-time power to confiscate all property except land. The Emergency Powers Act reads: "Defence Regulations may . . . authorize (i) the taking of possession or control, on behalf of His Majesty, of any property or undertaking; (ii) the acquisition, on behalf of His Majesty, of any property other than land."

Land and Liberty explains this provision as follows:

"The Regulation means that the Government may take possession or control of any property including land; but that in taking power *to acquire*, that is to purchase, any property, land is excepted. This is a wise precaution because it will obviate any large scale land purchases at the monopoly prices which the Government would be bound to pay. It prevents what might have been a huge land racket, if owners had been able to demand payment of the market price by the Government. Where it is a question of taking possession of land for defence purposes, the only compensation the Government need pay is the rent which the owners are now deriving from it. When the land is no longer required for defence purposes it will revert to the owner, and nothing will have happened to prevent the operation of land value

taxation, when that does take effect, applying to land holdings everywhere."

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES—The Henry George Foundation of Great Britain has recently printed two new pamphlets: "The Real Meaning of Free Trade" and "The Future is to the Gangster—Unless", which latter contains Henry George's "Rights of Man". These are offered at a special rate in quantities to those who can effectively use them in select groups and organizations.

Spring classes of the Henry George Schools have gotten under way at Glasgow, Yorkshire and Liverpool, as well as at London. Mr. W. E. Fox, School leader at Battersea, is also Minister in the local Battersea "Parliament", where he introduced a Bill for the Taxation of Land Values on February 29.

Australia

GEORGEIST BOOK CLUB—The Australian proponent of the Liberty Readers' Book Club (to which considerable attention was given in the last issue of *LAND AND FREEDOM*), under the pen-name of "Libertas", has recently circularized Georgeist publications throughout the world to give the matter earnest and urgent attention. "The Book Club", he says, "when established, will furnish yet another pillar of the Georgean edifice in the realm of practical application of the Georgean method." The *Standard*, of Sydney, which was the first to call the proposal to the attention of Georgeists, in its February 15 issue made another appeal for the formation of the Club. It warned Georgeists that the movement "has allowed such organizations as the Left Book Club to hold the field without putting forward a sufficient stream of counter-availing literature to offset the flood of false and harmful theory the people so eagerly read in the absence of the truth. That is the cause for the Liberty Readers' Book Club."

NATIONAL CONFERENCE—An Australian National Conference, convened by the New South Wales School of Social Science, was held at Newport, N. S. W., January 19 to 22. Many delegates were present from nearly all the Australian States. Different aspects of the Georgeist philosophy were discussed, and plans for action were considered. As a supplement to the information supplied in the speeches at this Conference, the Editor of the *People's Advocate* presented a world-wide survey of the progress made towards land value taxation in various countries. This paper required much research and is an important contribution, since much of the information is not ordinarily available.

The School of Social Science, with a greatly increased impetus arising out of the Conference, commenced new courses. The Australian School now also offers correspondence courses, and is the latest country to do so.

The Fame of Emperor Norton

IN the last issue of *LAND AND FREEDOM*, Jos. W. Foley contributed an interesting bit of research in his article "Bummer and Lazarus". In it Mr. Foley expressed regret that the hero of the story, Joshua Abraham Norton (who thought he was Emperor of America), was not mentioned in the works of Henry George. An additional bit of research reveals that George did mention him.

In one of his newspaper features, "Strange as it Seems", John Hix mentions an eccentric San Francisco character known as Abraham "Money" King. Accused by one John Cook, a tax collector, of being a miser, "King challenged the tax collector to a 'money duel' to prove that money meant nothing to him. He proposed to toss \$5 into San Francisco Bay for every dollar John Cook would toss in. By the time King had flipped 80 'cartwheels' into the water, Cook reluctantly admitted defeat." This incident, readers will recall, is mentioned in Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" in the discussion on labor unions in Book VI.

Upon our inquiry, Mr. Hix has assured us that "Money" King was the same character as "Emperor" Norton.

Another interesting article on Norton appeared in the *American Magazine* of February 25. In this article, the story of how Norton lost his fortune is different from Mr. Foley's version. "In 1853," the *American* story goes, "he became eagerly speculative and tried to gain control of the rice market. He bought heavily to effect a corner and capitalists applauded him for his daring. He seemed on the verge of an immense fortune in profits and he built extravagant dreams. Almost the last pound of rice in port had been purchased. Then came the blow. Two unexpected shiploads of rice arrived from China. Norton and his newly-formed company could not take them up and were almost ruined. The shock of disappointment was a blow to his sanity."

If this is the true story of how Norton lost his fortune, it might well have been used by Henry George "to illustrate many of his points," as Mr. Foley suggests. It is a good example of the impermanency of monopoly in the products of labor. Wealth, not being limited in quantity, does not permit of being cornered. Had Norton the foresight to seize control of the limited source of wealth, land, the story might have been a different one. Instead of losing his sanity, and imagining he was Emperor of America, he might have in fact become a real one.

But nevertheless, Norton's fame is on the increase. There is a plan afoot to erect a statue to his memory in San Francisco. Would that that city were equally ready to pay tribute to the sanity of its prophet, Henry George!

BOOK REVIEWS

JOHN DEWEY'S SOCIAL APPROACH

"The Philosophy of John Dewey", Edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp. Northwestern University, Evanston and Chicago. 1939. 708 pp. \$4.00.

This imposing tome is Volume I. of an ambitious project, to be known as "The Library of Living Philosophies". The purpose is to present an adequate survey of the thought of leading contemporary philosophers. John Dewey has been honored first, as America's foremost philosopher.

The work follows a certain plan of presentation (as will the others to come): A biography of the philosopher; a series of expositions and criticisms of the philosopher by leading thinkers; a rejoinder by the philosopher himself; and a bibliography of his writings. Among the contributors to this volume are Bertrand Russell, George Santayana, Alfred N. Whitehead, Joseph Ratner, and George Raymond Geiger, each one writing on some particular phase of Dewey's philosophy.

Dr. Geiger's subject is "Dewey's Social and Political Philosophy". While some of the other contributors have criticized Dewey adversely, Geiger has offered an appreciative exposition of Dewey's stand on social affairs. In his introductory remarks, Geiger reiterates the challenge to philosophy that has appeared in his earlier works, notably "The Philosophy of Henry George". The modern philosopher, he says, must become part of the life about him and tackle its problems, if he is to serve a useful purpose in society.

Geiger further points out that Dewey's philosophy is chiefly one of social approach. This he explains as a function of his experimentalism and instrumentalism. Dewey is one who would apply the scientific method to social affairs. The true scientific spirit "stands for provisionalism and reconstruction, reliance upon working hypotheses."

Another of Dewey's chief tenets in his entire philosophy is the stressing of "interaction" or "association". Though he would steer away from the concept of immutable natural law, he is compelled to state that "association in the sense of combination is a 'law' of everything known to exist." The apostrophic treatment of the word "law" is an expression of the aversion on the part of most modern philosophers to the concept of natural law. This attitude is almost as dogmatic as the one-time arrogant attitude of "assertion without analysis". It would seem that when a universal condition has been observed and tested, there should be no objection to calling it a natural law.

But this avoidance of absolute concepts serves a healthy purpose in some things. For instance, grand abstractions like the State have no meaning for Dewey. "Public acts require officials and administration. This is the locus of the state." It is merely "a functioning arm of public activity instead of a mystical power worthy of worship."

In Dewey's analyses, new and fresh meanings are given to "democracy" and "liberalism"—words that are so carelessly rolled about these days. In his own sense, he is a democrat and a liberal. He demands a free and democratic society, in which philosophic inquiry into social affairs can function—a society in which "free social inquiry is indissolubly wedded to the art of full and moving communication." He has no use for totalitarian concepts, nor for Marxian dialectic, because of their deadening effects on the inquiring spirit, because of their metaphysical and absolute approach to social affairs.

In Dewey's own rejoinder, in this book, he gives an appreciation of Dr. Geiger's paper. In his remarks he says: "It cannot be denied that in our social life a great unbalance has resulted because the method of intelligent action has been used in determining the physical conditions that are causes of social effects, whereas it has hardly been tried in determination of social ends and values."

It may be added that here is the basis of Dewey's appreciation of, and favorable disposition toward, Henry George's philosophy. George has fused his keen analysis of social forces with a constructive concern for social ends and values. He tells us not only what is wrong, but what to do about it for our own good.

R. C.

THE BATTLE AGAINST HEREDITARY PRIVILEGE

"The Ending of Hereditary American Fortunes" by Gustavus Myers. Julian Messner, Inc., New York. 1939. 395 pp. \$3.50.

In this book, Gustavus Myers adds a valuable research contribution to his previous work. The value and importance of Myers' work rests mainly in the mass of documentary proof which he lists in support of his statements. Only a person accustomed to research can fully appreciate the tremendous labor involved in the study of original sources of information evidenced in the preparation of this book.

The theme is the history of the struggle in America, from era to era, against inequalities, particularly against inequality of power and position conferred in law by accident of birth.

Two laws of feudal origin, primogeniture and entail, brought to this country from Europe in connection with early Colonial land grants furnished the battlefield prior to the American Revolution for those fighting for liberty and equality. Primogeniture vested ownership of great landed properties in the eldest son to the exclusion of daughters and younger sons. Entail kept the estate intact from generation to generation and from century to century. The arguments of Thomas Jefferson and others to abolish these two bulwarks of landed aristocracy and the character of the opposition are well portrayed in the book. Pennsylvania (1776), North Carolina (1784), Georgia (1789), Massachusetts (1784), New Jersey (1780, 1784), New York (1786), South Carolina (1791) in turn abolished perpetuities in land holding. States later admitted to the Union were free from the perpetual grip of the dead hand. By about the year 1830 most of the great estates in America had vanished. With the abolition of hereditary title went also the hereditary prerogative of holding office, which, while not fixed in the statute law, had all the force of unbroken custom. Rotation in office under the pressure of democratic forces became the rule.

Common school education for the masses destroyed another age-old birth privilege which limited education to the well born.

The author points out that while this battle against hereditary privilege was being won as to land tenure, another form of perpetuity was coming in, that is, corporation charters for banks, land schemes and other enterprises.

The right to vote, formerly limited to men owning real estate of a prescribed value, became more universal after a long fight against the resistance of propertied opponents.

Assaults on the hereditary transmission of wealth came into the open in 1829 by a resolution adopted by the Workingmen's Party in New York City "that the first appropriation of the soil of the State to private and exclusive possession was eminently and barbarously unjust. That it was substantially feudal in character, inasmuch as those who received enormous and unequal possessions were *lords* and those who received little or nothing were *vassals*." Having made this timely and pertinent approach, understood then by everybody, the resolutions went on to press the main point: "That hereditary transmission of wealth, on the one hand, and poverty on the other, has brought down to the present generation all of the evils of the feudal system, and that, in our opinion, is the prime source of all our calamities."

The slavery question, another issue arising from accident of birth, occupied the mind of America during the generation preceding the Civil War. The movement for an income tax from 1861 to the present,

the growth of the power of the railroads, the economic dictatorship of the "Trusts", Populism, Labor Unions, each find their place in the swing of events up to the opening of the present century. Pen pictures of the contrasts between the extravagant follies of descendants who acquired control of great fortunes by "accident of birth" and the destitution of the children of the poor from whose labor those fortunes are extracted, appear throughout the volume.

The transition of the United States Senate from a "Millionaires' Club" to that of a popularly elected democratic body is dramatically told. The movement for inheritance taxes and gift taxes as a means of revenue and breaking up of great estates is traced with interesting results.

In conclusion the author points to the abolition of inheritances above moderate amounts as a remedy. As to great hereditary wealth he asks: "Why not definitely abolish it as a statutory right? And at the same time completely recast laws so as to prohibit trusts for heirs and all other devices allowing transmission of large fortunes?"

It is quite apparent that the author sees that the foundation of hereditary fortunes rests upon manipulation and control of the nation's natural resources and in monopolies and special privileges granted by law. The book also makes it plain that in spite of the passage of statute law tending to break up hereditary fortunes—primogeniture, entail, slavery, corporation trusts—the fact remains that great fortunes have increased and the lot of the average man has become more precarious as our Republic has advanced.

Students of Henry George will recognize that the remedy lies in preventing the wrongful appropriation of wealth in the processes of production and distribution rather than to wait as it were until the death of the robber and then attempt to recover some part of the proceeds of theft that he may perchance have left behind.

WALTER FAIRCHILD.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

"My Story—Englishman by Birth, American by Adoption", by Edward Barker. 1940. 25 pp.

The author relates his early admiration for American democracy while he was still in England, and his migration to America, the land of promise. Thrilled at first, then greatly disillusioned and saddened by the spectacle of unemployment and depressions, he emerges with his faith in democracy unshaken. He sees the solution to America's problems in an extension of democracy, in the adoption of the philosophy of Henry George.

"Business is Business", by Louis B. Ward. 1939. 18 pp.

This is an attack on the dogma of self-sufficiency and a plea for free trade. After a keen statistical analysis of our export trade, the author says:

"America is not self-sufficing. Three courses are open to her. First, she must become self-sufficing, which means a new imperialism if she is to continue to use such things as tin, rubber and silk. Second, she must find substitutes for these things. Third, she must learn to trade with the nations of the world."

"The Non-Producing Class", by William O'Neill. 14 pp. 1940.

The author seems to combine Veblenism with Georgeism, and there is also a touch of Marxian dialectic, although Henry George is the only authority quoted in the pamphlet. It is a brief survey of the rise of social consciousness, and the reactionism of non-producers. The author sees a new era approaching in which the common good will prevail over the unsocial lust for power still prevalent. He closes with an affirmation of faith in the power of education.

Correspondence

FREE TRADE DISCUSSION

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

A letter from Rev. D. C. McTavish, Telfordville, Alberta, Canada, says: "It was 'protection' that cost England the loss of her American colonies. The same cause was behind the world war of a quarter century ago, and is behind the present unspeakable debacle." Secretary Hull recognizes this, and should be encouraged.

San Francisco, Calif.

J. RUPERT MASON.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

I wish to take issue with Peter D. Haley's statements in his Con, in the free trade discussion appearing in your last number. The declaration that "tariffs have nothing to do with our relation to the land" is untrue. As Henry George himself says, "the tariff question is but another phase of the land question".

It is not true that conditions for the working masses were better in protectionist Germany than in Free Trade England previous to the war of '14. During the Free Trade era in England wages were constantly higher than in any other European country. In Germany, socialized control made it possible for a man to starve to death in a sanitary way. That was all.

The expansion of industry subsequent to the passage of the repeal of the Corn Laws and the relief by higher wages and increased opportunity was one of the most striking things in English, if not world, history. I doubt whether there has ever been a similar expansion. Mr. Haley's doctrine that "trade is the food which feeds the maw of rent collectors," is not appreciated by the British landlords, who as a class are about as acutely conscious of their privileges and how to protect them as any that ever existed. They seem always to play a brand of ball that is a little too fast for us. And so it is a fact that utterly unconscious of this Maw dictum they opposed Cobden and Bright in the repeal of the Corn Laws and the present landlord parliament as practically its first act put England on a Protectionist basis.

"The Tariff," says the Con author again, "has nothing to do with man's relationship to the land." I refer him to the files of *Land and Liberty* of London as to the increase in land values barring men from the land that has occurred since England's partial free trade has been abandoned. I refer him also to the rise in prices of every article of consumption, particularly food, since that savage backward step was taken. Tariffs of course cut men off from the rest of the earth outside as well as within their own boundaries.

It should be apparent that the effect of a protective tariff is to restrict production of those goods that are "protected," thus increasing the demand for these lands and increasing rents and land values. A spurious form of land values based on a kind of bastard speculative rent can be obtained through obstructive monopoly-creating laws, and the protective tariff is one of these. That is the reason the landlord Parliament—quite conscious that international trade is *not* the food that feeds the maw of the rent collector—rescinded partial free trade. They of course as usual "knew their onions" as they always have, and very intimately. They of course were acutely conscious that when the production of basic food stuffs, etc., was confined to the soil of England their land values would be raised. They made one error though in their hard-boiled thinking. It was no accident nor was it due to purely sentimental motivation that England had most of the World on her side in the Great War. The hard economic fact that Britain's trade relations with the world were free, and that the tendrils of free trade had penetrated all nations, had a large part in the united support the world gave her.

This war is obviously different. Allies do not flock to the standard of Britain. The world looks at her battle for "Freedom" with a cautious eye. The alienation of her potential allies by a protective tariff has been a large factor in the shifting of good will to suspicion.

As a matter of fact, free trade is as much a part of the Georgan philosophy as the removal of any other taxes on labor made products. I am inclined to believe that it is probably the most important phase of our movement, as it opens the whole Earth to mankind. It is the only way that we in the United States could attack—through joint free trade—spurious land values, with their distortion of the economic structure, in other countries than our own. It is only through free trade that we can draw freely upon the resources of the world beyond our own boundaries.

As an instance of what I am driving at, I relate the following: The sixteen landlords who, through the ownership of about fifty million acres of timber land, dominate the economic structure of the Pacific Coast, succeeded in passing a law taxing the importation of Canadian logs. Some of these outfits had mills of their own and wished a monopoly for them. Of course, after it was impossible to obtain logs from Canada, the price to the independent non-landowning saw-mill operator went up, and so did the price of timber lands. The independents, except in a few instances disappeared. In the face of this, can anyone say that the tariff is no part of the land question?

The most important aspect of free trade is its capacity as a Peacemaker. Henry George and all other economists of note agree that free trade is a necessary foundation for peace. The sum total of what we are forced to pay through all kinds of taxation for war is far greater than the whole of economic rent in these United States. If free trade would solve the problem of war or contribute to that solution it would remove from the back of labor a burden even greater than the sum total of economic rent. Thus it is apparent that free trade is just as important to our philosophy as the land question itself. Free trade is one phase of the land question.

Washington, D. C.

DONALD MACDONALD.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Secretary Hull's program of reciprocal trade treaties is by far the best thing the present national Administration has brought forth, although it is such a puny and inadequate proposal that it does not arouse great enthusiasm in me. Its chief value lies in the opportunity it affords for real free traders to get a nation-wide audience before which they can present the merits of full commercial freedom, and for this I am devoutly thankful.

The Con of Free Trade, by Peter D. Haley, seems to me a case of the trees obscuring the forest. Does Mr. Haley regard production as one thing and trade as another thing, instead of being merely "mentally separable parts of the same thing", the industry by which mankind gets its living from the earth? Restraint of one inevitably means restraint of the other. The freedom of *both*, from the artificial restraints which have been imposed upon them, is necessary in order to achieve complete economic freedom, and Mr. Haley errs in thinking that the freeing of trade in itself is valueless. Protection is an important rampart protecting land monopolization, and it must be removed before economic freedom can be attained.

In his day Henry George properly stressed the rise in the rental value of land, which was absorbing the benefits of material progress. Taxation in this country was then comparatively small—only in its infancy—and capitalization of the unearned increment grew rapidly. In 1879, when "Progress and Poverty" was first published, the entire revenue of the Federal government was a scant \$318,000,000, and state and local taxation was also relatively small. Today the naval bill before Congress calls for more than three times that sum, while the mere interest on the national debt of about forty-five billion dollars calls for more than a billion dollars, even though present interest rates are unprecedentedly low.

Mr. Haley must know that it has been estimated by competent investigators that taxes are absorbing 25 per cent or more of the nation's earnings, that taxes on the products and processes of industry and trade constitute 25 to 30 per cent of the cost and price of the things comprising our standard of living. He should know that tariff taxes rank high among the taxes which enhance the cost and price of goods. Surely he knows that the whole vicious system of misplaced and larcenous taxes must be swept away, and the burden of the public revenue placed where it rightfully belongs—on the socially created rental value of the land. Certainly, he ought to know that, however desirable it may be to get rid of the whole thievish tax system all at once, we cannot do it that way. We must attack it wherever we can, and if the opportunity presents itself to attack the tariff, we should not let it go by.

Delawanna, N. J.

STEPHEN BELL.

NIGHTINGALE VS. BECKWITH

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Mr. L. D. Beckwith of Stockton, California, is never done with attacking "Single Taxers" of the "Old School", and challenging their theories and methods. These charges have, in large measure, been ignored, but the time has now arrived when we "Old Timers" should defend ourselves against, (1) the calling of offensive names, e.g., "Marxians", (2) the assertion that we have not advanced since 1897, and (3) against fallacies propounded by Mr. Beckwith.

As for point No. 1, I have been for 50 years, and more, an active worker in the Cause having for its object the State Collection of Rent, the Repeal of all Taxation, and the restoration of Free Trade conditions. Because I also hold that under the operation of this policy, interest (on investments) will die a natural death, I am branded by Mr. Beckwith as a Marxian! The claim is that Marx opposed interest, therefore (whatever my grounds for opposing it) I am necessarily a Marxian. Now Beckwith and Marx agree on some points (I will prove this if called upon to do so), therefore Beckwith himself is a Marxian! This is very poor logic.

As for No. 2, the fact is that all the "Old Timers", and the new timers for that matter, repudiate some of George's theories, amongst others his theory of interest, and this shows that Mr. Beckwith is again in error. What Georgian today supports Henry George in drawing a distinction between interest on "dead" capital and interest on "live" capital? George said that if interest had to do only with such things as planks and planes, "interest would be but the robbery of industry" (*Progress and Poverty*, page 129). As regards that theory I venture to say that all of the "Old Timers" have advanced since 1897.

Now for No. 3. Beckwith holds that land has not, and cannot have, any value. This I can refute with Euclidian precision, in 56 words as follows:

Brown goes to an island and makes a good living by using a portion of the land. Jones follows and finds he can only make a poor living by using the other land available to him. The difference between these two standards of living is RENT. Yet there are no social services rendered at the locations.

The simple and inescapable truth is that there are two factors in RENT, (a) services rendered at the location, (b) the natural quality, contour, climatic and other conditions, which give value to the land itself. These advantages may be obtained by the user of the land regardless of whether there are roads, railways, markets, fire services, police protection, water supply, sewerage, or any of the social services that community life calls forth. Let Mr. Beckwith deal with the Brown-Jones illustration above—if he can!

Another question relates to the step-by-step method of State Collection of Rent. Mr. Beckwith states dogmatically that this plan is impossible, or at best impracticable. Again he is in error. We know, of course, that if a fixed percentage is written off the depreciating balance of an asset the asset value never entirely disappears. But merchants and business men (and I might add accountants, and I am one) know quite well that there is no difficulty in writing off the full value of any asset by the instalment system. All that is necessary is to calculate your percentage on the original, or full value, and this could be done in the case of land just as well as it can be done, and is done, in the case of plants or buildings. Again Mr. Beckwith is in error.

Auckland, New Zealand.

C. H. NIGHTINGALE.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Rogelio Casas Cadilla's article, "The Economy of Spain" calls to mind a news item in the *New York Times* of March 7: "Spain Orders Return of Land to Grandees". The peasants now on the land are to be allowed "to remain voluntarily as tenant farmers by paying a government approved compensation to the landowners". Although the distribution of land among the peasants by the Spanish Republic may have merely resulted in a multiplication of landlords, yet this step is still worse.

Malvern, Pa.

ELLEN WINSOR.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

The article by George C. Winne, in the January-February issue, "Single Tax—A Misnomer", is very good, and I thoroughly agree with him. George's philosophy is a way of living, not a tax. His remedy to collect the economic rent produced by the combined work of society, to pay for our social services, is so simple once it is understood, that hesitation to accept it seems ridiculous.

Irvington, N. J.

ROBERT BLACKLOCK.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

I would like to submit the following:

Land and its use is the foundation of our civilization.

Land and its use is the paramount economic problem of all time.

Land, sunshine and moisture constitute the source and sustenance of all life.

Land is the only natural element that is commercialized.

Land was created by, and belongs to, the Creator and to no one else.

Land and its possession is the principle cause of war and crime.

Land is the source of all wealth.

But land values are caused by, and increase with, the growth of the community, and should be drawn upon for the support of the community, to the exclusion of other taxes.

We cannot have a free country or free men as long as we permit private property in land.

Roslindale, Mass.

WALTER A. VERNEY.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

The utter indifference of American Single Taxers to electoral reform cuts a deep rift between them and British Colonial Single Taxers. But the most indifferent must be moved by the reduction of one-half in the New York City crime rate since it has had for the very first time a decently honest electoral system in the Council. Above all, the great reaction in favor of Tammany last autumn (not regrettable) has left two-fifths of all the defeated leaders to form a strong and vigilant opposition. This is a blessing and shows the ethical value of Direct Legislation.

Bishops Stortford, England.

(Rev.) MERVYN J. STEWART.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

After reading the interesting, if not very encouraging article by Hon. Jackson H. Ralston in your January-February issue, and especially noting his question or questions concerning future measures and points of attack, an old thought recurred to me. The oldest and most important answer is "Education." Educate the masses. We must keep at it persistently.

Whoever doubts this statement can try a simple experiment on a few dozen of his friends as opportunity offers. Merely ask the question: "Is ground rent an unearned income?" Try it on business men, professional men, high school or college graduates, or on their teachers and professors.

You may have to explain briefly that there are only three true incomes, rent, wages and interest; and that wages and interest are earned incomes. In suitable cases it could be explained that the use of the unearned income to pay public expenses would reduce the worry of the harrassed taxpayer, and reduce time and expense of figuring out income tax returns. My vote is for Education.

Oshkosh, Wisc.

JOHN HARRINGTON.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

I noted Mr. Foley's "Appeal for Action" in the January-February LAND AND FREEDOM, and would like to suggest as a starter in getting our people closer together that LAND AND FREEDOM print the street addresses of correspondents. I, for one, feel like writing to many of them, and I think that some of them could use the information in my tracts.

I notice also, that mention was made of my tracts in the last issue, but no address was included, so that readers would not know where to send for them.

Box 105, Endwell, N. Y.

C. LEBARON GOELLER.

NOTE: In response to Mr. Goeller's request, we do not feel at liberty to print the addresses of all our correspondents, except when they permit or request it. Mr. Goeller's address appears above, for those who want to communicate with him directly. We suggest that if any of our readers wish to correspond with those who write for LAND AND FREEDOM, they address their communications to the person they want to contact, care of LAND AND FREEDOM. We will gladly forward the communication to the desired party.—Ed.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

It is easy to agree with the Editor of *The American City* and with Mr. Theron McCampbell that, under present unnatural conditions at least, "the land value tax would not give us enough revenue".

But what warrant is there for believing that, under proper conditions, and proper demands for revenue—and with the elimination of the improper demands for relief, relief work, subsidy of non-production, etc.—the rent of the nation's land would be inadequate to meet the needs for public revenue?

Yet another thing is to be considered. Land values are much lower than they ought to be, because of the depressed condition of the nation's business. In addition to the tie-up due to land monopoly, there are the constantly increasing taxes as well as restraints and "regulations" imposed on productive enterprises, all tending to bring on a paralysis. Eliminate these burdens and watch the rent of land mount to its proper level!

Nor will the rise of ground rent represent a mortgage on the nation's earnings, as taxes do. It will represent the growing value of economically free and prosperous communities as places in which to live and work. We might then very likely see rent, wages and interest all advancing in harmonious unison.

Passaic, N. J.

RICHARD RING.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

GOODBYE, MR. BARNES

Our readers may have noticed the slightly different appearance of this issue of LAND AND FREEDOM, incidental to engaging the services of a new typographer. The occasion is appropriate for saying a few words about our retiring printer, Polydore Barnes. For nearly forty years, "Dory," as he is affectionately called, has personally supervised the composition and press work of this journal. Modest, good-natured and unflinchingly cooperative, he has been in the truest sense of the word a part of LAND AND FREEDOM. He has now announced his retirement from the cares of business. We wish him all good fortune.

RALPH BORSODI, who spoke at Dr. Schneidman's forum in Jamaica, N. Y., and is to speak at the Henry George School forum, claims inspiration from Henry George and Bolton Hall for his ideas on the School for Living. This is a back-to-the-land movement being carried out at Suffern, N. Y.

ELIZABETH MAGIE PHILLIPS of Arlington, Va., and William W. Newcomb of New York City, have been collaborating on the idea of spreading the Georgeist philosophy through parlor games. Mrs. Phillips writes:

"I have no trouble getting players. I live near a school and a lot of the children know me personally, and bring their friends in to play. They play such good games that I like to watch them. They play much better than grown-ups. After all, we Georgeists want to make more Georgeists, and it's easier with children than with grown-ups. The thinking machinery of the latter seems to be fixed."

Mrs. Phillips has brought out a new miniature edition of her famous Landlord's Game at the low price of four for fifty cents. Those interested may write to her at 2309 N. Custis Rd., Arlington, Va.

THE March, 1940 issue of *Dynamic America* carries an article by Harold S. Buttenheim and William W. Newcomb on "Taxation and Housing", with illustrations by Robert Clancy. It is in the form of a dialogue between a landlord and his tenant.

JACKSON H. RALSTON is now at work on an enlargement and development of his work, "Democracy's International Law", which was published some years ago.

RALPH CHADWICK has passed away. Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, who sent us this news, writes:

"Mr. Chadwick was one of the ablest and most single-hearted workers in the Single Tax cause in Southern California. He possessed a thorough understanding of the subject and wielded a trenchant pen, being as well an accomplished speaker. In the recent California campaign he was a most efficient worker, although then suffering from ill-health. The death of Ralph Chadwick is a real blow to the cause."

THE *Timely News-Topic*, a weekly published at Dunkirk, N. Y., runs a series of articles written by Robert McCaig, under the title, "The Economy Corner". Mr. McCaig, a Georgeist, discusses such subjects as the farm question, socialism, taxation, and housing.

DR. I. PASTEINER, General Director of the University Library of Budapest, Hungary, is preparing a World List of Periodicals, and is including LAND AND FREEDOM. Recognition also comes from the International Institute of Social History at Amsterdam, Holland, which has requested copies of LAND AND FREEDOM for their archives.

FREDERICK L. CRANFORD, Brooklyn civic leader and Georgeist, died March 28 at the age of 71. Mr. Cranford was a subway contractor, and chairman of the Long Island Ten-Year Plan Committee. He was praised by the late Raymond V. Ingersoll as "one of the most valuable citizens Brooklyn has had."

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package I, personally, value beyond words.
While every paper was thoughtful, valu-
able, and convincing in its assigned field,
the one which appealed to me as covering
a subject of research unique in our litera-
ture was Mr. Douglas's "Karl Marx's
Theories of Surplus Value and Land
Rent." I cannot conceive of any conven-
tional Marxist ever discovering in his
study of "Das Kapital" the facts that Mr.
Douglas has revealed so significantly. If
our socialist friends might once get a
glimpse of the fundamental truth Karl
Marx evidently saw but did not empha-
size, their thinking would be clarified and
their often fine and sincere enthusiasm for
a better world order be turned into more
logical and fruitful channels.

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May—June, 1940

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ROBERT CLANCY

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MAY—JUNE, 1940

VOL. XL No. 3

WHOLE No. 220

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

ENGLAND: J. W. Graham Peace.

NEW ZEALAND: { Hon. P. J. O'Regan, Wellington.
 { T. E. McMillan, Matamata.

SPAIN: A. Matheu Alonso, Tarragona.

BULGARIA: Lasar Karaivanove, Plovdiv.

HUNGARY: J. J. Pikler, Budapest.

FRANCE: Jng. Pavlos Giannelia.

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

We declare:

That the earth is the birthright of all Mankind and that all have an equal and unalienable right to its use.

That man's need for the land is expressed by the Rent of Land; that this Rent results from the presence and activities of the people; that it arises as the result of Natural Law, and that it therefore should be taken to defray public expenses.

That as a result of permitting land owners to take for private purposes the Rent of Land it becomes necessary to impose the burdens of taxation on the products of labor and industry, which are the rightful property of individuals, and to which the government has no moral right.

That the diversion of the Rent of Land into private pockets and away from public use is a violation of Natural Law, and that the evils arising out of our unjust economic system are the penalties that follow such violation, as effect follows cause.

We therefore demand:

That the full Rent of Land be collected by the government in place of all direct and indirect taxes, and that buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries and incomes, and every product of labor and intellect be entirely exempt from taxation.

ARGUMENT

Taking the full Rent of Land for public purposes would insure the fullest and best use of all land. Putting land to its fullest and best use would create an unlimited demand for labor. Thus the job would seek the man, not the man the job, and labor would receive its full share of the product.

The freeing from taxation of every product of labor would encourage men to build and to produce. It would put an end to legalized robbery by the government.

The public collection of the Rent of Land, by putting and keeping all land forever in use to the full extent of the people's needs, would insure real and permanent prosperity for all.

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Land and Freedom

VOL. XL

MAY—JUNE, 1940

No. 3

Comment and Reflection

AFTER twenty-one years of "peace," the dogs of war have again been unleashed in Europe. Never before has the art of destruction been conceived and carried out on the scale we are now witnessing. What explanation can be offered for this new "Scourge of God"? The answer is in *Progress and Poverty*: "Unless its foundations be laid in justice, the social structure cannot stand."

FROM the signing of the Versailles Treaty, economic injustice continued to negate the hope that we had fought a war to end wars. Germany, probably more than any other people, needed surcease from conflict—freedom to produce and exchange, and live in peace. Though she took on the form of a Republic, she persisted, however, in clinging to the old ways. The mischievous effects of self-imposed restrictions on her economic life and the stupid anti-trade policies of the rest of the world, conspired to arouse in the Teutonic mind a bitterness against her "encirclement." Still, from what we know of the remarkable abilities of that people, is it not reasonable to assume that they could have produced and prospered within their own borders—provided they had been ready to discard the practices that had brought about an artificial scarcity of their land and resources? Despite these limitations, they produced wealth sufficient to pay for billions of dollars in armaments. Had this effort been expended in constructive pursuits, it would have materially raised the standard of comfort, and inspired a peaceful attitude. But the Junkers and their satellites would not have it so. As a result the masses fell easy prey to the mirage of Lebensraum. What followed was a fulfillment of Henry George's prediction: "Strong, unscrupulous men, rising up upon occasion, will become the exponents of blind popular desires or fierce popular passions, and dash aside forms that have lost their vitality." With the stage thus set, it would have been surprising indeed had the Reich failed to envisage another *Tag* when it might rise again and destroy its enemies.

ALARMED at the possibility of an extension of the Blitzkrieg, our own Congress has voted a tremendous sum for the national defense. The source of the appropriation has not been given much thought. A matter of even graver concern is the likelihood of legislation that will curb our individual liberties. The combating of "fifth column" tactics is certain to create a system of espionage. Suspension of civil rights will undoubtedly

be urged to implement the technique required for ferreting out subversive elements.

WHILE the democracies are in no small degree responsible for the present state of affairs, we can hardly on that account be indifferent to their misfortunes. Nor would it serve any useful purpose to pass moral judgment on the aggressors. From time immemorial history has produced relentless warriors, and they have come to be accepted as great figures. Rather, we wish only to point out that our hopes of economic liberation are bound up with the fate of democracy. For in its framework are the means of effecting such reforms as the people want. That they are as yet unaware of what constitutes the true public welfare is no fault of democracy.

GEORGEISTS frequently become discouraged at the indifference of humanity to the greatest of all economic evils—the system of land tenure that bars them from the natural opportunities to which they are born. Nevertheless, under democracy it is possible to put an end to this injustice, and there *are* signs of progress. Denmark and other countries have shown the way. In the United States there are indications of an awakening to the seriousness of the economic problem. Legislators may soon be impelled to heed the proposal of socializing the rent of land and abolishing taxes. The right of free speech and free press, under democracy, offers the hope that this reform may be attained through educational processes.

PERHAPS the proposed defense program will give the law makers an opportunity to finance it in the only equitable way—by a direct levy on the land values of the nation. They might be reminded that this method was employed to raise Federal taxes in the early days of our Republic. The comparative ease with which the national defense requirements could be thus carried out would encourage the application of the same principle to the payment of all social services.

THERE are disturbing reports that the present conflict is to be augmented by the entry of new belligerents. Our plans for defense are to be stepped up accordingly. Equally disconcerting is the proposal that they be financed out of new taxes on industry. If legislation embodying such a mistake is passed, the entire armament program may be jeopardized. It is a matter to which Georgeists should give their immediate attention.

The Land Values of France

By PAVLOS GIANNELIA

A REAL land reform doesn't aim at a division of the land, like the agrarian reforms of Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Yugo-slavia, and especially of Soviet Russia. To be a truly progressive reform, something more than a mere fiscal measure or an act of propaganda, land reform must aim at a just division of the rent deriving from land.

The first step toward such a reform in any country is the determination of the rent of every plot of land in that country—the value of the bare land, irrespective of improvements on it.

Denmark has been the only country of Europe to compile the rent statistics of all its territory, rural and urban. These figures are indicated on special site charts, the rent being measured in crowns per hectare* for the rural districts, and in crowns per square meter for the towns and populated districts. The information is available to any one interested, and is revised and verified every four years.

England was very near to having such a statistical compilation in 1931, as provided for in the Finance Bill of Philip Snowden, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer. But at the right moment, the House of Lords stopped this "revolutionary" idea. They repudiated the proposal—a repudiation which started the fall of exchange standards—the English pound, the United States dollar, the Swiss franc and the Dutch florin.

In France, except for a few superficial publications, there is nothing to inform us precisely concerning the control of the wealth of the country by means of the touchstone of Land Value—which is the measure of potential rent, and the shadow of population. In *La Vie Agricole et Rurale* of August, 1937, M. E. Michel published an interesting study on the variations of the selling value and annual leasing value of rural property in France. In compiling the following Table I., I am indebted to M. Michel for the figures on land over the period 1908-1912. The 1937 figures are derived from the 1937 Annuary of the French Statistical Office.

TABLE I.

Type of land	Area in millions of hectares—1908-1912	Leasing value in millions of gold francs	Average leasing value per hectare	Area in millions of hectares—1937
Arable	25.7	1,318.6	51	20.3
Meadows	6.9	447.6	65	12.1
Vineyards	1.5	114.6	76	1.8
Forests	9.7	144.8	15	10.7
Moors	7.2	31.2	4	5.7
(Rural) Total	51.0	2,056.8	41	50.6

*A hectare is approximately 2½ acres.

What I wish to emphasize here is the falling off of arable land. In 1880 it was 27.5 millions of hectares. As the above table shows, it fell to 25.7 in 1912, and to 20.3 in 1937. Meanwhile, the meadows increased from 5 millions of hectares in 1880 to 6.9 in 1912, and to 12.1 in 1937.

After the war, and up to 1926, the rise of rural land values was nearly continuous. But in August, 1926, the tax on land values was increased to 27% of the selling value. This prevented a further rise for a while. In the same year, 1926, came the first post-war inflation of the franc from par to 2.75 for the gold franc. When Poincaré stabilized the franc in 1928 (with five paper francs for one gold franc), the rise of land values continued slowly in the agricultural regions, but the gains previously realized in rural property encouraged non-agricultural buyers to invest in agricultural land. The rise continued until 1930, and reached its maximum in the environs of Paris, and also in Brittany, Normandy and the North. In these areas the increase of value over the pre-war price was five-fold (corresponding to the total valuation of the gold price). In the remaining areas the increase was three-fold, and remained at that point, not following the Auriol depreciation of 1936 (seven paper francs to one gold franc), or the Bonnet depreciation of 1938 (twelve paper francs to one gold franc).

Since figures are not available for the bare land values of France, irrespective of improvements, we have to compromise with the present system of assessing real property as a unit, including land and improvements. The following Table II. gives the value of urban and rural real property in paper francs, according to its valuation each year, and the corresponding total value in pre-war gold francs.

TABLE II.

Period	Urban real estate (in millions of francs)	Rural real estate (in millions of francs)	Total value in millions of pre-war gold francs
1914	67,000 (gold)	77,500 (gold)	144,500
1924	145,000 (paper)	135,000 (paper)	105,000
1925	350,000*		130,000
1928	475,000*		95,000
1929	270,000 "	290,000 "	112,000
1935	225,000 "	235,000 "	92,000
1936	225,000 "	225,000 "	65,000

The selling value of rural real estate, including buildings, was about 77,500 million gold francs in 1912, or an average of 1,520 francs per hectare. Deducting the value of the buildings, about 7,500 millions, it will be seen from a comparison of Tables I. and II. that we have a ratio of selling value to leasing value of about 70:2, or a 35

*The figures for 1925 and 1928 include the total value of urban and rural real estate (in millions of paper francs).

year capitalization. (These figures are at best a rough approximation.)

In 1936, when the gold franc was worth 7 paper francs, the selling value of rural land, including buildings, had risen to 225,000 millions of paper francs (about 32,000 million gold francs). The value of land had increased only about half as much as the general rise of prices as measured by the appreciation of the gold franc; and even this selling value of rural real estate seems too high to M. Caziot, who in *Le Temps*, evaluates it as 160,000 millions for the end of 1936.

The following Table III., taken from the French Statistical Annuary for 1937, compares, for the years 1892 and 1929, the size of agricultural holdings.

TABLE III.
(A) NUMBER OF HOLDINGS

Size	In Thousands		Per Cent	
	1892	1929	1892	1929
1- 10 hect.	2,617	1,753	75.1	62
10- 50 "	764	959	22.5	34
50-100 "	52	81	1.5	3
100 " and over	33	32	0.9	1
Total	3,466	2,825		

(B) TOTAL SIZE

Size	In Thousands of Hectares		Per Cent	
	1892	1929	1892	1929
1- 10 hect.	11,245	9,101	23.6	20.5
10- 50 "	36,807	22,170	76.4	49.5
50-100 "		6,064		13.5
100 " and over		7,255		16.5
Total	48,052	44,590		

The foregoing statistics relate only to agricultural land. There is no authentic information about the value or distribution of other lands. There is no information on real property rights, which are very important in France, where half-lease tenantry is widespread, and amounts to individual cultivation and lease-farming. There is no information about the value or distribution of mines, railways, sources of hydraulic power, and last but not least, urban lands, where the values reach extremely high figures, although the weight of taxation in France is such as to stifle industry and suppress land values.

Variations in the value of urban property are much more considerable than in the rural districts. For instance, in Paris, between the Opera House and the Madeleine Church, the value approaches 10,000 francs to the square meter. In the suburbs (10 kilometers from the old city fortifications), the square meter is valued at 50 francs, and in the villages, at only 10. On the other hand, the value of rural land is less than 10,000 francs

per hectare. Considering the size of the rural properties, the value of their improvements has not the importance of the improvement values on urban property.

Due to insufficient data obtainable, there are some questions which cannot be answered: Is the net value of urban land, independently of buildings, 100,000 or 180,000 of the 225,000 millions of urban real estate for 1936 mentioned in Table II.? Of these 100,000 or 180,000 millions, how much is in Paris and the Departement of the Seine?

Even assuming that urban land values for 1936 are two-thirds of the total urban real property, that is, 150,000 millions, this gives us, together with a probable 200,000 millions of rural land value, only 350,000 millions total land value of the country. That would be 8,000 francs per inhabitant, or 6,000 francs per hectare (\$50 per acre). Compare this with the Danish figure of 10,000 francs per inhabitant, and also per hectare (\$80 per acre). The French figures show a collapse of land values, a less dense population, and a less intense cultivation of the soil.

Let us now glance at the taxes. The direct taxes on different forms of income, paid by the 45 million taxpayers, were about 4,000 million francs in 1937. The indirect taxes, paid by all consumers, were more than nine times that figure—that is, 37,000 millions, including 8,000 millions of custom duty.

If the present Franco-British collaboration becomes, as the responsible parties declare, a *free-trading* one, at least between France and all parts of the French and British empires, the largest part of the custom duties will disappear automatically, to the benefit of the French consumer, and to the final benefit of the State.

A physiocratic land reform, substituting a single tax on land values for the present burden of many taxes, presupposes that the 350,000 millions of land values mentioned above would increase step by step, due to increased productive activity encouraged by the relieved burden of taxes, and by the opening of land to use. This indeed has been observed wherever the reform has been applied, and to the extent that it has been applied. With the complete realization of the reform in France, the total land values should reach 1,250 billions (1,250,000 millions), on which a single tax of 2.5 to 3 per cent would yield enough revenue. The present millions now paid in taxes could then be re-invested in productive activity.

Is there any possibility of this reform being applied in France? It must be admitted that the prospects do not look very encouraging at present. But with the ascertainment of the real land value of the country a first step will have been made. Let us hope it is not yet too rash to share the thought expressed by Henry George: "May it not be France's to again show Europe the way?"

The Last 20 Years of Spain

By ROGELIO CASAS CADILLA

AS a supplement to my article on "The Economy of Spain" (in the January-February, 1940 issue of *LAND AND FREEDOM*), which dealt mostly with that country's past history, I should now like to present a brief survey of happenings in Spain in the last two decades.

In 1921, the tribes of the Riff in northern Africa rose in rebellion against Spain. The Spanish army suffered a terrible defeat; thousands of Spaniards were killed, because of the incompetence of the Command. New troops were being sent from Spain, and the affair might have been settled without further trouble, but ambitious schemers in the army saw in the affair an opportunity to advance themselves. General Primo de Rivera blamed the government, and managed to instigate a rebellion, "for the honor of Spain," and to seize control of the government.

Ignoring the Constitution, and retaining the Monarchy, the General ruled by decree. He did all those fine things that dictators usually do, with the result that the national debt was almost doubled. His construction of a number of roads greatly pleased the landowners whose lands were thereby increased in value. The paper peseta—symbol of the State under this Dictatorship—reached, through international speculation, a quotation near the price of gold.

Calvo Sotelo, Minister of Finances under the Dictatorship—a good lawyer, but unwise in international economic affairs—paid no attention to the sound advice that the Spanish free-traders gave him. He saw only the prestige of the State. However, the international speculation gave him food for thought, and he hoped to achieve a gold standard system. Thanks to the State Council, the gold standard was not established. And then, international speculation caused the peseta, which had been bought with a 40 per cent discount, to be sold back to the Government with an 18 per cent discount, as the inexperienced Minister of Finances was giving gold in London for paper pesetas. Gold was taken on terms, in order to sustain what he believed was the prestige of the State.

It soon became evident to every one how false was the "prosperity" under the dictatorship. Even the great landowners, who had applauded the construction of the roads, now abandoned Sotelo, and in 1930 King Alphonso dismissed him from power. As a consequence, the Monarchy fell in the following year.

The people then voted enthusiastically for a Republic, in the belief that it would be an improvement. Alas, it was only an illusion. Monarchist turned Republican, and the same economic system prevailed. People soon realized that they had only changed leaders. Cloaked in

nice phrases, higher taxes and protective tariffs were imposed, as well as the blood tributes, compulsory military service, and so on—the same as before. It became more and more difficult to carry on commerce—even more so than under the Monarchy.

The Spanish Socialists—albeit many of them were men of very good will—adored the State and hated individual liberty. They wanted to seize the reins of the State and have it completely under their control. Under their system, Bureaucracy grew in greater proportions, the control of foreign exchange grew stronger, and the Ministry of Industry controlled the whole industrial system. Each day the individual lost more and more as the State seized it from him. The Socialist Party did for the Republic what Calvo Sotelo did for the Dictatorship. Worshipping the State, both turned their backs on the people.

To the Socialists, commerce was thievery, unless carried on under the domination of the State. Individual initiative was gradually dying out because of the absurd and tyrannical intervention of the State. The wonder is that individual initiative still existed after the long and dismal history of tyranny in Spain.

By the time the Civil War broke out, in 1936, the economic condition of the Spanish people had become unbearable. The Bank that had issued paper money, on the Government's orders, held up all payments from foreign people doing business with Spanish merchants, until they could obtain foreign exchange. Several foreign nations held Spanish goods until they had collected their debts by "clearing."

When Spain was divided into two sides by the sedition of General Franco, he was aided by the Bank and the landowners—who had their own special reasons to fear the Socialists.

The year 1938 was one of terrible disappointment for the partisans of the titular State. The Spanish farmers were not anxious to part with their food products in exchange for a paper money in which little faith could be placed. So they hid their provisions while the people starved.

Thereafter, General Franco was not long in gaining a victory. Now that he is in power, will there be a change in the economy of Spain? Franco loves the State, as did Sotelo, and the Socialists. The only change will be a further extension of the power of the State—it will become totalitarian.

The Republic had issued paper money which Franco refuses to recognize. Now he is faced with the same situation that the Republic had to contend with, as to the farmers. They do not want to exchange their products for paper that will be valueless in the future.

It is futile to combat economic forces. And yet, this is what leader after leader, in seizing power, has attempted. Why do they not allow the free play of economic forces?

Science and Economics

By PAUL PEACH

IS economics a science? It would be difficult to find another question so charged with importance to the average man. If it is, we may reasonably hope that when its principles are sufficiently well understood we shall be able by their means to solve the problems of poverty, unemployment, and war. If on the other hand economics is a non-science it cannot help us in our striving for a good society, and our hope must be for something which transcends science, that is, a miracle. Therefore, if we desire to mitigate our economic distress, we must decide this question first and then hie us with all speed, either to the schoolroom, or to the church.

According to Webster's New International Dictionary (1939) a science is "a branch of study which is concerned with the observation and classification of facts, especially with the establishment of verifiable general laws, usually by induction and hypothesis." More briefly, it is a field of inquiry in which we scrutinize experience by the light of reason. It rests on assumptions which are taken on faith, because they can be neither proved nor disproved. Thus, I assume that I exist, and that the world exists. The opposite assumptions are equally legitimate, but if I assume that I do not exist, I have no excuse for behaving as if I did—for attempting to think and act. The scientist assumes further that there is no effect without a cause, and that by what he calls the "scientific method" he can learn something about the connection between cause and effect. This "scientific method" is essentially a very simple process, and its use is not confined to scientists. We see from Webster's definition that in its complete form it involves four steps:

- (1) Observation
- (2) Induction
- (3) Extension
- (4) Verification

Let us examine these steps one by one.

Observation, the starting point of science, rests upon another assumption: that, in spite of the limitations of our senses and the distortions introduced by the "personal equation" we can nevertheless make observations which have some bearing upon reality. In another paper ("The Data of Science") the writer has endeavored to justify this assumption; for the present, we note that it is only an extension of our postulate about cause and effect. For instance, if I see a mirage, I assume that something causes me to see it, though not necessarily that what I see is really there. I may or may not be able to learn what the cause is, but in the first step of

the scientific method we do not concern ourselves with causes; we merely note what we see, and what other people see (if anything). These observations supply the data of science.

From these data we take our second step: Induction. We study our material and attempt to find in it some regularity which suggests the operation of a uniform cause. The gas laws of chemistry were discovered in this way. If we have a gas in a confined space and subject it to varying pressure, we may observe changes in its volume, and make the following table:

Pressure	Corresponding Volume
60 pounds	1 cubic foot
30 "	2 cubic feet
20 "	3 " "
15 "	4 " "
12 "	5 " "
10 "	6 " "
6 "	10 " "

This table contains our data. We notice first that the volume decreases as the pressure increases. Closer analysis reveals an exact mathematical relationship between pressure and volume; the product of two associated numbers is always 60. We make many more observations; others do the same; and we find that this regularity persists at all times, in all places, with all gases, for all observers. At last we summarize our findings in a generalization: "The volume of a gas varies inversely as the pressure." This generalization is the result of induction from our observations, and we call it a natural law.*

After we have discovered our natural laws we take our third step: Extension. We seek by the use of our reason and imagination to find explanations; to learn the cause of the observed effect. We attempt to proceed from the known to the unknown, from the observed to the unobserved, the possibly unobservable. Boyle's Law tells us how gases behave, but not why. The scientist proceeds now to reason thus: "If a gas is a continuous body of matter, compressibility is difficult to explain; but if it consists of myriads of particles flying about in space, the contraction under pressure seems the natural enough consequence of forcing the particles closer together. The behavior of a sponge when we squeeze it furnishes an analogy." Such an attempt to explain phenomena is called a scientific theory. Our ideas of molecules, atoms, and subatomic particles originated in this way; no one has ever seen an atom.

The last step in the scientific method is Verification, usually by prediction and further observation. We have

*For the purpose of illustration, this discussion of Boyle's Law has been considerably simplified.

arrived at a theory, but until we have some confirmation of its validity it is no more than a conjecture. Accordingly we ask ourselves whether this theory suggests logical consequences, not necessarily connected with our original data; whether, in other words, it can lead us on to new knowledge. If, for example, gases consist of swarms of particles flying about in space, it seems probable that they will leak out of a cracked container at different rates; that heavy gases, composed presumably of large or heavy or slow-moving particles, should find their way through a crack with difficulty, and that light gases should leak out rapidly. We try the experiment, and find that gases do indeed behave in exactly this way; that the heavy gas chlorine can be kept for some time in a cracked bottle, while the light gases, hydrogen and helium, cannot. In sciences which do not permit laboratory experiments (such as astronomy) we attempt to find new regularities previously unsuspected, to learn new facts, to discover other laws. Thus we justify our theory, and no theory has any scientific standing until it has been justified in this way. And from this point we begin applying the scientific method all over again from the beginning, assured that if we pursue it diligently we must find new riches of knowledge.

Now that we understand what science is and how it works we return to our principal question: is economics a science? The field of economics includes the study of how men seek to gratify those desires which for their satisfaction demand the expenditure of human labor. Our question can now be rephrased: in this field of economics, is it possible to apply the scientific method? If yes, economics is or can be a science; if no, it is not and cannot.

Can we make economic observations? Of course we can and do. Indeed, it is here that the modern economist really distinguishes himself; he is an observer, a statistician,* if he is nothing else. But every one of us is an economic observer in his own way; we observe the people about us, and become aware of their ways of acting. Since the beginning of recorded history men have been making economic observations, and even in earlier times men who wrote nothing yet left records which we can interpret. All this mass of material, from prehistoric stone hammers to tomorrow's newspaper, supplies the data of economics. It cannot be denied that most of these observations are strongly colored by the prejudices of the observer, but this is a reason for sifting the data—an everyday scientific process—not for rejecting them. Economists may find it difficult to maintain an attitude of scientific detachment in their studies, but this is a limitation upon the scientist, not upon the science. In another paper ("The Humble People") the writer has

*It is not contended that any existing statistics have been compiled scientifically.

shown how other scientists have broken away from superstition and prejudice; economists must do the same.

We can, then, observe economic phenomena, and have gone one step towards answering our question. Can we take the second step? Can we make valid generalizations of our data? Can we analyze them by the inductive method? Remember our assumption about cause and effect. Our data are not unrelated facts; they are links in the endless chain of causation. But if this is true, then somewhere in our material do homogeneities and symmetries lie hidden. Once more the limitation is upon the scientist: the relationships must be there, but he may not be mentally capable of finding them. Yet even the layman can make some economic generalizations; for example, he arrives inductively at the obvious but important conclusion that merchants seek to sell their wares at a profit. Are there other laws to be found, less obvious perhaps? Could careful analysis such as has developed the great abstractions of modern mathematics accomplish nothing in economics? We need not labor the point; if cause and effect mean anything, scientific induction cannot be fruitless. The beginning we have made is but a shadow of great discoveries which wait only for the insight of a clear mind.

The deductive Extension of economic laws is another commonplace. For instance, manufacturers constantly tell us that with them profit is a secondary motive, and service to the public their first desire. Reasoning deductively from generalizations based upon observation and experience, we arrive without difficulty at the conclusion that all such declarations are hypocritical falsehoods. We cannot read men's minds, but we can and do know something about how those minds work.

Attempts to extend our economic knowledge by this method have not been wanting; the various theories of money, value, depressions, and the like, are examples. We could arrive inductively at Gresham's Law ("Bad money drives out good money") because we can see how people behave toward money; but only by the deductive method have we learned about the nature and functions of money itself, simply because money itself is in its major aspect an abstraction which cannot be observed. Indeed, while we may doubt that scientific induction has been adequately resorted to by economists, we cannot say this of deduction; economic theories are a lush growth: mostly weeds. Unfortunately, a theory which has no sound background in observation and induction is of little practical value; it is a guess, nothing more.

Are we then to believe that fruitful economic theories cannot be deduced, merely because most contemporary efforts are sterile? Surely not; surely we must admire rather that in this step, as in the first two, the fault has been, not in the soil of our garden, but in our own failure to till it.

Verification involves the prediction, either of future events, or of the discovery of new laws. It cannot be taken unless the first three steps have preceded it—unless we prophesy under divine inspiration. An uninspired prediction which has no factual and theoretical foundation can obviously have no value. Economics, alas, has such predictions galore. The most lamentable feature about them is that, because there is always some prophet for every possible point of view, many of these oneiro-mantic utterances “come true” and the fortune teller acquires a reputation for knowledge and wisdom. After every event there arises a clamorous horde shouting “I told you so!” But nevertheless, if we have the patience to winnow these prophecies, we can find an occasional genuine scientific prediction. Would there were more wheat in this field of chaff!

To show in detail the application of the scientific method in a particular instance is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is possible to indicate the process in outline. We may take, for example, statistics of savings bank deposits and insurance policies in relation to interest rates. We find that in “prosperous” years interest rates have been comparatively high, and the volume of savings large. In depression years interest is low; but while there is sometimes a decline in the volume of savings, such a decline is apparently not invariably a consequence of falling interest rates, and there have been such times when savings actually increased. The accumulation and arrangement of these facts completes our first step.

For our second step we draw the obvious inference that falling interest rates of themselves do not inevitably arrest the tendency to save, though of course they may discourage it. If we prefer positive assertions to negations, we may state our law thus: “Men have a tendency to save which is not eradicated by falling interest rates.”

We know now what men do; we ask next why they do it. What motive induces men to save, when the incentive of interest is taken away? A consideration of possible explanations, assisted perhaps by an examination of our own motives, may lead us to adopt as the most probable the hypothesis that men save in order to accumulate a reserve fund against some future contingency. If we concede that the hope of receiving interest is also an incentive, we may now formulate our theory of capital accumulation: “The motives which impel men to save are (1) the desire to collect interest and (2) the desire to postpone consumption of their wealth until some future time.” This completes Step Three.

We continue by noting that the two motives recognized in our theory are independent of each other, that each can operate without reference to the other, and that both operate in the positive direction. It follows that while both motives may have combined to produce our present capital fund, there would be some accumulation

of capital even if one of the motives were absent. Moreover, since each motive operates in the positive direction, there will exist for each some opposing desire which will diminish but not nullify its effect. On the strength of these considerations we make our prediction: “There will be some accumulation of capital, even if interest disappears. This accumulation will persist in a lesser degree if interest becomes slightly negative (i. e., paid not by the borrower to the lender, but by the lender to the borrower), and will vanish only when negative interest equals the estimated cost of storing or hoarding wealth in whatever form involves the least foreseeable risk and expense.”

This prediction will be tested by the future, but even now a partial confirmation is at hand: short term obligations of the United States Government are selling at a premium, which completely offsets the interest payable. If further confirmation is obtained, we may with greater confidence use our theory as a point of departure for new economic researches; if not, we must re-examine our data and our reasoning, assured that there is meaning in all things.

The rebuilding of economic science is a formidable task. Only clear heads and penetrating minds will discern the unbroken thread of cause and effect in the tangled skein of history. Economic variables can seldom be separated, and nations are not guinea pigs; and (as if these natural difficulties were not enough) the nomenclature of economics includes many terms (such as capital, labor, socialism, monopoly and the like) which evoke powerful emotional responses and make scientific thinking incredibly difficult. Yet men have overcome obstacles no less than these, though none in fields where the reward was so great. For in this balance hangs humanity itself; no other failure can entail so much suffering, no other success so liberate the nobler qualities of man. And though we grope in darkness, we may yet hope to see the dawn when men of good will shall possess the earth in comfort and peace.

Facts in Pseudo-Science

(Reprinted from *The New York Sun*)

TWO practical business men, Lamot du Pont and Floyd L. Carlisle, have put the professors of economics to their defenses. In their talks at Teachers College they attacked some of the bases on which the so-called science of economics rests. Mr. du Pont said:

Can it be that the repeated attack by educators and others on so-called “classical” or “orthodox” economics is chiefly to cover up looseness of think-

ing and ignorance of the subject, or to disguise radical and revolutionary teachings which have no relation whatever to sound economic thought? . . . The true science of economics can be no more radical or conservative than the multiplication table.

Complementary to this was a question posed by the chairman of the Consolidated Edison Company:

How does it come about that upon a given set of facts one group in the population asserts that the private enterprise system can no longer expand . . . while another group asserts from the same facts that the private enterprise system, if relieved from excessive taxation and regulation, will enter a new period of tremendous expansion?

About the only thing economics has in common with true science is that its more serious-minded devotees really do try to employ sound scientific method. Their main trouble is not with their method but with their facts. Correct scientific method proceeds by working hypotheses which must be predicated on, and responsive to, facts that are absolutely and unquestionably ascertained. If a pertinent new datum happens along that does not quite square with the hypothesis, only two courses are scientifically possible: either the supposed datum must be proved not to be a fact at all, or the hypothesis must be revised to fit it in with all other pertinent facts.

When effort is made to constrain facts within the framework of a theory, instead of constraining the theory to fit all the known facts—when inaccurately observed phenomena are used to buttress argument or hypothesis—that is not scientific; it is pseudo-scientific. It is comparatively simple, for example, to ascertain facts about things that can be measured, weighed, dissolved in test tubes, counted, smelled, tasted, felt. It is not so easy to do anything of the kind with human tendencies and emotions. If you hit a nail accurately with a hammer, you should have a fairly accurate scientific idea of what that nail will do. But if you hit a stranger in the eye with your fist, you cannot be sure whether he will fall down or run away or retaliate with a blow from his own fist. Perhaps this helps explain why Karl Marx and Henry George could proceed from certain general phenomena of human experience to two startlingly different economic millenniums.

[The foregoing appeared as an editorial in the April 10, 1940 issue of *The Sun*, a leading New York daily, and is appended to the article "Science and Economics," by Paul Peach. Both these essays conjoin in a worth-while plea. Incidentally, the ideas contained in the editorial are in substantial accord with those expressed by Henry George in his "Study of Political Economy," a lecture delivered at the University of California.

While it is unfortunate that the writer of the above editorial holds aloof from any specific appraisal of the merits of George versus Marx, it is apparent that our friend on the staff of *The Sun* is well grounded in Georgian principles.—Ed.]

Rent as a Social Product in Relation to Productivity

By W. R. B. WILLCOX

IN his rejoinder to the writer's discussion of Rent in the September-October, 1939, *LAND AND FREEDOM*, Mr. C. J. Smith rather chided the writer (with entire justification, be it said,) for not replying to his own argument that "Rent is a social product," and for failure to make "a more faithful restatement of George's position." Frankly, the writer had confined his remarks to the conceptions of Rent held by Ricardo and Henry George, and had left the points mentioned for later comment, as follows:

"Is Rent a social product?" In the sense that a social product is an outgrowth of human association (that which always appears with, and never without, human association), Rent certainly is a social product. But this fact does not warrant the deduction frequently made, that Rent belongs to, or is the property of, society. Proof of this lies elsewhere.

In the sense mentioned, many things are social products which are not, consequently, the property of society; for example, hotels, hospitals, railroads, etc. Granting that Rent is a social product, there must be some reason, some special characteristic of Rent which, differentiating it from all other social products, justifies the claim that it belongs to, or is the property of, society.

The failure of certain expressions to bring to any considerable number of people a consciousness, or conviction, of a basis for a stable social order suggests that something must be wrong with the logic of these expressions, or with the ideas they are intended to convey; expressions such as, land is a gift of nature, land costs mankind nothing, land cannot be the property of individuals; Rent is payment for the use of land, Rent is an unearned increment, Rent belongs to the people, Rent is a social product.

The following are some of the inconsistencies which characterize arguments associated with these expressions. People generally agree that land is a "gift of nature" and costs mankind nothing; but seldom are they impressed by the incongruity that some people are required to pay other people for the use of the land. It freely is admitted that, in some instances, Rent is an unearned increment, but the propriety of those who have "bought land," privately appropriating the Rent, is denied only by a few.

Many people believe that it would be an act of "confiscation" for the government to take over the land in order to get the Rent, but little objection is made to the government's getting some of the Rent by taxing the

land. This happens, apparently, from the mistaken notion that land is wealth, and that it should be taxed as are other forms of wealth. At the same time annoyance is displayed with those who want to increase the tax on land; especially, it seems, if the latter are known as Georgeists or Single Taxers. Furthermore, it seems to be impossible for the average person to conceive of land being used unless it is "owned." If it be suggested that land, properly, is not subject to individual ownership, some one is sure to ask: "Who, then, would own the land; would the *government* own it?"

Now it seems obvious that mankind in no way has been responsible for the existence of the provisions, or processes, of nature. So it seems reasonable to conclude that, naturally, one man is equally possessed with every other man of the privilege to use the land; that authority does not repose in any man or group of men (even though they be organized as a government) to charge or receive from other men anything for the use of the land. Rent, therefore, which commonly is said to be payment for the use of the land, must be payment for something else. What may this be?

On the ground that no payments are to be made for the provisions of nature, and since the latter cannot be obtained or used without labor, the only payments to be associated with the provisions of nature are those which attach to the labor, or the product of labor, used in obtaining and using them. Therefore, the only thing in connection with land (a provision of nature) for which men are obligated to compensate other men, is for the labor, or the products of labor, which the latter furnish in making use of the land. These compensations consist of Wages for labor, and Interest for the use of the products of labor, and cannot be effected with that which is *not wealth*; that is, they cannot be made with land, or with the privilege of using the land. Hence, Rent cannot be compensation for the use of the land, but must be compensation for labor, or for the use of the products of labor.

However, Rent is not payment for *all* labor, or for the use of all of the products of labor. Some labor is performed by certain individuals for other individuals; in which case, compensations can definitely be adjusted and made directly, in Wages. Some products of labor (the wealth of certain individuals) are used by other individuals; in which case, compensations can definitely be adjusted and made directly, in Interest. These compensations are not social, but individual products.

But there is certain labor, and certain products of labor (or wealth), which are at the service of society, for which compensations cannot definitely be adjusted nor directly made, between individuals furnishing these ser-

vices and the individual members of society who are served by them; hence, must be made to *society* in proportion to the use and availability of these services to individual members of society. These compensations combined constitute what is known as Rent, which, due to the impossibility of its apportionment among individuals, properly is a social product.

But the proof that Rent belongs to, or is the property of, society lies in the fact that it consists of *Wages and Interest* (Wealth), that is paid for the labor and the use of capital invested in social and governmental services; not that it is paid for the use of that which is *not* wealth, land. It should be said, that while government itself is a social service, some part of this labor and capital is furnished directly by government, while the balance is furnished indirectly by individuals, to whom payments cannot accurately be allocated.

"A more faithful restatement of George's position." If the foregoing reasoning is sound, that Rent is compensation for services and not for the "gifts of nature"—and with no idea of falsifying George—an analysis of the question whether the presence of population and social activities "affect," or as George said, "are affected by," the desirabilities of particular sites, seems to show that the statement that "Rent depends upon and varies with the different degrees of productivity" confuses two wholly unlike kinds of productivity; namely, that which is of Nature (fertility, etc.), and that which is of Man (labor).

The first kind of productivity (as it occurs in nature) is entirely independent of human labor; the second kind (from which comes all Wealth) on the other hand, is entirely dependent upon human labor. The first directs the steps of men to points of greater *natural* productivity; the second, to points of greater *artificial* productivity. Therefore, while the presence of population and social activities "are affected by" the intrinsic, natural desirabilities of particular sites, they "affect" the extrinsic, artificial desirabilities of particular sites.

But, since to benefit from the natural desirabilities of sites—even to reach them—men must labor, and since men strive to get what they want with the least labor possible, they are more alive to the advantages of the presence of population and social activities as these "affect" the *artificial* desirabilities of sites, than they are to these advantages as the latter "are affected by" the *natural* desirabilities of sites. This appears from the fact that it is the humanly provided facilities that make life easier (as these "affect" sites, rather than as sites "are affected by" natural advantages), which causes concentration of populations in cities. The lonely pioneer it is who seeks the frontier; the mass of the population will have none of it. It is not for the richness of nature, but

for the abundance of social services, including governmental protection, for which men pay Rent. In the nature of the case, this Rent should be paid to society which furnishes these services.

[The "productivity" mentioned in the September-October 1939 rejoinder, to which Mr. Willcox refers, pertained to the natural capacity of the land. The idea was summarized in a "food for thought" appendage, as follows:

Rent of land is payment for social services—social services are in greatest demand where presence and activities of population are greatest—presence and activities of population are greatest on lands having highest capacity for production, i. e., on lands of highest productivity or greatest fertility—therefore, rent of land depends upon and varies with the different degrees of productivity.—ED.]

" - And It Came to Pass - "

HENRY GEORGE IN PROPHETIC ROLE

The United States Geological Survey has made an investigation of so-called "strategic" minerals. Miss Jewell Glass, one of the very few female mineralogists, and the only woman on the investigating staff in the Division of Petrology, has made some highly interesting comments as to her idea of the causes of war. She believes that nations do not fight for ideals, nor for freedom, nor for forms of government, but for control of minerals. "Russia," she says, "wants Finland for its great nickel supply; Sweden is threatened for its iron." It is the inevitable land question which few others besides Georgeists care to admit fully. Miss Jewell insists that "as soon as one nation controls a strategic mineral, there is going to be war."

It is a well provisioned ship, this on which we sail through space. . . And very great command over the services of others comes to those who as the hatches are opened are permitted to say, "This is mine!"

—"Progress and Poverty," Book IV., Chapt. 2.

Thomas J. Watson, President of the International Business Machines, recently told the Congressional Monopoly Committee that machines and mass production have created many more jobs than they have eliminated. He pointed out that in 1890, before the typesetting machine, there were 30,000 compositors in the printing plants of the country. In 1930 there were 184,000. In 1870, before the typewriter, only 2,100 of every million persons were engaged in office work. Now, 33,000 per million follow this occupation. Mr. Watson admitted that there are specific cases in which the machine has displaced some workers, but stoutly maintained that machines "have not caused unemployment in general."

And as no possible increase in the power of his labor, or reduction in his expenses of living can benefit the slave, neither can it, where land is monopolized, benefit those who have nothing but their labor. It can only increase the value of land—the proportion of the produce that goes to the landowner. And this being the case, the greater employment of machinery, the greater division of labor, the greater contrasts in the distribution of wealth, become to the working masses positive evils—making their lot harder and more hopeless as material progress goes on.—"Social Problems," Chapt. XIV.

One of the most recent scenes of land speculation is the great and rapidly growing Borough of Queens in the City of New York. Borough President George U. Harvey has often expressed grave concern regarding the exodus of factories from his fair borough. He makes a "safe" diagnosis of the causes, by including many contributory ailments—among which are high taxes. One factor was not mentioned. Mr. Harvey addressed his remarks to an audience composed of property owners, by which, of course, is meant land owners and not mere factory owners.

The power of a special interest, though inimical to the general interest, so to influence common thought as to make fallacies pass as truths, is a great fact without which neither the political history of our own time and people nor that of other times and peoples can be understood.—"The Science of Political Economy," Book II., Chapt. 2.

A recent release of *Taxes for Democracy*, issued by the Tax Policy League, says: "If in doubt about the ethics of a practice, tax it," appears to be a time-honored American principle. Accordingly, such activities as teeter on the verge of wickedness (card playing, smoking, drinking, betting) are deemed particularly appropriate objects of taxation. Some of these seesaw across the borderline of legality, with the prospect of the tax revenues to be derived therefrom often being an argument (if not a cause) for the legalization of the practice. This has been particularly true in the case of alcoholic beverages and pari-mutuel betting. Horse-race betting is rapidly becoming legalized in the American states and its revenue potentialities are advanced as a major reason therefor."

Taxes on tobacco and spirits may be defended on the ground that the smoking of tobacco and the drinking of spirits are injurious vices, which may be lessened by making tobacco and spirits more expensive, so that (except the rich) those who smoke may be compelled to smoke poorer tobacco, and those who drink to drink viler liquor. But merely as a means of raising revenue, it is clear that indirect taxes are to be condemned, since they cost far more than they yield, bear with the greatest weight upon those least able to pay, add to corruptive influences, and lessen the control of the people over their government."

—"Protection or Free Trade," Chapt. VIII.

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The Rights of Infants

By THOMAS SPENCE

[One of the most remarkable of Henry George's ideological predecessors was the English bookseller, Thomas Spence. In 1775, a year before Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" appeared, Spence delivered a lecture on "The Real Rights of Man" before the Philosophical Society of Newcastle. For this lecture, says Spence, the Society did him the "honor" to expel him. The ideas he expressed were that all men have a right to the use of the earth, and that the rent of land should be the sole source of public revenue.

Spence followed this with other treatises, among which was "The Rights of Infants," published in 1797. This was written in the form of a dialogue between Aristocracy and a Mother of Children. It was discovered in the Manchester, England, Reference Library by a friend of Henry George, in 1882. The friend copied it and presented it to George. Henry George, Jr., found it among his father's effects and presented it to Joseph Dana Miller.

We are happy to offer this interesting and powerful essay to our readers.—Ed.]

FROM SPENCE'S PREFACE

IN a perusal of the following little tract on the Rights of Infants, men who dare contemplate their rights may see them portrayed boldly at full length.

The more I contemplate human affairs, the more I am convinced that a landed interest is incompatible with the happiness and independence of the world. For as all the rivers run into the sea, and yet the sea is not full, so let there be ever so many sources of wealth, let trade, foreign and domestic, open all their sluices, yet will no other but the landed interest be ultimately the better.

All dominion is rooted and grounded in land and thence springs every kind of lordship which overtops and chokes all the shrubs of the forest. But take away those tall, those overbearing aristocratic trees and then the lowly plants of the soil will have air, will thrive and grow robust.

Whether my plan of enjoying man's rights, which I have been publishing in different ways for more than twenty years be objectionable or no, it is certain it has never been answered. If I am wrong let me be confuted; and if I am not, let mankind for their own sakes pay attention to what I have to say.

THE DIALOGUE

AND pray, what are the Rights of Infants? cry the haughty ARISTOCRACY, sneering and tossing up their noses.

WOMAN: Ask the she-bears and every she-monster and they will tell you what the rights of every species of young are. They will tell you, in resolute language and actions, too, that their rights extend to a full participa-

tion of the fruits of the earth. They will tell you and vindicate it likewise by deeds that mothers have a right at the peril of all opposers to provide from the elements the proper nourishments of their young. And, seeing this, shall we be asked what the Rights of Infants are? As if they had no rights! As if they were excrescences and abortions of nature! As if they had not a right to the milk of our breasts? Nor we a right to any food to make milk of. As if they had not a right to good nursing, to cleanliness, to comfortable clothing and lodging. Villains! Why do you ask that aggravating question? Have not the foxes holes, and the birds of the air nests? And shall the children of men have not where to lay their heads? Have brute mothers a right to eat grape, and the food they like best, to engender milk in their dugs, for the nourishment of their young, and shall the mothers of infants be denied such a right? Is not this earth our common also, as well as it is the common of brutes? May we not eat herbs, berries or nuts, as well as other creatures? And have we not a right to fish with the she otters? Have we not a right to hunt and prowl for prey with the wolves? Or may we not dig coals or cut wood for fuel? Nay, does nature provide a luxuriant and abundant feast for all her numerous tribes of animals except us? As if poverty were our portion alone, and as if we and our helpless babes came into the world only to weep over each other?

ARISTOCRACY (sneering): And is your sex also set up for pleaders of rights?

WOMAN: Yes, Molochs! Our sex were defenders of rights from the beginning. And though men, like other he-brutes, sink calmly into apathy respecting their offspring, you shall find nature as it never was, so it never shall be extinguished in us. You shall find that we not only know our rights, but have spirit to assert them, to the downfall of you and all tyrants, and since it is so that the men like he-asses suffer themselves to be laden with as many pair of panniers of rents, tithes, etc., as your *tender* consciences please to lay upon them, we, even we the females, will vindicate the rights of the species and throw you and all your panniers in the dirt.

ARISTOCRACY: So you wish to turn the cultivated world into a wilderness that you may eat wild fruits and game like Indians?

WOMAN: No sophists, we do not want to be as Indians. But the natural fruits of the earth, being the fruits of our undoubted common, we have an indefeasible right to, and we will be no longer deprived of them without an equivalent.

ARISTOCRACY: Do you not in lieu of those wild productions get bread and mutton and beef and garden stuff and all the refined productions and luxuries of art and labor; what reason, then, have you to complain?

WOMAN: Are you serious? Would you really persuade us that we have no reason to complain? Would you make us believe that we receive these productions of art and culture as a fair compensation for the natural produce of our common, which you deprive us of? Have we not to purchase these things before we enjoy them?

ARISTOCRACY: Sure, woman, you do not expect the fruits of men's labors and ingenuity for nothing! Do not the farmers, in the first place, pay very high rents for their farms; and in the next place are they not at great trouble and expense in tilling and manuring the ground and in breeding cattle; and surely you cannot expect that these men will work and toil and lay out their money for you for nothing?

WOMAN: And pray, ladies and gentlemen, who ever dreamed of hurting the farmers, or taking their provisions for nothing, except yourselves? It is only the privileged orders, and their humble imitators on the highway, who have the impudence to deprive men of their labors for nothing. No; if it please your nobles and gentlemen, it is you, and not the farmers, that we have to reckon with. And pray now, your highnesses, who is it that receive those rents which you speak of from the farmers?

ARISTOCRACY: We to be sure; we receive the rents.

WOMAN: You to be sure! Who the D-v-l are you? Who gave you a right to receive the rents of our common?

ARISTOCRACY: Woman! Our fathers either fought for or purchased our estates.

WOMAN: Well confessed, villains! Now, out of your own mouths will I condemn you, you wicked Molochs! And so you have the impudence to own yourselves the cursed brood of ruffians who, by slaughter and oppression, usurped the lordship and dominion of the earth, to the exclusion and starvation of weeping infants and their poor mothers. Or, at the best, the purchasers of those ill-got domains? O worse than Molochs! now let the blood of the millions of innocent babes who have perished through your vile usurpation be upon your murderous heads! You have deprived the mothers of nature's gifts, and farmed them out to farmers, and pocketed the money, as you audaciously confess. Yes, villains! You have treasured up the tears and groans of dumb, helpless, perishing, dying infants. O, you bloody landed interest! You band of robbers! Why do you assume soft names, you beasts of prey? Too well do your emblazoned arms and escutcheons witness the ferocity of your bloody and barbarous origin! But soon shall those audacious Gothic emblems of rapine cease to offend the eyes of an enlightened people, and no more make an odious distinction between the spoilers and the spoiled. But, ladies and gentlemen, is it necessary, in order that we may eat bread and mutton, that the rents

should be received by you? Might not the farmers as well pay their rents to us, who are the natural and rightful proprietors? If for the sake of cultivation we are content to give up to farmers our wild fruits, our hunting grounds, our fish and game, our coal mines and our forests, is it not equitable that we should have the rents in lieu thereof? If not, how can the farmers have the face to sell us again the produce of our own land?

Hear me! Ye oppressors! ye who live sumptuously every day! ye for whom the sun seems to shine and the seasons change, ye for whom alone all human and brute creatures toil, sighing but in vain for the crumbs which fall from your overcharged tables; ye for whom alone the heavens drop fatness, and the earth yields her increase, hearken to me, I say, ye who are not satisfied with usurping all that nature can yield; ye who are insatiable as the grave; ye who would deprive every heart of joy but your own, I say hearken to me! Your horrid tyranny, your infanticide is at an end! Your grinding the faces of the poor and your drinking the blood of infants is at an end! The groans of the prisons, the groans of the camp, and the groans of the cottage, excited by your infernal policy are at an end! And behold the whole earth breaks forth into singing at the new creation, at the breaking of the iron rod of aristocratic sway, and at the rising of the everlasting sun of righteousness.

And did you really think, my good gentlefolk, that you were the pillars that upheld the universe? Did you think that we would never have the wit to do without you? Did you conceive that we should never be able to procure bread and beef and fuel without your agency? Ah! my dear creatures, the magic spell is broke. Your sorceries, your witchcrafts, your priestcrafts, and all juggling crafts are at an end, and the Meridian Sun of Liberty bursts forth upon the astonished world, dispelling the accumulated mists of dreary ages and leaves us the glorious blue expanse of serene unclouded reason.

Well, then, since you have compelled, since you have driven us, through your cruel bondage to emancipate ourselves, we will even try to do without you, and deal with the honest farmers ourselves, who will find no difference, unless for the better, between paying their rents to us and to you.

And whereas we have found our husbands, to their indelible shame, woefully negligent and deficient about their own rights, as well as those of their wives and infants, we women mean to take up the business ourselves and let us see if any of our husbands dare hinder us. Wherefore, you will find the business much more seriously and effectually managed in our hands than ever it has been yet. You may smile, tyrants, but you have juster cause to weep. For as nature has implanted into the breasts of all mothers the most pure and unequivocal concern for their young, which no bribes can buy, nor threats annihili-

late, be assured we will stand true to the interest of our babes, and shame, woe and destruction be to the pitiful varlet that dare obstruct us. For their sakes we will no longer make brick without straw, but will draw the produce of our estate. If we deprive ourselves of our common in order that it may be cultivated we ourselves will have the price thereof, and we may buy therewith, as far as it will go, the farmers' produce. And so far as our respective shares of the rent may be adequate to the comfortable and elegant support of ourselves and infants, so far will we cheerfully, by our honest endeavors, in our several callings make up the deficiency and render life worth enjoying. To labor for ourselves and infants we do not decline; but we are sick of laboring for an insatiable aristocracy.

To convince your highnesses that our plan is well digested I will lay it before you. You will find it very simple, but that is the sign of the greater perfection. As I said before, we women (because the men are not to be depended on) will appoint in every parish a committee of our own sex (which we presume our gallant lock-jawed spouses and paramours will at least for their own interest not oppose) to reserve the rents of the houses and lands already tenanted, and also to let to the best bidders, on seven years' leases, such farms and ténements as may from time to time become vacant. Out of those rents we can remit to government so much per pound, according to the exigencies of the state, in lieu of all taxes, so that we may no longer have taxes nor tax gatherers. Out of these rents we shall next pay all our builders and workmen that build or repair our houses, pave, cleanse and light our streets; pay the salaries of our magistrates and other public officers. And all this we women shall do quarterly, without a bank or bank-notes, in ready money, when the rents are paid in; thus suffering neither state nor parish to run in debt. And as to the overplus, after all public expenses are defrayed, we shall divide it fairly and equally among all the living souls in the parish, whether male or female; single or married, legitimate or illegitimate; from a day old to the extremest age; making no distinction between the families of rich farmers and merchants who pay much rent for their extensive farms or premises and the families of poor laborers and mechanics who pay but little for their small apartments, cottages and gardens, but giving to the head of every family a full and equal share for every name under his roof.

And, whereas, births and funerals and consequent sickness are attended with expense, it seems requisite to allow at quarter days to the head of every family a full share for every child that may have been born in his house since the former quarter day, though the infant may then be but a day old, and also for every person who might have died since the former quarter day, though the death should have happened but a day after it.

This surplus, which is to be dealt out again among the living souls in a parish every quarter day, may be reasonably supposed to amount to full $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole sum of rents collected. But whatever it may amount to, such share of the surplus rents is the imprescriptible right of every human being in civilized society as an equivalent for the natural materials of their common estate which by letting to rent for the sake of cultivation and improvement they are deprived of.

Wherefore, now, ladies and gentlemen, you see the glorious work is done, and the rights of the human species built on so broad and solid a basis that all your malice will not be able to prevail against them. Moreover, when we begin with you, we will make a full end of your power at once. We will not impolitically tamper with the lion, and pluck out a tooth now and then, as some propose to melt down your strength by degrees which would only irritate you to oppose us with all the power you had remaining. No; we will begin where we mean to end, by depriving you instantaneously, as by an electric shock, of every species of revenue from lands which will universally and at once be given to the parishes to be disposed of by and for the use of the inhabitants, as said before.

But yet be not cast down, my good ladies and gentlemen. All this is done for the sake of system, not revenge or retaliation; for we wish not to reduce you to beggary as you do us, for we will leave you all your movable riches and wealth, all your gold and silver, your rich clothes and furniture, your corn and cattle and every thing that does not appertain to the land as a fixture, for these you know must come to the parish with our estates. So that you see you will still be the richest part of the community and may by your cheerful acquiescence be much more happy than you are now under the existing, unjust system of things. But if by foolish and wicked opposition you should compel us in our own defence to confiscate even your movables, and perhaps also to cut you off, then let your blood be upon your own heads, for we shall be guiltless. It will, therefore, be your interest and wisdom to submit peaceably and fraternize cheerfully with us as fellow-citizens, for instead of you then having the revenues of the country to carry on war against us, as you have now, the parishes will then have these revenues to carry on the war against you. And as to your movable property, we are not afraid of it, for it would soon melt away in supporting you in a state of hostility against the strength and standing revenues of the country unburthened with debts and pensions. So prepare yourselves peaceably to acquiesce in the new system of things which is fast approaching. And when you shall hear of the blessed decree being passed by the people, that the land is from that day forth parochial property, join chorus with your glad fellow creatures and joyfully partake in the universal happiness.

AN INTERPRETATION OF The Law of Human Progress

ILLUSTRATIONS AND TEXT BY ROBERT CLANCY

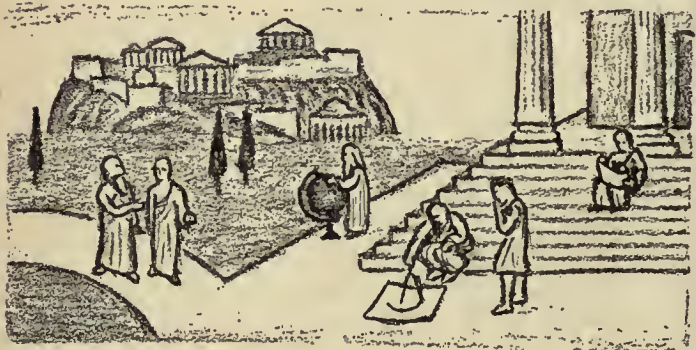
I. ASSOCIATION



There is a limit to human energy. Progressive pursuits can be engaged in only as time and energy are set free from the sheer act of making a living. Or if any advances are made in the arts of living, further progress can be made only after these advances are first maintained. In the solitary state, man—alone against the forces of nature—can make little progress in advancing the productive arts. He can do little more than wrest from nature a bare existence. There is no time or energy left for progressive pursuits.



As people come together and cooperate, each exchanging his products or services with those of others, every member of the community has access to all the production and services available. Cooperation and specialization of labor make for greater ease of production, more power over the forces of nature, and greater collective security. Such arts as agriculture and building—advances over the primitive state—become possible. Economic activity flows more smoothly; periods of famine and catastrophes are more easily overcome. Thus association is the beginning of progress.



As production becomes easier and life more secure, time and energy are set free from maintenance, and may be devoted to the higher yearnings within man. It is in societies that have the most highly developed association and the most intricate subdivision of labor, that cultural and mental progress make the greatest headway. Thus the flowering of the arts and sciences is rooted in economic cooperation. An added stimulus is the association of mind with mind—the exchange of thoughts. Under such conditions learning and art progress.



Break up association and progress disappears. The advances achieved in society depend for their continuance upon the existence of that society. When society is disbanded, men must soon revert to primitive methods to satisfy their wants. Or if association takes the form of conflict of group with group, time and energy are consumed in non-progressive pursuits, and even pursuits destructive of progress. Thus it is that ASSOCIATION is the first requisite of human progress.

*“Association in Equality is the
Law of Progress” — Henry George.*

II. EQUALITY



The second condition of progress is EQUALITY. Peaceful association is required for progress—and this is maintained only when a condition of equality, freedom and justice prevails. Where the dignity of the individual is respected, and every one receives the full reward of his labor—there the profit motive is harmonious with the common good. Where there is a fairly equal distribution of wealth and power, and where every citizen has an equal voice in the affairs of the community, it is there that men have the greatest incentive to join with their fellow-men in progressive tasks.



There is a tendency in social growth for wealth and power to concentrate in the hands of a few. This is not an inevitable result of progress, but a constant tendency that must ever be watched and checked. It usually comes about from a strong and unscrupulous person or group taking advantage of a crisis or a dissension, and seizing power. It is accelerated by the private ownership of land, and slavery. Power leads to more power, and soon we have two classes in society: the ruler and the ruled; the oppressors and the oppressed.



Once such a condition is permitted to become entrenched, social decline is sure—either in the form of petrification or of chaos. The rulers certainly do not want to change the system that keeps them in power; they want no innovations; progress is a danger to them. And the masses, kept in slavery and ignorance, are too apathetic to desire change. The whole social structure is weakened and becomes an easy prey to ruder forces—men reared under more vigorous conditions. The disinherited masses may even join with the invaders in their orgy of plunder!



Let us take warning. We have the same tendencies in our civilization that have destroyed preceding ones. Already the masses are becoming restive. The great advances made by modern civilization—its discoveries and instruments—are both a menace and a promise. As never before these instruments might be converted into shattering forces. As never before they might be converted into uplifting forces. If justice and equality are established, this civilization may yet be saved. If not—the forces are already in motion that will lead to its downfall and destruction.

The Reign of Natural Law

An Allegory of a Kingdom

By HENRY WARE ALLEN

I. PROSPERITY

THERE was once a king who ruled so wisely that his kingdom became famous for the happiness and prosperity of his people. In this kingdom there was no real poverty and consequently but little crime. Employment was so abundant and well paid that none were idle excepting those who chose to be so. There was neither poverty nor fear of poverty and as a result, both Capital and Labor were liberated to the fullest extent for employment in the creation of wealth and for the satisfying of those greater needs which come with an advancing civilization. There was a steady increase in salaries and wages, accompanied by a steady decrease in the cost of living. This resulted from improved methods of production and transportation, and everyone benefited accordingly.

The wise ruler of this kingdom had planned so well that no taxes of any kind whatsoever were levied against industry or the finished products of industry. Capital and Labor were alike treated as beneficent factors for prosperity and were never subjected to the penalizing effects of taxation. The direct result of this regime was encouragement to all the activities in which Capital and Labor were involved. Unparalleled progress in building, manufacturing, the arts and sciences, and improvements naturally resulted from this freedom.

Justice, the most God-like of all the virtues, was the test which had been applied in every part of the great plan adopted by the king, and accordingly it was decreed that the full reward of labor of every kind should be given to him who labored, and without the penalizing influence of enforced contribution to the public treasury. He well knew that misery would surely follow the imposition of taxes upon the people, and had, therefore, devised a seemingly mysterious plan which enabled them to live happily without the payment of any taxes whatsoever. He knew that revenue would be required for the customary expenses of government just as food would be needed by every living animal, but by the exercise of the power which he possessed, he was able to provide for this revenue without the imposition of taxes upon anyone. This revenue was derived from ground rent. It was a community fund created automatically by the industry of all; it therefore belonged to all, and was rightfully used for the payment of all community or government expenses. It should be understood that ownership and use by the community of economic or ground rent which is purely the product of population, the pres-

ence of a community, is in perfect harmony with the individualism of democracy and is in no way to be confused with the philosophy of communism. This source of public revenue was negligible where population was sparse, but was great where population was dense. It was always amply sufficient for the expenses of government. This law, which provided public revenue from ground rent was, perhaps, the most beneficent of all the laws instituted by the king.

When ability of everyone to earn a good living had become fully established as an unvarying rule of life, the sacred right to property also came to be recognized as a matter of course and to a degree never before attained. Human nature had not been changed. The king realized it was created good in the first place, and never had been corrupted excepting where the laws of a country had been bad and in contradiction to natural law. Incidentally, the king was free from that aggrandizement of self which usually surrounds royalty with magnificence and splendor, secured by a process of extortion upon unwilling subjects.

His palace was indeed grand in its dimensions and its appropriate utility, but at the same time simple and without extravagant cost. Furthermore, the king did not support a retinue of courtiers to do him honor by their servile attendance. Instead, he maintained a personnel of workers selected for their fitness to assist him in the execution of his mandates, limited always to service for minimum public functions. The king believed that that government was best which governed least. He never interfered with legitimate private business in any way.

The government thus established was based not upon the majesty of royalty but, instead, upon the majesty of democracy, excepting that it had been given to the people as the perfected plan of a great and wise ruler. This kingdom was unique in being the first of its kind in providing that in every department of the government the same code of morals which apply to the conduct of the individual must apply with equal force to every act of the government itself. In particular, the commands, "Thou shalt not kill" and "Thou shalt not steal" were rigidly enforced.

Before that time it had been assumed that the king could do no wrong and this had been interpreted to mean that the government, for example, could sacrifice its own people in warfare in order to satisfy what was termed "economic necessity." But the far greater crime of governments had been the relentless taking of property away from citizens by taxation, in total disregard of property rights or other demands of justice.

In recognition of the people's gratitude to their king and as an expression of their love and loyalty, there had been erected voluntarily by them temples in every part

of the kingdom, where they were accustomed to assemble in order to express their fealty to their ruler and to consider plans proposed from time to time for their cooperation with him in his great enterprise.

II. DECLINE

Now it came to pass that in the course of time, being well pleased with the administration of his kingdom and having confidence in the ability of his subjects, by use of the native intelligence with which they had been endowed, to continue the government as established, the king concluded to abdicate in favor of another. The people were on a certain day to select this successor to their beloved ruler. In due course the new king was placed in power and the smoothness and success with which the new administration continued prompted much praise.

As time passed, however, it became evident that variation in little ways from the old regime was taking place. Insidiously the prevailing sentiment was changed from justice to charity. These changes were imperceptible at first, but they grew with accelerating force as a result of special privileges which were being given by the new king to favored followers. While hitherto the people had been free without hindrance to exchange their products with those of other nations, a new plan was now imposed which penalized them for so doing. These protected interests were thus enabled to charge monopoly prices for their products. In extenuation for this change the new king explained to his people that this was really to their own advantage, as it would prevent the entry into their country of the products of pauper labor from abroad, and it was therefore helpful in sustaining the high standard of living which they enjoyed. Those responsible for this argument were hardly aware that it was precisely the same argument which is used against the employment of labor-saving machinery.

But there was one effect of this tax which the people did not like. For they soon found that they themselves were not able to sell to other nations, as they had previously done, the products of their own labor. This started a dullness in trade with resulting unemployment of many, something new in their experience.

In place of the old plan of collecting a fair percentage from those who developed the natural resources of precious and base metals, coal and oil, the sources of this natural wealth were now sold outright to these favored people who were then privileged to collect increased prices for same. This became possible by the private ownership of monopolized natural resources.

These changes had already caused some grumbling and discontent, but it remained for the new king to put into execution the cleverest of all devices by which special

privilege was to be gratified at the expense of the common people. This new plan reduced the royal domain, the land, to private ownership, altho theretofore it had been sacredly preserved as the property of the whole people. The great significance of this change was not appreciated at first, but little by little it came to be realized that the public revenue which had previously been sufficient for the payment of all governmental expenses was now diverted more and more into the hands of the landlords. These landlords had secured titles not only to the land itself, but they also came into possession of the economic or ground rent of land, which is purely a community value and which therefore should have been sacredly conserved for the public.

Insidiously, by ninety-nine-year leases and other devices, the golden stream which previously had emptied into the public treasury, thus taking care of the expenses of government without taxing anyone, was now largely diverted into the pockets of landlords. A new way to get rich was thus established and "Napoleons of Finance" habitually advised young men to buy inside property, and to hold it until it could be sold with large profit over the original cost, in this way to gather where they had not sown and to appropriate the revenue that rightfully belonged to the community. The effect of this was to increase all rents paid for the use of desirable locations. Certain families which had held title to lands at the centers of population thus came into royal incomes without having to give anything in return. In many cases these landlords refused to sell, and as a result more than half of the area of every city consisted in unused vacant lots, the monopoly of which had the direct effect of increasing the sales price or rental to be paid for any land that was available for use.

The same phenomenon was to be observed in agricultural districts. Farming lands which had previously been available for use at nominal cost were now to be obtained only at excessive prices per acre. This involved so much for the purchase of an ordinary farm that the average farmer could not make the purchase without borrowing a large portion of the price. This new plan gave the landlords the power to collect immense revenues for the use of the land which the old king had originally provided as a free gift to all of his people. Before long this resulted in the change of ownership from the independent farmer to those who were able to monopolize the land. Thus the increase of land tenantry proceeded until nearly every farm was cultivated by a tenant.

The new king took notice of this and endeavored to remedy the trouble by the payment of fabulous amounts of money to the farmers as a reward for their promising not to raise one crop or as a bonus for actually raising another. He loaned public money to these farmers at artificially low interest rates. He also made loans upon

their corn, cotton and other products at artificially high rates in an effort to create prosperity, and meanwhile the total amount of farm loans grew enormously. Of course, it followed that the farmer was obliged to charge unnaturally high prices for all which he sold instead of the low prices which prevailed when the land itself had no selling value.

Another unfortunate result of higher prices for farm products was the loss of world markets enjoyed under the reign of the old king when prices were low. Agriculture, now becoming overcrowded, farmers and their sons were driven from the soil to seek employment in the industrial centers. The cities in turn became overcrowded with the result that millions of men were forced into the army of unemployed. Labor leaders, ignorant of natural law, regarded employers as economic enemies who were getting more than their share of profits; and the numerous strikes instituted to secure abnormally high wages were supported by the new king.

The new king also granted huge subsidies to farmers in accordance with the theory that by making them prosperous, their prosperity would filter back to the classes which had been taxed for their benefit. The result of this was to make agriculture artificially attractive, and by the production of unnaturally large crops to aggravate instead of to relieve the problem.

The new regime thus introduced a long series of contradictions to natural law. These were conceived in an effort to make the people prosperous, but had the effect of deepening the business depression. For example, the king had observed that in prosperous times wages were high and hours of labor comparatively short. He therefore issued an edict that wages must be high and hours of labor short, regardless of the operation of natural law.

It also happened that the king, being urged by representatives of the farmers to increase the price of farm products, promulgated laws which had that effect, to the detriment of the general public. Observing that rents were increasing, the king, instead of repealing all taxes upon buildings and improvements, provided huge amounts of government money to be loaned at low rates of interest to those who wanted to build.

Again, in order to stimulate commerce, the king, instead of proclaiming free trade with all nations, appointed commissions to promote foreign trade while retaining huge tariff walls around his kingdom.

Departments of agriculture, agricultural colleges, irrigation projects, including huge dams together with other methods, were used to promote maximum crops, which then became embarrassing problems.

Mother Nature is a jealous mistress who punishes with inexorable severity those who break her laws or attempt to nullify them. Individuals and governments alike are thus chastised. Puzzled politicians have vainly sought

elsewhere for the cause of hard times. As matters grew from bad to worse, leading directly to anarchy and chaos, it was to have been expected that the temples which had been established all over the country would have used their influence for the restoration of that kingdom in whose honor they had been founded; and that this influence should have been supplemented by cooperation of the educational systems of the country. But those who controlled the temples had adopted the theory that their province was concerned only with the spiritual welfare of men, and that their responsibilities were bounded by the four walls of these temples. Many of the halls of learning had been founded and practically subsidized by beneficiaries of special privileges which had not existed in the original kingdom, and these special privileges it was now desired to perpetuate. Those who were responsible for the influence exerted by the schools and colleges had accordingly condemned the natural law which had previously prevailed, and had replaced this with specious but unscientific substitutes having the effect of clouding the issue and preventing restoration of the old regime.

III. REGENERATION

It has been well said that democracy without religion is an intellectual orphan. It is also true that religion without democracy is a spiritual orphan. For democracy and religion are inseparable. The Fatherhood of God leads to religion; the Brotherhood of Man to democracy.

The principles of democracy are in harmony with religion because they are based on natural law established by the Creator, while state socialism and all other non-democratic forms of government, having repudiated natural law, are essentially non-religious and lead to atheism. In the temples it developed at last that the responsibility of those in charge extended quite as much to the welfare of all the people, based as this was upon the divine virtue of justice, as it did to the individuals who supported the temples. True, these temples had unctuously implored divine blessings upon their ruler in their weekly meetings, but the Heavenly Father had abstained from helping those who stupidly refrained from helping themselves in a rational way. Seeing the error of their ways, a change came over the people. Leaders in the temples who demanded the restoration of natural law now became more and more numerous and influential. One of these explained natural law by saying, "It simply means making room at the Father's table for all his children." Another stated that the people should first seek restoration of natural law, after which all the blessings of prosperity would be added unto them, this being a new interpretation of familiar scripture. And in response to a general demand for the restoration of the study of the science of political economy in schools and colleges, natural law was restored to its rightful place in government.

So it happened that little by little a complete transformation took place in the character and the consequent influence of these temples which had been erected in honor of the king for having established an ideal government.

The iniquity of the then existing social order was made to give way to what had been originally established, and these temples were now devoted to the restoration and support of the original order of things. Those in the temples whose protest was strongest were exposed and driven therefrom, while those who in the halls of learning rebelled at the new order were made to give their places to others, all by popular consent.

At last reason prevailed not only in the temples but, what was equally important, in the halls of learning. Leaders arose who led the people in a successful revolution, resulting in the deposition of the king and the complete restoration of the natural order that had been responsible for the prosperity of the people as originally planned by the founder of their kingdom.

The operation was as simple as it was effective. One by one the taxes upon business and industry were repealed. This was, in every instance, followed by increased business activities and additional employment of the idle. As these taxes were abolished the government simultaneously increased its collection of its natural revenue, ground rent, and this enabled the reduction of those enormous expenses of government. As free trade with other peoples was inaugurated a new impetus was given to industry of every kind.

As the inflated values which had characterized all lands were cancelled, this had the effect of restoring the land to the people, in consequence of which agriculture became profitable in a natural way and all rents paid for the use of land of any kind were reduced to a normal basis.

The government thereafter made no demands upon citizens except payment for equivalent public services rendered. The certainty that no laws would be passed contrary to natural law gave full encouragement to all business enterprises. Other striking features of the change were the reduction of public expenses to but a fraction of what they had been, and extirpation of the spoils system, together with the entire removal of patronage from legislators. Restoration of normal commercial relations with the rest of the world enabled the reduction of armaments to a police basis.

Prosperity was thus restored not by any magical influence, but by compliance with the laws of nature provided by a wise and beneficent Creator. At last every one of numerous taxes had been repealed, leaving only for the government collection of economic or ground rent. This was the superlative achievement of a perfected democracy under Natural Law.

Appeal for Socratic Education

By LANCASTER M. GREENE

THE time is ripe for a reaction in the direction of American philosophy, for a Renaissance of the thought of Henry George. Pressure groups are bringing about a natural resentment toward their methods and the privileges they obtain against the rest of the country. People are wondering whether counter-pressure is just chasing around in a vicious circle. Millions are desperate for jobs. Even the most able and fortunate wonder where they might be with the next turn of the wheel.

Conditions have made the soil fertile and ready for the seed of Georgeist thought. The problem then is a practical one—how to plant so as to produce the finest crop with the least effort. Humanitarian intentions are not enough—the means of planting thought will determine the crop. The two methods of planting, or educating, which I wish to examine are the lecture method and the Socratic method. By the lecture method is meant the delivering of an oration, or the imparting of an idea, with little active participation on the part of the audience. By the Socratic method is meant the free discussion and exchange of questions and answers on the part of both instructor and audience.

In teaching through political campaigns we find the concentration on lectures. The human tendency is to resist being told, and particularly to resist what is told during a campaign. The prejudice and bias which the average human acquires during his life are likely to be reinforced by the kind of lecture he gets through politics. The speaker is in a hurry, and we have all been warned against people who are in a hurry. Bank tellers are not the only ones who say, "Look out for the man in a hurry." Questions must be swiftly met, honestly if possible, but quickly, no matter how ruthlessly. The Georgeist movement has had many of the most brilliant lecturers for generations, but though they could influence the hearts and minds of their audiences, it was another matter to make their listeners effective *teachers* on their own account. It reminds me of Professor Herbert Brown's statement, "Education is personal exercise. It cannot be sprayed on in a lecture."

Another difficulty with the political lecture is that it must take the view that everything else must be dropped while we deal with this emergency. All work for the long pull, no matter how much the political speaker agrees with it, must be put off while we struggle with the dragon of the moment. The political Georgeist would say, "Drop slower methods of educating while we put over this all-important fiscal reform or elect this man or party." This political pleading inevitably depends

upon the promise of mighty benefits to come. It has supplied the hook upon which the tag of "panacea" and "crackpotism" is hung by the ignorant and unscrupulous.

A better case might be made for the lecture method in the calmer atmosphere of the class-room. The national hero of Danish education, Grundtvig, developed a number of rules for obtaining the maximum result through lectures. He advised: 1. That students should be over eighteen, at which age he felt they reached maturity. 2. That teachers should be farmers, or business or professional men, so that teaching should be for the love of it and never aloof from actual life. 3. That students should be similar people so that they might test the abstract principle in living. 4. That teaching should concern itself with principles of economics, logic and history, purely cultural subjects as compared with so-called practical or vocational courses. 5. That teaching should eschew religious and political views (though Grundtvig himself was a minister and a man of political convictions).

This method of education taught the Danish farmer to be a keen logician and an individualist. He is a power to be reckoned with, and politicians fear to propose laws for the rural part of Denmark which might meet with the ridicule of the farmers.

As a result of their education, the Danes have been favorably disposed toward Henry George, and have taught his principles in their Folk Schools. Their method of education has also made them quite receptive to the Socratic method. In 1936, I attended the International Conference for the Taxation of Land Values, in London, as a representative of the Henry George School of Social Science. The School has developed the Socratic method of spreading the Georgeist philosophy, and it has proved highly successful in the United States. The Danish Georgeists were excited enough about the new American use of the Socratic method to come to London to learn of it. I found them most appreciative of the method and material used to lead the student to think for himself and to express himself vigorously and confidently enough to teach himself, whether in or out of the classroom. They point out that the advantages of the question method made possible 27 new schools with 55 classes the second year after the London Conference. These Danish educators will tell you that the Socratic method is ideal for breaking down bias and making possible the re-examination of premises and the extension of logical reasoning. Thinking done for oneself, they say, carries conviction. The political slogan, which was their greatest handicap, is breaking down in the atmosphere of free discussion and realization of how far George extended the Grundtvig idea of individual freedom. Prejudice is giving way to understanding.

An interesting sidelight is found in the experience that a larger percentage of a class can be held by the lecture

method than by the Socratic method. They can come for entertainment without perspiration. When Socratic questions make study necessary, some may be unable to keep up the work. These will drop out, but the quality of those who stay is higher. While this experience is usual, the ideal of the Boy Scout executives has a moral. The Scoutmasters are reminded that the dropping-out of a boy after six months is the responsibility of the Scoutmaster, and not any fault of the boy. All boys are assumed to be good material for Scouts for life, and failure of this ideal should bring careful soul-searching on the part of the scout leader. How well we can apply this principle to either the lecture or the Socratic teaching!

Jacques Barzun, in "Of Human Freedom," said, "Every thinker from Plato down has perceived that any education worth the name must make of each pupil a self-propelling individual who not only has learned but can continue to learn. In Aristotle's homely phrase, to educate is not to present the student with a pair of shoes but to impart to him the art of shoemaking." Education, and the achievements that come from education, cannot be imposed upon people. It must come from within. A demand for results that can only come thus is as ridiculous as Napoleon's command to his Commissioner of Police to see to it that literature flourish in the Empire.

"But," I can hear from the "practical" man, "what are we educating teachers and students for?" To which I reply: Isn't the freedom of the individual our ultimate object? And isn't the development of each self-propelling person a big step? And isn't the only next consistent step the encouraging of each person to work out his own program while cooperating as he wishes in our further development of more students of freedom?

The organized efforts of 20,000 people or more in politics might force some program upon a larger number, but the diverse and autonomous efforts of 20,000 to educate others would seem to me to make far greater strides toward freedom. The means will always determine the ends, and the more freedom each local group maintains the more freedom they all are apt to obtain in larger spheres. No matter how we multiply, a principle remains the same.

THIS doctrine alone stands unshaken, that doing wrong is to be more carefully avoided than suffering it; that before all things a man should study not to seem but to be good in his private and public life. . . . Insult and infamy will do you no harm if you be really an honest and true man, practising virtue. And hereafter when we have so practised it together, then and not till then will we set about politics.

—SOCRATES (FROM PLATO'S DIALOGUE, "GORGIAS")

Signs of Progress

GEORGEIST ACTIVITIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Henry George School of Social Science

REPORT OF EDWIN ROSS, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

SUMMER TERM—Enrollments for the Summer term of the School, starting June 17, are coming in at a rapid rate. The response was large even before names were circularized through the mails. This was due almost entirely to the work of students of the Spring term in distributing class announcements to friends and acquaintances. Large scale distribution of thousands of leaflets and announcements, at strategic locations throughout the city, has also been undertaken by volunteers.

The Summer term will include advanced courses to accommodate students of the Spring term. This was not originally scheduled, but numerous requests warranted offering them. During the Summer, classes will be held four days a week, Monday through Thursday, from 7:30 to 9:30 P. M.

RECOMMENDED NAMES—A campaign is now under way to secure names recommended by friends of the School, for the purpose of sending them class announcements. A study of the Spring enrollment revealed that no other source of circularization brings nearly so many new enrollments as the names supplied by students and friends. In charge of this campaign is Sidney Abelson, recently added to the staff of the School, in the capacity of Publicity Manager.

BUILDING COMPLETION—On the fourth floor of the School eight new class-rooms are rapidly nearing completion. These new rooms will give the School a capacity of four thousand per term (there are 3 regular terms per year). The auditorium on the fifth floor is also taking form, and programs to be held in it are already being planned. It is hoped that the auditorium will be in use every day of the week.

SPRING COMMENCEMENT—A Commencement Dinner for the graduates and faculty of the Spring term was held Monday, June 3, at 6:30 P. M., at the Cafe Loyale, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The guest speaker of the evening was Hon. Francis Neilson, well-known author, and Member of the British Parliament during the last war. His topic was "Henry George, Scholar," a phase of George's character which Mr. Neilson feels has been neglected. Frank Chodorov, Director, summarized the achievements of the School, and its prospects

for the future. This dinner was also the occasion of the premiere of a new Georgeist play, entitled "No Sunday for Friday," written, produced and performed by graduates of the School.

SOCIETY FOR LONG ISLAND GEORGEISTS

The Society has been very active this Spring. Besides the regular Tuesday night Forums that are conducted, speakers, under the auspices of the Society, have lectured at various places. Among them were: Holger Lyngholm, who again spoke on "Cooperation and Democracy in Denmark," this time before the Flushing Cooperative Association; Spencer Heath, who addressed the Bureau of Economic Research of Brooklyn College; and Dr. S. A. Schneidman, who spoke before the Young Men's Club of Queens Village on "War and the Depression."

Four new classes have been initiated in The Principles of International Trade. These are conducted at the Sewanhakee High School, Floral Park; the Flushing Y.M.C.A.; the Jamaica High School; and the home of B. T. Conrad, in Bellerose Manor—all on Long Island.

The Society's sixth Reunion Dinner-Talk-Fest—characterized as "a hopeful interlude in a world of chaos"—was held May 18, at the Diplomat Restaurant in Jamaica. The attendance was good. Diplomas were awarded to graduates, and plans for increased activity were discussed. C. O. Steele officiated as the Master of Ceremonies, and the guest speakers were: William N. McNair, Pittsburgh's ex-mayor extraordinary, who spoke on his many interesting experiences, in his talk, "What Price Government?"; Harry Weinberger, distinguished lawyer, who delivered an eloquent address on the menace of "Liberty's Blackout"; and Spencer Heath, philosopher-economist, who gave a thoughtful talk on "The Science of Society."

A group of Long Island graduates, on their own initiative, have offered to rally workers in the Cause of Freedom, for the purpose of expanding the scope of the movement in a more organized and efficient way. Another instance of the fruits of education.

Following are the remaining lectures in the Spring series of the Society's Forums, held at the Jamaica Y.M.C.A., 89-25 Parsons Boulevard, Jamaica. Those interested are urged to attend.

June 4—Paul Peach, "The Money Problem."

June 11—John Luxton, "Is Economics a Science?"

CHICAGO, ILL.

The Chicago Extension of the School moved to larger headquarters on May 1. The new address is 64 West Randolph Street, which has double the space of the former headquarters. The added room was needed to serve the rapidly growing number of classes in Chicago and suburbs. In leasing the new headquarters, the Chicago group were unaware that they were repeating history. In the early days of the movement, this address served as headquarters of the old Single Tax Club, focal point of Georgeist activities in the Middle West. This latest revival stirred the memories of old-timers who recall that the attendance at the Single Tax Club meetings was large, often 500, and that a dance on one occasion packed the hall beyond capacity.

Graduates of the Chicago School are formidable in their acolyte activities, and they will be given an increased opportunity to serve at the new headquarters. They have been distributing thousands of announcements of new classes, with a great saving of postage. Among the fields covered were the Jane Addams Houses, where two thousand announcements were distributed.

Reports from Chicago indicate that "Progress and Poverty" is becoming more duly recognized. At the University of Chicago, one-fourth of the Master's examination of the English Department, to be held this Summer, will be devoted to a critical analysis of the idea structure of that book. Recognition also comes from the B.L.T. Club, a group of professional book reviewers. Mrs. Ruthann Bassler spoke before the Club, on "Literary Masterpieces of the Ages." The only masterpiece to evoke questions and discussion was "Progress and Poverty." As a result twenty names were secured for enrollment in the Henry George School.

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Commencement Exercises of the East Bay Extension of the School were held at the Alden Library in Oakland, on April 29. J. Rupert Mason writes of this meeting, "Last evening was a happy one, across the Bay. Many graduated from Miss Grace Johnston's fine classes. Wallace Kibbee gave an inspiring talk on 'The Ideals of Henry George.' I brought a friend, who is the head of a big accounting office, and who goes over the accounts of many Irrigation Districts. He has been a 'moneycrat,' and now marvels that he could have been so mistaken. He wants to take the course at the School."

Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

REPORT OF V. G. PETERSON, SECRETARY

NEW LITERATURE—New editions of "Social Problems" and "Protection or Free Trade," both by Henry George,

have just come from the Foundation's press. This makes seven thousand copies of "Social Problems" published by the Foundation and nine thousand copies of "Protection or Free Trade."

Both these books have had dramatic careers. It was "Social Problems" which caught the interest of Tom Johnson and started him on the crusade to which he later dedicated his life and his fortune. The warning words of "Protection or Free Trade" have echoed through our domed Capitol on numerous occasions. Tom Johnson and others have read passages, even chapters, from the floor of both Houses. Practically the whole book has appeared in the Congressional Record.

"The Life of Joseph Fels," by Mary Fels, his wife, is the latest event in contemporary Georgeist literature. And a most interesting event it is. The book is being adequately reviewed elsewhere in LAND AND FREEDOM, so there is little for me to say except that I enjoyed the story very much. Every Georgeist will be interested in this book of less than two hundred pages in which one gets to know and understand an exceptionally generous and democratic character, a rare man of good will.

In the June issue of the *Atlantic*, Albert Jay Nock has written a penetrating analysis of Max Hirsch's book, "Democracy vs. Socialism." With many a barbed thrust Mr. Nock makes war upon his favorite enemy, State Collectivism. His recommendation of the Hirsch book is unequivocal. "Of the innumerable books on economics and politics published in the last seven years," he says, "the one which is most important at just this moment, at precisely this juncture in our public affairs, is this reprint of a book which fell by the wayside fifty years ago."

THE HALL OF FAME CAMPAIGN—We are now in the midst of our campaign to have Henry George admitted to the Hall of Fame. Varied and interesting are the letters which are being written to the electors. One very famous Rabbi wrote them as follows: "Few Americans will be voted into the Hall of Fame more entitled to a place within that Olympian Hall than Henry George. Henry George was an American prophet, a man with a realizable program which will yet be adopted by civilized peoples." Another man, a well known editor and author, wrote to twenty electors: "I have been in general sympathy with Henry George's economic views for many years—in fact since my young manhood. There can be no question of either his powers as a writer or his very widespread influence upon public thought. For what it is worth to you, I record my hope that when the matter comes before you, you will give his candidacy serious and favorable consideration." Later it may be possible to publish the names of these prominent men who have thus expressed their admiration for Henry George and his doctrines.

Manhattan Single Tax Club

PRESIDENT Ingersoll addressed the Philadelphia Georgeists on April 22, at their clubrooms in the Community Center. About sixty were present and listened attentively to the speaker's favorite subject of "simplifying economics for teaching." This theme stimulated a discussion of about two hours, in which most of the students and old-timers participated.

Mr. Ingersoll's adaptation of his broadcasts to a weekly reprint under the title *democracy* (small "d" to represent non-partisanship) is being perfected—the format of the paper has recently been improved. With the paper, Mr. Ingersoll proposes to reach all the teaching units of the Georgean movement, to spread his conception of the intimate relation of simple economics to everyday events and eminent persons.

Following are excerpts from his current radio talks:

WON'T THE OIL COMPANIES BE THE ONES TO SETTLE THE OIL monopoly question? And this simply because governments do not have statesmen educated in scientific economics and therefore capable of settling such problems. Sinclair has made his peace with Mexico, and, it is intimated, has paved the way for other expropriated American producers. If one of them hits on the simple formula of a royalty to cover the natural value of the oil, leaving to the producer the untaxed rewards of investment in production, it will be a real victory for business sense in its capacity to solve economic problems.

A BIG LAND GRAFT IS NOW PROPOSED BY THE CHAMBER OF Commerce of Bergen County, N. J., and is being carried to the U. S. Senate by Senator Barbour. The proposal is to get Uncle Sam to help "redeem" 27,000 acres of Hackensack meadows. One would think—even without all the publicity recently given to land racketeering in New Jersey—that such a raw proposition would awaken some statesman into asking, "Whose land?" But this proposal is soberly made by a sober Senator—not long after a six-month trial of thirty officials for selling \$13,000 of this same muck to Newark for \$190,000.

THURMAN ARNOLD IS WORRIED ABOUT THE LACK OF LAWYERS AND detectives to find and formulate monopoly in business. His real trouble is due to his seeing only the flourishing branches of monopoly, and not seeing its roots. A practical examination of the monopoly question would start with basic and fundamental monopoly about which there can be no dispute—such as franchises, ownership of natural resources, and economic rents. Half of our "wealth" is in such monopoly. Yet it gets no attention from the department of government devoted mainly to monopoly prosecution!

League for Freedom

REPORT OF JOHN P. FINNERTY, SECRETARY

At a recent meeting, officers were elected to the League. Henry J. Foley was elected Chairman; Grace Isabel Colbron, Vice-Chairman; and Louis Taylor, Treasurer. Mrs. Anna George de Mille attended one of the meetings, and we are happy to have her words of encouragement. We take our responsibility all the more seriously because of her very welcome moral support.

Progress has been made towards organizing Chapters of the League in various localities. A geographical

method of starting Chapters has been adopted. The organizer is sent the names and addresses of known Georgeists in his immediate neighborhood, whom he is to solicit for membership. The nucleus thus started, the members cooperate in spreading the Georgeist philosophy in that neighborhood, through lectures, classes, pamphleteering, etc. As the group grows, the member living furthest away from the center of the neighborhood is urged to start a Chapter of his own. The question of close cooperation of all the Chapters, while preserving local freedom, is being studied. Miss Colbron has undertaken to investigate the technique of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, in London. That body is affiliated with various Georgeist leagues throughout England which all seem to function together smoothly.

We are glad to report that active cooperation and offers of cooperation have already been received from many Georgeist groups and individuals throughout the country. Among the groups are: the Henry George Fellowships; the Benjamin Franklin Research Society; the Society for Long Island Georgeists; the Manhattan Single Tax Club; the Henry George Free Tract Society; "We, The Citizens" School of Economics; and "Cause and Effect." Among those assisting with literature are: Louis Wallis, Ellen Winsor (author of "A Bedtime Story on the Land Question"), R. Clancy and W. Newcomb (co-authors of "You and America's Future"), Peter Schwander (poet under the name of "Horatio") and Harold S. Buttenheim.

We who are newly entered in the Cause of Freedom, salute those who have been working for it these many years. We wish to remind old and new workers in the Cause that all are welcome to join the League for Freedom. Address the Secretary, League for Freedom, 1351 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Benjamin Franklin Research Society

This Society will be remembered for its publication last year of an attractive brochure, discussing the Brookings Institution research reports, comparing totalitarianism with democracy, and quoting famous statesmen and thinkers on the land question. The Society has just published another pamphlet, generous in size and containing 24 pages. It is entitled "The Ben. Franklin Plan." This plan, the pamphlet explains, is a Community Service Charge in place of the present load of taxes. Present conditions and the proposed system are made vivid in abundant illustrations, charts, and sets of figures. Other subjects are also discussed, such as rural electrification.

The booklet describes the purpose of the Society:

"This association was formed by leading citizens who are interested in the welfare of our country. Believing

that the world's troubles are economic and realizing that there has been too much generalizing and not enough study of facts, it is hoped that support will be found, making possible the conducting of a survey in some state where conditions are most favorable for a tryout of this Plan. . . .

"The association is organized for study and research and under no circumstances is it to take part in political discussions. It will make its researches and get the facts and then allow business men, industrialists, statesmen and labor leaders, to draw their conclusions."

The price of the booklet is fifteen cents, and it may be obtained from the Ben. Franklin Research Society, 511 Gravier Street, New Orleans, La.

Canada

A NEW NAME—At the annual meeting of the Single Tax Association of Canada, on March 30, it was decided to change the name of that body to the Henry George Society. This is the Society's third name during a career of sixty years. The first name was the Anti-Poverty Society. During its long career, it has accomplished important work in furthering the Georgeist cause in Canada. Several years ago, when a land grant of 10,000,000 acres to the Grand Trunk Railway was proposed for the building of a road, the Society urged the Government to build the road as a national undertaking, using the resulting rise in land values to pay its way. As a result, the land grant was refused, and instead the land was rented out to the Grand Trunk. One of the latest activities of the Society was in procuring one hundred French translations of "Progress and Poverty," and sending one to each member of the Quebec Legislature.

PROTESTING SPECULATION—Several Georgeist groups in Canada have adopted resolutions condemning the practice of speculating in timber during the present emergency situation. The particular cause of protest was the recent sale of a Vancouver Island timber limit for \$2,000,000.

THE FAME OF MILK RIVER—J. B. Ellert, Georgeist leader of Milk River, which is operated on the Single Tax principle, reports that it is working so well that neighboring towns in Southern Alberta are investigating the system. Two towns have invited the Milk River Councilmen to explain the application of the reform. One of the towns is Picture Butte, which possesses the largest sugar factory in western Canada. This town is planning to adopt the system.

GEORGEIST ELECTED—Hon. Arthur W. Roebuck, active Canadian Georgeist, was elected, on March 26, to the House of Commons for Toronto-Trinity, with a majority of about 3,500 votes. Mr. Roebuck is Honorary President of the Henry George Society.

Great Britain

ANOTHER VICTORIOUS GEORGEIST—In a by-election held April 17, F. C. R. Douglas, Georgeist leader of London, was elected Member of Parliament, for North Battersea, on the Labor Party ticket. Mr. Douglas had been Mayor of Battersea, and member of the London County Council.

The vacancy in Parliament had been created by the retirement of William S. Sanders, also a Labor M.P., who was a Fabian Socialist. Mr. Douglas received the support of Hon. Herbert Morrison, M.P., leader of the L. C. C., and the unstinted support of the North Battersea Labor Party. The competing candidate was E. Joyce, who put forward an anti-war front, under the apparent inspiration of the Communist Party. Previous experience with Communist Members from Battersea, such as Saklatvala and Strauss, doubtlessly convinced the electors that the experience should not be repeated.

Mr. Douglas was born in Canada and raised in Scotland. He has been long active in the Georgeist cause and is the author of several books and pamphlets. He is the Assistant Editor of *Land and Liberty*. At the Henry George Centenary, which he attended, Americans were favorably impressed by his cogent talks and dignified appearance. In Battersea and in the L. C. C., he has been active in many progressive reforms, and has introduced Rating Reform Bills.

P. F. T. INVADES PARLIAMENT—The Henry George Foundation presented Members of Parliament and candidates with complimentary copies of Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade." The gift also included the pamphlet "The Real Meaning of Free Trade," and extracts from Mr. Neville Chamberlain's speeches, wherein he declared that "there can be no lasting peace unless there is a full and constant flow of trade between the nations concerned." Many of the M.P.'s and candidates replied, acknowledging the gift, and endorsing George's views. Following are some of their remarks, as quoted in *Land and Liberty*:

From a Conservative M.P.: "I desire most cordially to thank you for that book. I have read the original edition and have a very large measure of agreement. You can count me in general a supporter."

From a Liberal Candidate: "I read George's 'Protection or Free Trade' many years ago. I know of no better presentation of the Free Trade case and I will read it again."

From a Labor Candidate: "I sincerely hope that we may be able to secure economic sanity and truth after this mad war is over. Anything which can be done to extend the knowledge of and truth about economic problems is well worth doing, and it is tragically true that a continuance of national economic systems based on a false idea of national sufficiency and the domination of selfish economic groups will always lead to recurring wars."

Holland

The fine work our Dutch comrades have been doing makes all the more poignantly sad the recent news from their fine little country. As in Denmark, things are so unsettled that we do not know what will become of the future of our Georgeist friends and the Cause they are working for. We sincerely hope that they will be able to carry on.

The most persistent foreign Georgeist periodical we have been receiving has been the Dutch *Ons Erfdeel* ("Our Heritage"). This is a weekly published at Groningen, and edited by H. Kolthek. The latest issue to reach us is dated April 20. At that time the Party of Justice and Freedom (*De Partij Recht en Vrijheid*), of which *Ons Erfdeel* is the official organ, was planning its annual Convention for May 2, in Utrecht. Organization matters and similar problems were on the agenda for discussion. Various Chapters had already sent in their reports for the Convention, indicating the progress of their activities.

Two important Chapters of the Party are in the Province of Groningen; one, the Leeuwarden Chapter, and the other, the Groningen Chapter. This latter is the seat of the headquarters of the Party as well as the publication office of *Ons Erfdeel*. The Leeuwarden Chapter is very active, having established the first Henry George School in the Province, last December. Good news also comes from the Hague Chapter, which reports a large sale of "Progress and Poverty" in the newly translated edition. This Chapter has published sharp criticisms of the country's financial system, which has excited the indignation of the conservative press. But this has in no wise deterred the progress of the Hague Georgeists. A Henry George School flourishes there, and a new edition of the Teachers' Manual has recently been issued.

The April 20 issue of *Ons Erfdeel* was accompanied by a supplement, in pamphlet form, on "Georgeism and Catholicism." This contained an essay on the subject by the officers of the Party, and a Dutch translation of the famous Statement of Dr. Edward McGlynn, the one approved by the Papal Ablegate. It also contained a letter from August Diemont to Pope Pius XII., which quotes many Bible extracts concerning man's right to the earth. Diemont asks His Holiness, in his efforts for peace, to remember the message Henry George gave to the world.

Ons Erfdeel reports that the outbreak of the war last September interfered somewhat with Georgeist activities at first, but later, forward strides were taken in spite of the serious situation. The circulation of the journal has even increased.

Good luck, comrades!

New Zealand

It is encouraging to receive the news that the *Commonweal*, voice of the Natural Justice Movement of New Zealand, is able to continue publication, in spite of the war. "Shortly after the outbreak of the war," says the March-April number of this paper, "it seemed hardly likely that *Commonweal* could be kept going, owing to the marked drop in receipts. Many other journals have already gone out of existence, and some, such as the *Free Trader* (London), have suspended publication for the period of the war. However, a few enthusiasts are very desirous of keeping the journal going. The amounts received in donations, plus ordinary subscriptions, have been sufficient to warrant the production of this number. The Finance Committee trusts that supporters of the Natural Justice Cause will continue to provide the funds required to keep the journal in being, despite the war."

Two other Georgeist papers that have been suspended because of the war are *Terre et Liberté*, in France, and Graham Peace's *Commonweal*, in England. LAND AND FREEDOM sincerely hopes that the New Zealand *Commonweal* will receive sufficient financial support to insure its continuation.

The Natural Justice leaders have worked out a common-sense program for the application of the Georgeist reform. Following is a statement of the policy:

"Local bodies—not the State—to estimate and also to collect, the full annual economic value of the social environment, commonly called 'economic rent of land,' part to be passed on to the State for State expenditure, the objective being the abolition of all rates and taxes. In rural areas, towns and counties to be amalgamated, the full 'land rent' to be collected by the enlarged local body over the combined areas, thus returning to the farmers, through expenditure of part of the 'ground rent' or 'site value' of urban areas upon rural roads, some of the social values the farming community helps substantially and basically to produce."

The *Commonweal* stands also for complete free trade and democratic electoral methods. For those who may be interested in this journal, the address is Hohaiia Street, Matamata, New Zealand.

AGGRESSIVE warfare is always the result of what appears to be economic necessity. . . . The "need of foreign markets" which is so frequently used as an argument to justify wars of criminal aggression is a "need" that would not be felt if the aggressing nations enforced justice at home. . . . To secure a market, labor need but be given access to the natural resources now withheld by private monopolists.

—JOSEPH FELLS.

BOOK REVIEWS

A CRUSADER FOR JUSTICE

"The Life of Joseph Fels," by Mary Fels. Doubleday, Doran and Co., New York. 1940. 192 pp. \$1.50.

This well written book is a new account of the life of Joseph Fels, somewhat different from the version that appeared in 1916. It deals more with his career and ideas than with his personal life.

Joseph Fels, a Semite, was born and reared below the Mason and Dixon line, at a time when a Jew was indeed *rara avis* in that "Bible Belt." All his life he was singularly free from creed and dogma. He had little formal schooling, but wide business activity, travel and study made him a well-rounded personality. At a very early age he entered the soap business with his father, and by 1893 he had established the highly successful Fels-Naptha business.

Affluent though he was, his sympathies were ever with the poor and oppressed, the underprivileged. However, he was opposed to charity, and his very liberal financial contributions were to causes devoted to establishing justice. He ever held aloft the flaming banner of some noble cause, and particularly keen was his devotion to the Georgeist movement. He once related to Lincoln Steffens how he came to embrace this philosophy:

"I've been a Singletaxer ever since I read George's books. I've seen the cat for years. But I didn't do much till I was converted. And strange to say, I was converted by a Socialist. Singletaxers and Socialists don't agree; too often they fight. But it was Keir Hardie who converted me to the Singletax, or as I prefer to call it, Christianity. I came home on a ship with him once and noticed that he never thought of himself. We were together all the time, all those long days at sea, and we talked about England, America, politics, business—everything; and I talked and I thought of myself. But Hardie didn't talk of himself and I could see that he never thought of Keir Hardie. He was for men. . . . Well, that did for me. I saw that I was nothing and that I was doing nothing compared with a man like that. He saw and I saw, but he worked. He did things, and I saw that that made him a man, a happy man and a servant of mankind. So I decided to go to work, forget myself and get things done."

And Fels thence devoted himself to unselfish causes with such spirit that Herbert Bigelow, in a memorial address, said of him: "I speak of Joseph Fels the Christian, because I believe that if the nominal disciples of Jesus, particularly the rich ones, were to follow the example of Joseph Fels, they would all of them be better Christians."

"The Life of Joseph Fels" is the story of a noble man, utterly devoid of affectation, and determined to leave this world a better place for his having lived in it.

B. W. BURGER.

THE LEGACY OF WESTERN POLITICAL CONCEPTS

"Political Thought—The European Tradition," by J. P. Mayer, and collaborators. The Viking Press, New York. 1939. 485 pp. \$4.00.

In an Introduction to this book, R. H. Tawney says, "Man, when history first meets him, is a social animal. Political thought is the epitome of his experience of life in society." Mr. Mayer's book purports to be a review of that political thought which the Western mind has moulded and by which it has been moulded. He has attempted to bring together the factors in the European tradition so that it presents a coherent flow. Thus, although he is of the "historical" school, he shows some originality in evaluating.

Our political heritage is traced back to Greece, where democracy had its first trial, and flowered in free thought. The transmission of the Greek idea through Rome, and the transformation of both traditions through Christianity is noted. The author puts emphasis on the slavery of ancient Rome as the decisive factor in her decline and fall. He recognizes that the division of society into landed proprietors and serfs was the ruin of Rome.

During the barbarian invasions, when Roman and Germanic ideas were blending, the feudal system arose as an outcome of the Roman idea of private property in land, and the German tradition of communal ownership of land. Lordship was the basis of the Medieval State, which could hardly yet be called a State.

In his discussion of modern political thought and practice, Mr. Mayer, in collaboration with others, devotes a chapter to each nation, offering a survey of that country from the Renaissance to the present.

The chapter on Britain is by R. H. S. Crossman. He sees many contradictions in British political thought—a theoretical individualism is contrasted with an actual dependence on conventions and traditions. Britain today is blindly groping for a policy. Even the vague policy of liberalism has collapsed, and now the country stands in need of a clear-cut political philosophy. With England dominated by a landed class, as the author admits, and vainly attempting to reconcile this with democracy and freedom, it is small wonder that Britain is floundering.

The political thought of France seems to the author (E. Kohn-Bramstedt) more unified and clear-cut. Rationalism has prevailed in that country in theory and practice, and even in the oft-recurring crises, it is the dominant theme.

The job of surveying Germany's political thought is, according to Mayer, "fraught with difficulties." It is the story of a people who have ranged from tribe to empire, who have presented conflicting traditions, who have produced formidable theoreticians as well as political structures, and whose latest development of *Kultur* and the State is frightening. This chapter was written at the time of the Czechoslovakia crisis, which in a foreboding footnote by the author, is a crisis "whose final outcome—despite the Munich agreement . . . may render this whole book an Epilogue to a culture which is passing away."

In the chapter on Italy, by C. J. S. Sprigge, Mussolini's Fascism is regarded as different from the dictatorship of his axis partner. It "ranges from the enforcement of strict obedience to the most smilingly benign indulgence." It is paternalism.

America is included in the book, as being part of the European tradition. It was the aim of the American settlers, says P. Kecsmeti, author of this chapter, to build a society free from the imperfections of Europe. But the point of departure was the European tradition, and many of the imperfections remained. The New Deal is the outcome of the American tradition, which the author views as not being revolutionary. In his conception, New Deal government is to stand between all classes and mediate for the common good.

The narrowness of the historical approach to social philosophy is seen in the author's treatment of Henry George. He misunderstands George as "the most original contributor to socialistic thought in America," and finds that he fits into the American agrarian tradition. He cannot see any larger implications in the Georgeist philosophy than as the passing product of an era.

The survey of modern countries closes with Russia. Perhaps from a historical standpoint this is the correct thing to do, as the Bolshevik dictatorship is one of the most recent large-scale undertakings in applying a political and social theory. The Russian example seems to Mr. Mayer to hold the greatest portent for the future. Either it will become terrorism or it will point the way toward a millenium. "The

distant future" holds the answer. Events these days are deciding things rather quickly. We may not have to wait too long for an answer to Mr. Mayer's speculations.

In the Epilogue, Mr. Mayer reiterates the principles upon which the European tradition is founded, and which has stood the test of two thousand years—principles which have often been abandoned, but which constantly recur: "Freedom of thought and doctrine; the dignity of the individual; a human responsibility to society and the State."

R. C.

SEVEN SORRY YEARS

"After Seven Years," by Raymond Moley. Harper and Brothers, New York and London. 1939. 446 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Moley's book—a critique of the last seven years of Roosevelt—bids fair to serve as a warning to all budding patriots, students of social science, amateur economists, so-called professional economists, reformers and new-world architects, to make sure that the kite to which they wish to tie themselves as tail segments is in the hands of a competent flyer. That the great kite of the American republic has not yet crashed upon the rocks of complete bankruptcy, is a credit to the stamina of a people still endowed with a strong love of liberty, and to whom opportunities to fulfill ambitions have not yet been completely closed.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President, Georgeists were convinced that he could not be expected to do anything to bring about economic justice, for the simple reason that he did not know the causes of economic injustice. If, after all these years of New Deal, any further proof is needed that they were right, Mr. Moley's book has provided it.

The first chapter of "After Seven Years" tells of the birth of the New Deal, when Roosevelt was still Governor of New York and was mentioned for the Democratic nomination to the Presidency. Moley was interested in Roosevelt's ideas, and saw in an affiliation with him an opportunity to "satisfy my desire for a wider experience in politics and, at the same time, to help, in a small way, in the realization of old and time-tested concepts of political evolution." Moley also thought that Roosevelt was the one "who could do on a national scale what Tom Johnson had done in Cleveland." During the campaign, he had ample time to entertain doubts as to the ability of his champion to fill that role. For Roosevelt seems to have thought of nothing but success, and he left to his yeomen, the "brain trust," the lesser tasks of formulating policies and principles.

Chapter II is properly entitled "Gayly the Troubadour." For while the farm policy and other features of the planned economy of the New Deal were being thrown together by twenty-five super-minds, the Troubadour was merrily instilling the nation and the "forgotten man" with confidence. At that time Mr. Moley began to have qualms of misgivings.

In the chapter, "For Kings Cannot Err," the story of the London Conference is told. Moley relates how this "dream of world salvation" was bungled by Roosevelt. His rejection of the proposals for stabilizing the currency in foreign exchange, and his famous "bombshell"—although not understood by the delegates—wrecked that Conference.

Moley himself is no economic sage. For one thing he is a high-tariff advocate. But, having some inkling of economics, it is hard to understand why he sacrificed time, money and health to push forward to a high political office a man who was thoroughly unprepared in fundamental economics.

JOHN LUXTON.

Correspondence

COOPERATIVES AND HENRY GEORGE

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

I was very pleased to see the article by Holger Lyngholm on "Cooperation and Democracy in Denmark," in your last issue. For a long time I have believed that the cooperative principle and the Georgeist philosophy are related. Toyohiko Kagawa of Japan once told me that when we have cooperatives established, the Henry George system would be followed. I believe that when we all wake up as consumers, and organize cooperatives on the Rochdale principle, we will be more keenly aware of the tax problem and more capable of tackling it.

Henry George wrote: "I am inclined to think that the result of confiscating rent in the manner I have proposed would be to cause the organization of labor, wherever large capitals were used, to assume the cooperative form, since the more equal diffusion of wealth would unite capitalist and laborer in the same person." George set the right goal in this statement, but citizens of a free democracy need full stomachs and can't wait for distant promises. Political power is based on economic power, and before we can hope to have the Georgeist reform legislated, we will have to display some economic power. I believe that consumer cooperation is the right way to gain democratic control of economic power, and through it, of political power. Through the processes of education and good business management we would have the means to accomplish the reform of shifting taxes from labor products to land values.

The Danes have set the example. Let us take up the torch.
Flushing, N. Y.

PRESTON K. SHELDON.

HISTORICAL VS. NATURAL ECONOMICS

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Robert C. Ludlow has rendered a most important service in the dissemination of economic truth by comparing Georgeism and Thomism in your March-April issue, in which he points out the contrasts between the historical and the natural approach to economics. Mr. Ludlow should expand his article into a book.

The natural approach is admirably expressed by Adam Smith, who wrote: "The produce of labor constitutes the natural recompense or wages of labor. In that original state of things which precedes both the appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock, the whole produce of labor belongs to the laborer. He has neither landlord nor master to share with him." But, as Henry George points out, Smith recognized fundamentals, only to abandon them and to recommence his inquiry from the artificial state of things in which land had been appropriated and the laborer had both landlord and master to share with him.

Thus the historical view has been permeated and vitiated from its beginning by artificiality—a fraudulent artificiality at that. The confusion of economic terms today—for instance the inclusion of land as capital—is a result of the historical approach.

Delawanna, N. J.

STEPHEN BELL.

OUR STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

I compliment you on your March-April number, which was so full of valuable and thought-provoking articles. Particularly stimulating were the editorial and the letters on Free Trade.

Cordell Hull's reciprocal trade policy has created a timely opportunity for us to educate the people, not only on the tariff but on the entire taxation question. The time is ripe for such action. We will

be dodging our responsibility if we don't make the most of it, for Democracy is on trial.

When the Hawley-Smoot tariff was being discussed, in 1930, one thousand leading economists of our country warned President Hoover that dire results would follow the enactment of that bill. Hoover ignored their admonitions, and thereby intensified the economic problem. If, at that critical time, we who believe in Free Trade had actively and unflinchingly campaigned against the bill, if we had petitioned conscientious citizens and secured a million or more signatures, if we had strongly endorsed the economists' plea, it is not unlikely that the passage of that iniquitous bill might have been prevented. We must never again let such opportunities slip by.

Fundamental Democracy stands for Freedom—and that means free land, free trade, free speech, free press, free assemblage, free religious worship, free enterprise, and free initiative. We must constantly fight encroachments upon all the forms of freedom by privileged classes and the State. We must never permit an assault on Freedom to go unchallenged. We must never waver in our struggle for a free Humanity.

New York, N. Y.

AMALIA E. DUBOIS.

THE FINAL LINK

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

In reply to Donald MacDonald's arguments in the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM, I would like to submit the following:

All labor saving inventions tend to increase the value of land. Trade is a labor-saving invention, therefore, the less it is hampered, the greater will be its tendency to save labor, and so increase rent. This is not to say that certain tariffs will not raise the value of some lands. If we must buy our timber in a certain locality, the timber lands in it will of course increase in value. If, however, we can buy timber in any number of places, the competition will reduce the cost of lumber. This will induce building, and site values will eventually absorb the benefit.

Tariffs are important, and we should work for their removal, but let us bear in mind that no matter how harmful they are, their cause is the private collection of economic rent. Let us work for freedom in all directions, always remembering the final link in the chain, the monopoly of land.

Bronx, N. Y.

ANDREW P. CHRISTIANSON.

A WORD FROM FRANCE

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Georgist activity in France is necessarily very limited at the present time. *Terre et Liberté* has been suspended since the war. We feel ashamed when we read about the movement in the United States, and the progress of the Henry George School. Americans have reason to be encouraged. I don't agree with Mr. Jackson Ralston's pessimism, or his proposition of compromise.

Sumner Welles' proposals to Paul Reynaud sound very promising, if he intends free trade. But does he? Or is it only the eternal bilateral?

Moulins, France.

PAVLOS GIANNELIA.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

On April 19, Hon. Emanuel Celler, Member of Congress (Brooklyn), spoke over the radio on "Balkanizing the United States." It was an impassioned attack on the tariffs that are developing between States.

I have sent Mr. Celler a copy of Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade," and I would like to urge others to write to him suggesting that he read that book, and telling him about the free courses offered by the Henry George School.

New York, N. Y.

ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE.

ECONOMICS AS AN EXACT SCIENCE

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

In these last few years, thanks to Ingersoll, Beckwith and others, a new realization seems to have developed of the immediate need for a scientific approach to this subject of Economics. While the fields of Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics and Engineering have been studiously classifying and organizing their data, Economics appears to have marked time, in this respect. Isn't it the duty of this generation to correct this condition?

To date, so far as I am aware, there is no such thing as a Scientific Text-book of Economics. We have books galore, it is true, but no logical, consecutive chain of reasoning from the simple to the complex. The subject appears to be in the same stage of evolution as Mathematics in the pre-Euclidean era, a verbal foot-ball to be argued about and kicked around from pillar to post.

It seems to me that any attempt to bring order out of the present chaos requires:

1. Authoritative definitions of terms.
2. Axiomatic statements of basic truths.
3. A system of rigid, consistent, step-by-step proofs from axioms to theorems representing basic laws and principles by as nearly mathematical treatment as possible.
4. Units for measurement and comparison of quantitative relations.
5. Symbols and formulae for brevity and exactitude of expression.

Just because the field of Economics involves the sometimes uncertain element of human nature, do we have to throw up our hands and say no positive statement is possible? Personally, I am unwilling to admit it.

Economics deals with "Matter," as does Physics, only Economic Matter consists of "Goods with the power of satisfying Desire." It deals with "Force," but instead of a push or pull, Economic Force is "Desire," the greatest of all forces. And it deals with "Resistance," but instead of mechanical friction or electrical ohms, "Economic Resistance" is the man-hours of work to be overcome in the production and transportation from raw material to product in the consumer's hands. Tie these quantities together by the formula

$$W = \frac{D}{R} \quad \text{where } W = \text{Wealth expressed in Goods}$$

D = Desire
R = Resistance

and we have the simplest possible expression of a basic truth.

The above is mentioned only as a sample. The ground work of definitions and axioms should of course come first; then the superstructure. Yet if such a method could once establish the truths of Economics on as sound and reliable a basis as has been laid for our other Sciences, one of the greatest sources of confusion and misunderstanding would be removed.

We no longer argue about the law of gravity, the combination of chemical reagents, the bending movement of a beam or the flow of current in an electric circuit. We know these things. In case a question arises, we turn directly to the text-book for verification. Why not for Economics?

LAND AND FREEDOM is our best publication. It can speak most authoritatively for the movement. It has the widest circle of contacts. Would it not be worth while to invite its readers to offer their consideration toward such a purpose, so that after summarizing and sifting out the best of the material received, publication of the final results might be made in text-book form?

Chula Vista, Calif.

RAY H. TABER.

[Mr. Taber makes a valuable suggestion, albeit the task he proposes is a difficult one. We would like to hear more about it from our readers.—Ed.]

BECKWITH VS. NIGHTINGALE

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

In your March-April issue, Mr. C. H. Nightingale has a letter in which he complains that I am "never done attacking people." I have long enjoyed the sport of backing down such criticisms by opening the files of my papers to my critics and challenging them to find a single case in which I have departed from my rule to confine my criticism to principles and never to attack people.

In his letter, Mr. Nightingale undertakes to prove that, in the period following the death of Henry George, the movement did make an advance in the statement of economic truth, by repudiating George's teachings on interest. To make his point, however, he was obliged to misinterpret George by a misuse of a quotation from Book III, Chapter 3, Paragraph 16, of "Progress and Poverty." That it is a misuse will be seen from a reading of Paragraph 19, in the same chapter. George drew no such distinction as Nightingale alleges between interest on the "dead" capital and interest on "live" capital. What George did assert is that because of the interchangeability of the two forms of capital, the fact that Nature pays interest on "live" capital compels the market to pay interest on "dead" capital.

Mr. Nightingale thinks he has "flooded" me, with "Euclidian precision," in the round on land value. We who embrace the concept of rent "out of the West" (as it has been termed in the columns of LAND AND FREEDOM) contend that "land value" is a myth, since land has no value; that the value of land (so-called) is the value of the services available at the site; that the "investment value of land" is not the value of land, but of the government's license to collect rent at that point.

Here is the "Euclidian precision" with which Mr. Nightingale imagines he has disposed of this "Western" concept:

Brown goes to an island and makes a good living using a portion of the land. Jones follows and finds he can make only a poor living by using the other land available to him. The difference between these two standards of living is RENT. Yet there is no social service rendered at these locations.

Note that it is expressly stipulated that there is no social service on the island. (Of course, with only two men there, no government exists and hence, no governmental service.) Thus, Mr. Nightingale has stipulated that there is no mail service, no police service, no telephone or telegraph service, no freight service to and from the island, no streets, no roads, no markets, no social dealings of any kind. These are ruled out, because there is no social service there. This means that these two men have no dealing with each other. This means that no more of the product of the island is used than these men can personally consume—all the rest goes to waste.

Since Brown cannot possibly use all the produce of his part of the island, he has no way to prevent Jones from sharing the productivity of that better part, except to personally stand watch for that purpose, since there is no police force. As Brown must sleep part of the time, he cannot keep Jones off, even if he wishes to do so.

How, then, can Brown have a higher standard of living than Jones? How could he have anything that Jones could not also have? The only way would be for him to work better—to be a better hunter, a better farmer, a better tailor, a better craftsman. In that case, the difference of their standards of living would be wages—or both wages and interest—and not rent.

Stockton, Calif.

L. D. BECKWITH.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Your last issue was a true reflection of our great movement to save civilization. It was full of the gospel that encourages us all, especially the article on Denmark.

St. Louis, Mo.

E. H. BOECK.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

A POPULARIZED version of Mr. H. Bronson Cowan's study of the Australia and New Zealand taxation system appeared in the April 15 issue of *Maclean's*, a leading Canadian weekly magazine, under the title "They Don't Tax Progress." Mr. Cowan's article, "Handicaps on Building," on the same subject, appeared in the March-April issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

AN article on "The Present and Future of Agriculture," by John Harrington, worker in the Georgeist cause, appeared in *The Catholic Forester* for April, 1940. It was in the form of a reply to another article by J. M. Sevenich, who expressed concern over the present problems of agriculture—crop failures, low prices, mortgage foreclosures, and strikes. Mr. Harrington ably pointed out that the problem of the ownership of land and the collection of land rent was at the bottom of it all.

WE were glad to learn that Mrs. Ivy Akeroyd has safely returned to Australia, after her trip to the United States and England. The trip was undertaken last year, at the time of the Henry George Centenary, for the purpose of studying American and English methods of spreading the Georgeist philosophy, with particular reference to the Henry George School of Social Science. After her sojourn in the States, Mrs. Akeroyd bravely insisted on carrying out her schedule of a trip to England, even though the war had just broken out. A reception was held in her honor on April 29, by the New South Wales School of Social Science.

THE Decentralist Movement developed by Ralph Borsodi, Director of the School of Living at Suffern, N. Y., conducts forums in New York City every other Thursday, at the Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, at 8 P. M. As the discussions relate to the possibility of lower rents by rural settlement, the elements of the Georgeist philosophy are constantly brought into discussion. The next meeting will be held June 13.

GEORGE LANSBURY, noted British pacifist and labor leader, died in London at the age of 81. Mr. Lansbury gained a reputation for championing progressive causes, such as woman suffrage, tax reform, peace movements and labor legislation. He was friendly with Georgeist groups, and for years maintained a fine friendship with J. H. Bjorner, Danish Georgeist leader. Mr. Lansbury had come to the conclusion that the causes of war are economic. This was probably due in good measure to his Georgeist friendships.

WE must perform the sad duty of recording the recent deaths of the following of our friends: Prof. H. Conrad Bierwith, of Cambridge, Mass.; Arthur H. Sanborn, of Berkeley, Calif.; August Williges, of Sioux City, Iowa; Harry H. Willock, of Pasadena, Calif.; and Western Starr, of Washington, D. C.

LOUIS WALLIS addressed the Jersey City Rotary Club, April 19, on the subject of taxation. Of the seventy-five business men present, fifty-three signed up for the Henry George School course. Such responses are not unusual to Mr. Wallis, who explains his success as a result of emphasizing, before his main talk, that a School exists where business men may learn, free of charge, the cause of depressions.

OUR office has been honored by a visit from the nephew of Joshua Abraham Norton, the "Emperor of America" whom readers will recall from articles in the January-February and March-April issues of LAND AND FREEDOM. The nephew is Joshua Norton Singer, and he is a linguist, master chess-player, and philosopher. He remembers Henry George—he voted for him in 1886, and he believes that the Georgeist reform is badly needed today.

THE Single Tax Club of Washington, D. C., is holding its annual picnic and meeting on June 9. William W. Newcomb, co-author of "You and America's Future," will speak at the meeting on "Decentralization—a Georgeist Approach."

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A MESSAGE TO GEORGEISTS

Take down from your book shelf your well-worn copy of "Progress and Poverty" and turn to the frontispiece. You will notice it is an inquiry into the cause of business depression and increase of want with increase of wealth, and the remedy. After over 400 pages of what has been termed "the finest example of sustained reasoning in the English language" George concludes his inquiry by stating the cause to be private property in land, and the remedy to make land common property. Prof. Dewey says, thought, not followed by action, is futility. George, however, is not guilty of such an error. After devoting the larger part of his book into thinking out the CAUSE and the REMEDY he tells HOW to act. It is to make rent common property, through taxation, and abolish all other taxes.

But action, before understanding, is also futility. For many years we advocated a change in taxation—the HOW to do it—known as fiscal Henry Georgeism. It was a dismal failure. It was like skipping the first 400 pages of "Progress and Poverty."

The Henry George School stepped into the breach ten years ago and has educated thousands on the CAUSE and the REMEDY, but has passed lightly and slightly over the HOW to do it. Its graduates are all dressed up with no place to go. A non-political framework of laws, to make the nation and states single tax, should be in the hands of every person who believes in the philosophy of Henry George. It should be introduced in every legislative session, federal and state, and fought for, on non-partisan lines—not as tax reform—but as a proposal to abolish poverty and business depression.

T. A. McHENRY
Room 205, 11 Park Place
New York City

(The above is a paid advertisement)

VOL. XL No. 4

WHOLE No. 221

July—August, 1940

Land and Freedom

An International Journal of the Henry George Movement Founded in 1901

PAN-AMERICAN NUMBER



Economic Problems
Confronting the
Western Hemisphere

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CHARLES JOS. SMITH JOS. HIRAM NEWMAN
ROBERT CLANCY

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SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

ENGLAND: J. W. Graham Peace.

CANADA: Herbert T. Owens.

NEW ZEALAND: Hon. P. J. O'Regan, Wellington.
T. E. McMillan, Matamata.

SPAIN: Baldomero Argente, Madrid.

BULGARIA: Lasar Karaivanove, Plovdiv.

HUNGARY: J. J. Pikler, Budapest.

FRANCE: Jng. Pavlos Giannelia.

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

We declare:

That the earth is the birthright of all Mankind and that all have an equal and unalienable right to its use.

That man's need for the land is expressed by the Rent of Land; that this Rent results from the presence and activities of the people; that it arises as the result of Natural Law, and that it therefore should be taken to defray public expenses.

That as a result of permitting land owners to take for private purposes the Rent of Land it becomes necessary to impose the burdens of taxation on the products of labor and industry, which are the rightful property of individuals, and to which the government has no moral right.

That the diversion of the Rent of Land into private pockets and away from public use is a violation of Natural Law, and that the evils arising out of our unjust economic system are the penalties that follow such violation, as effect follows cause.

We therefore demand:

That the full Rent of Land be collected by the government in place of all direct and indirect taxes, and that buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, commerce, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries and incomes, and every product of labor and intellect be entirely exempt from taxation.

That there be no restrictions of any kind imposed upon the exchange of goods within or among nations.

ARGUMENT

Taking the full Rent of Land for public purposes would insure the fullest and best use of all land. Putting land to its fullest and best use would create an unlimited demand for labor. Thus the job would seek the man, not the man the job, and labor would receive its full share of the product.

The freeing from taxation of every product of labor, including commerce and exchange, would encourage men to build and to produce. It would put an end to legalized robbery by the government.

The public collection of the Rent of Land, by putting and keeping all land forever in use to the full extent of the people's needs, would insure real and permanent prosperity for all.

Please Make Subscriptions and Checks Payable to **LAND AND FREEDOM**

Land and Freedom

VOL. XL

JULY — AUGUST, 1940

No. 4

Comment and Reflection

A NEW world order is being planned by the foes of democracy. It is now clear—if there ever was any doubt of it—that the sole guiding principle in this reconstruction is that might makes right. The dictators sneer at the weaknesses of the democracies. It would seem, then, that we should gain their respect by adopting a policy of firmness. Ironic indeed, therefore, are the recent outbursts of totalitarian temper at our progress according to their own standards—at the embargo of armaments; at our vigorous defense program; at the recent Pan-American agreement.

THE boastful strength of the dictatorships may not be a strength per se, but only an apparent weakness in the democracies, whose very nature is tolerant of imperfections. However, in these very imperfections democracy is far more efficient and progressive than the rigidly regimented dictatorships. Democratic nations are of necessity in a state of flux. They are like clay, capable of being moulded to suit new needs as they arise. On the other hand, the totalitarian states have been forcibly cut out of granite. Any further evolution, any new needs of human beings, aye, *any hope for freedom*, can only come through some violent outburst which must shatter the totalitarian concept. From what we know of the indomitable strength of the human spirit, is this hard and unmalleable construction so strong? Extreme hardness is often associated with great brittleness! Let us appreciate that our "weaknesses" may be our strength, and our salvation.

HOWEVER this may prove in the long run, we are momentarily faced with a very real and grave situation, with respect to the fearful onslaught of the dictators. Not the least of our worries is that South America may be pulled into the orbit of the totalitarians. It is feared that a trade "invasion" of our Southern neighbors will be followed by diplomatic representations to entrench the foes of democracy in the Western hemisphere. Thus will the way be paved for the establishment of enemy military bases on this side of the Atlantic.

WE are beginning to realize that, to solve this harrassing problem, basic economic relations must be considered. We recognize that the strength of the dictators in this hemisphere is the promise of doing a substantial business

with our Latin American neighbors. To pull South America in our direction we must open up our markets for her. To accomplish this end, we must increase the purchasing power of our people, and South America must do likewise. But no sane proposal to effect this has yet been offered. Instead, all sorts of ridiculous schemes have been suggested. Among them is the proposal to lend money to the South American countries, to enable them to purchase our products at prices higher than charged by other nations, thereby retaining their good will by buying it. Such unnatural schemes must fail, as they always have failed in the past, whether applied within or among nations.

IS there any remedy better than the sane and natural one of complete free trade? We should be willing to accept the full implications of this. Real free trade means the free exchange of goods between free and peaceful people, on equal terms. The policy of the United States has been an endeavor to export goods and insist on payments in gold. This is manifestly not in accordance with fundamentals. It has served only to provide us with a useless monopoly of the world's gold, which we are hoarding under the ground, and also to arouse the resentment of the other countries. It is this as well as our tariff policy that has made South Americans wary of our plans. To them the totalitarian bait of barter without currency seems relatively more promising. If we are to gain good relations with our Southern neighbors, and the rest of the world, we must assume, not a mandatory, but a bargaining attitude. On the other hand it is no violation of the principle of free trade if we refuse to ship war materials to the States that are now seeking to destroy freedom.

SPEAKING of preparedness, we feel that the present defense program of the United States will bankrupt the country unless we abandon the idea of supporting it out of taxes on industry and incomes. Such depletion of our already low earnings will continue to reduce purchasing power and throw more out of work. That there has been no proposal for raising the large amount required for an adequate defense system is illustrated by the low wages offered to those engaged in military service—\$21 per month. The present emergency can be met with comparative ease, if the tremendous sum we need is obtained from a direct levy on the land values of the nation. This is the only tax that will not bear upon production—in fact, it will increase production. It is the only source of revenue that will be adequate for our vast defense program.

The Land Problem in Mexico

By JOSEPH M. SINNOTT

THE history of Mexico is a history of a struggle for the soil of the country.

Mayas, Zapotecs, Toltecs, Anahuacs, in slow succession rose to power and affluence, became luxurious and corrupt, and disappeared before the onslaughts of fresher, more vigorous tribes who fought to possess the land.

No matter how they may have differed as to tribal and religious customs, all these ancient Mexicans had common ideas regarding the soil. Land was not held as private property. Its ownership was vested in the tribe. Each family, however, was allotted a piece of land which it cultivated independently. Certain lands were reserved for the expenses of the government and the support of the priests. These lands were cultivated by the common people.

In the fifteenth century, in the territories controlled by the Aztecs, the last of the Anahuacs, the powers of the nobles were increasing and some of them had acquired lordship over lands which had belonged to conquered tribes and had reduced their inhabitants to serfdom. A feudal form of society was thus in process of development.

It was against this sort of social structure that Cortez hurled his gold-thirsty adventurers. Aided by other dissident tribes he soon conquered the effete and luxurious Montezuma, Emperor of the Aztecs, and hushed the country into peace by the power of his sword.

Along with his awe-inspiring equipment Cortez also brought the feudal ideas of his homeland. The conquered lands, belonging nominally to the Spanish Crown, were divided in most part amongst his officers. Later, when the cross followed the sword, lands were also granted by the crown for the benefit of the Church. All these lands were cultivated by the original inhabitants who became mere serfs.

For himself, Cortez obtained the Marquesado del Valle which measured 25,000 square miles, contained 22 towns and counted a population of 100,000 souls. Mines, woods, waters, the entire civil and criminal jurisdiction, and the right to the labor of the inhabitants were included in this entailed estate which, being inalienable, passed to the direct descendants. One lieutenant got 10,000 square miles with its rich silver mines. Another received Xilotepec which included 130,000 vassals. Others received grants in proportion to their supposed merits.

On all of these great entailed estates the natives were ground with a remorseless fury. At first the Church protested against the barbarous cruelties inflicted upon the hapless people but soon, it too, was involved in the process of wringing wealth from the serfs and the soil. The Spanish Crown, despite its many shortcomings, did its futile best to curb the ferocious power of the landlords.

The poor natives whipped by man and scourged by famine had but a choice of suicide or flight to enable them to escape their harsh taskmasters. Thousands chose both these avenues of release from a life of unremitting misery.

It was to lure the Indian back from his retreat in the jungles and mountain fastnesses that the ejido was conceived. The ejidos were plots of ground that were allotted to the native. They were supposed to be inalienable and from them, in his spare time, he was expected to raise his own sustenance, the King's tribute, and contributions to the clergy.

No sooner were the ejidos granted than the great landlords by dint of force, bribery and deception began gradually to enclose them. Thus began the struggle between great land lord and poor peasant which has survived to this day and which has caused one bloody revolt after another.

The revolutions of Mexico have been essentially agrarian in character—a struggle between the landed and the landless.

It was the disinherited and ragged outcasts who flocked to the standards of Hidalgo and Morelos in 1810. For that it was a burning agrarian struggle. And that was chiefly the reason why it was defeated. The land holding interests combined and were too powerful to be thrown off.

In 1823 the Mexican Congress abolished the further entailment of estates, but too late to repair the damage. The Cortez heritage, for example, had grown to include one city, 157 towns, 89 great estates, 119 farms and 5 ranches with a total population of nearly 200,000 souls.

Meanwhile the Church also had entered the picture on a grand scale and by mortmain controlled "not less than one-half the real estate of the country." That was the estimate of Lucas Alaman, the clerical leader. It held mortgages on most of the remaining agricultural properties and had become the national money lender. Owing to special clerical privileges and exemptions, independent agriculture suffered a constant handicap and the Church was able to undersell other growers, thereby lowering market values. The Church, of course, paid no salaries, rents, interest, excises or taxes of any kind.

It has been estimated that the Texan revolt and the subsequent war with the United States in 1845, cost the people of Mexico one-half of their land. President Grant, a participant in the war, later characterized it "as one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation."

In 1856 the feeble Comonfort government ordered the sale of clerically owned estates to the lessees at a price based on a rental value of six per cent, or, should the renter desire to buy, the property could be condemned and sold at the highest bidder. This effort was no stronger than the government that sponsored it and was soon discarded.

Emperor Maximilian and Empress Carlotta were shocked by the conditions they found. They decreed in vain that the peon was responsible only for his own debts and not

those of his father. In vain did they seek to shorten his hours of toil. In vain was corporal punishment forbidden.

The Great Reform Laws of Juarez in 1867 also attempted to restore the lands to the people but were checkmated at every turn by the combined weight of landlords and clergy. Nevertheless constant effort was exerted to relieve the condition of the disinherited.

In the late eighties and nineties, under the aegis of Porfirio Diaz, the pendulum swung the other way. The peon reached his nadir. This was the era of railroad construction and influx of foreign capital. As a consequence, tilled and untilled lands acquired new values. A great wave of speculation swept over the country. The foreigner was quick to scent the exploitive possibilities of the situation and the condition of the people became more and more intolerable. They partially threw off the yoke in 1911 and then followed the revolutionary movement, aimed at land reform, which has continued to this day.

A succession of leaders promised, deceived—and were overthrown or assassinated. Then a champion, Emiliano Zapata, purest and fairest of all, glowed like a bright star against this sombre background. His slogan was "Land and Liberty." He demanded freedom from the feudal oppression of the great estates and restoration of the ancient village lands. Zapata was betrayed and slain, but not until he had advanced considerably the cause of the peasants.

Plutarco Elias Calles was the next important political figure to dominate the scene. Calles really seemed to have the interest of the peasants at heart and pushed agrarian reforms with unceasing zeal. He advanced the cause of the ejido and loosened the clutching grip of the Church. In the fields of labor his right hand man, Morones, organized the *Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana*, or C.R.O.M., as it was popularly called. This was a confederation of craft unions organized on the same basis as the American Federation of Labor.

However, it soon became apparent that though the zeal of Calles continued, as far as agrarian reform was concerned, he seemed to manifest a marked antipathy toward urban labor developments. In some peculiar way, known only to Senor Calles, he had become one of the richest industrialists in the country. His interests embraced many industries and he became particularly incensed at any threat of strike on the part of labor. There was a clash of interests. The original crusading zeal of the once poor school-master was quenched.

Senor Morones and the small clique who dominated the C.R.O.M., were also faring very well. They dashed about in the most expensive automobiles and the diamonds flashed by Morones became a public scandal. They all lived lavishly and their week-end parties in the suburb of Tlalpan were notorious. They formed a club called the Grupo Accion, which for luxury was unequalled except by millionaires' clubs in the United States.

Now Calles had always chosen the current presidential candidate. Against the advice of conservative friends he selected Lazaro Cardenas to succeed the safe and pliable gambling concessionaire, Abelardo Rodriguez. He was sure that he would be able to control Cardenas as he had controlled Rodriguez, Ortiz Rubio, and other presidential puppets. But this time it was different.

Everyone winked and grinned when Cardenas spoke of land reform, better conditions for labor and a democratized army. They had heard all this so many times before. But when the new president swung into action and began to put his reforms into effect, the grins faded.

Meanwhile, the Marxian-inspired Vicente Lombardo Toledano had broken off from the old, corrupt C.R.O.M., and formed the Mexican Confederation of Labor or C.T.M., as it is known. It was organized on the basis of Industrial Unionism and it established friendly relations with the American C.I.O.

The Army stood firmly behind the new president. With the backing of peasants, workers and soldiers, Cardenas was able to drive Calles, Morones and their satellites from the country.

Let no one be so naive as to suppose that Justice and Liberty have but to raise their heads to have Injustice and Bondage flee before them. Over and over again they have been trampled into the bloody mud. And so after centuries of struggle, sacrifice, torture and death, the advent of Lazaro Cardenas in 1934 still found the Mexicans in the grip of the great estates. The reason for this is simple. When the landed interests found themselves defeated in the agrarian areas they transferred their maleficent activities to other spheres. They packed the state governments, the courts, the labor tribunals, the local magistracies and the police, with their creatures. Their company guards roamed the countryside and spread terror in the hearts of the people. On an average, it required five years to press a successful suit through the courts.

Cardenas, supported by the rising tide of the labor movement under Lombardo Toledano was able to purge all these agencies of their reactionary and venal elements. New life seemed to surge through the courts and the monotonous line of decisions in favor of the landlords was broken.

Although from 1913 through 1934 about 20 million acres of land had been distributed, yet ninety-five per cent of all farm land was in holdings of over 250 acres (i. e., sufficiently large to require several outside laborers). 55 per cent was in holdings of over 25,000 acres each.

During the five years of the Cardenas incumbency more peasants have received land than in all the previous years put together and the per capita share has been almost twice as large. From 1915 through 1934, 20 million acres had been distributed. From 1935 through 1938, nearly 40 million acres. From 1915 through 1934, 759,000 heads of peasant families

had received land. From 1935 through 1938, 813,000. It has been estimated that by the end of 1938, 41 per cent of the arable land had been turned over to ejidos. And the process has been continuing since.

To sustain these moves Cardenas has set up a new institution, The National Bank of Ejido Credit, with branches in the chief agricultural regions.

There is a new Agrarian Department, a large part of whose duties consists in care and advice for ejidos. The members of this department flow from the newly established agricultural schools.

The Irrigation Commission is in process of revitalization and has borne fruit already in the great Laguna cotton growing region where the Palmito Dam has been constructed.

Furthermore, since 1935 the majority of new ejidos have been set up in collective form and on a bookkeeping basis. Moreover they have been set up in precisely those regions where collective agriculture can be most effective, namely, the regions of the great commercial crops—cotton, rice, hemp and wheat. A beginning has also been made in sugar cane and bananas. By the end of 1939 about one-third of all ejidos were in collective form, and they controlled the majority of Mexico's chief cash and export crops.

Though, as before stated, these gains are due chiefly to the revival of the labor movement and its effect upon the whole federal administration, yet Cardenas has steadfastly refused to allow himself to become a pawn in the hands of the Marxist labor leaders. He is, above all, a patriot, a Mexican and true to his Indian heritage.

Here is the man of the centuries, defender of the oppressed, champion of champions. And while he fights the privileged groups of his homeland and struggles against governmental pressure from abroad, he must whirl to stamp out the treachery inspired by greed of gain in his own ranks. He has the brave heart and the sturdy will that seeks economic freedom for the masses. *But he does not know the way.*

A presidential election has recently been held in Mexico. The results, not yet announced, will decide whether the liberal policies of Cardenas will be followed, or whether the forces of oppression will once more gain the upper hand. But even if the man of Cardenas' choice is elected, the hopeless economic maze constructed by the liberal government is not the solution.

Would that a copy of "Progress and Poverty" were put in the hands of Mexico's leaders!

THE New Order in Europe:—Two-thirds of the Netherlands' poultry, and one-half of Denmark's cattle are being slaughtered—"because of a feed shortage"—and the carcasses are being exported to Germany.

A Glance at Brazil

BRAZIL today presents a complex aspect. It is a large country, larger than the United States, and its 40 million people are made up of native Indians, African Negroes and Europeans (mostly Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, German and Polish). Out of this strange mixture, a more or less homogeneous race has evolved. The Brazilian economy is predominantly agricultural, but the country is seeking to industrialize itself and is trying to build up trade relationships with the rest of the world. It is still a new and undeveloped land (comparable to the United States in its early days), and yet it finds itself in the midst of the complicated and advanced economy of the rest of the civilized world.

The Brazilian economy today is as distressed as any other. Trade is depressed, and there is industrial stagnation. As with other countries in similar circumstances, the government is assuming more and more importance. Labor legislation, workmen's compensation, public works, relief, and all other legislative symptoms of a country with unsolved economic problems, are in full force. As a corollary, Brazil is leaning strongly toward nationalism. For instance, all insurance companies must become nationalized, that is Brazilian owned.

However, some favorable progress is being made in legislation. Brazil formerly had a very reactionary government concerned mainly with the welfare of the great landed interests. The present government, while by no means doing all that can be desired, is at least open-minded to progressive reforms. One of the latest proposals is that titles to land be clarified and legalized, and only title to cultivated land be recognized. The purpose is to discourage holding land out of use.

Brazil is rich in natural resources. It has the largest iron ore and alluvial gold deposits in the world, and is the greatest producer of coffee, wild rubber, and matte. The trade possibilities are great—if trade were free—but present war conditions have greatly upset Brazilian exports and imports. Exports to Europe have declined, and it is extremely doubtful whether the United States can make up the difference despite good intentions.

Japan and Germany both are important rivals of the United States in trade with Brazil. Despite Pan-American agreements, Brazil—as is natural—wants the best customer. She does not want to lean too strongly in one direction, at the sacrifice of other markets. Any cooperation we seek to make with her must be based upon performance.

In the July issue of *Brazil* (published by the American Brazilian Association), William Mazzocco writes: "I believe that the time is opportune for everybody concerned in the promotion of business between North and South America to do all possible to remove any obstacles that prevent the building of a reciprocal, lasting, substantial volume of business, between Brazil and North America."

The Struggle for Freedom In South America

By DR. FELIX VITALE

I EMIGRATED from Italy to Rio de la Plata, called the promised land, in the fall of 1889; but I forget now why it was that I landed at Montevideo instead of at Buenos Aires.

On my arrival I found a terrible industrial depression, or crisis, which was clearly the result of recent land speculation, but which was attributed to many secondary causes and not to the fundamental one.

In a decade I witnessed three insurrections, pompously described in South America as revolutions, but which were nothing more than periodical fights for power between two groups which dignified themselves by the title of "Parties." Their only aim and ideal was the partition of the spoils of public office. No other problem was at issue. I am sorry to say that today there is little improvement.

At the beginning of 1900 I had to go to New York on business. There I met Antonio Molina, a friend of Henry George and the Spanish editor of the *Scientific American*. He was born in Puerto Rico, and educated in New York. While he helped me in my work, his hobby was to convert me to the doctrines of his friend, and he succeeded. After three years of unsuccessful attempts to bring to a conclusion the business in which I was engaged, I returned to Montevideo, where with a full enthusiasm I began my preaching, believing with the ingenuousness of a neophyte that the truth would be easily understood and accepted in a country where the relation between man and land is more evidently perceived than in an old civilization where man forgets that he is a man and animal. Mine was the fallacious illusion of the visionary who believes and hopes for a better world in a short time.

Buried in the deepest oblivion lay the memory of Rivadavia, first president of the Argentine Republic, and of his faithful and great interpreter, the Uruguayan statesman, Andres Lamas. One of my first converts found in a private library the little book written by Andres Lamas and published in 1881, *La Obra Economics de Rivadavia* (The Economic Work of Rivadavia). The genius of Bernardino Rivadavia as a statesman was wonderful. He had to devise everything in a republic which had just turned out the Spaniards, its conquerors, and was born out of the turmoil of wars of independence. It may be that his visits to France and England had made him acquainted with the work of the Physiocrats or the discussions about taxation in the English Parliament between Walpole and Sir William Wyndham.

Since his first days in public life, Rivadavia had made up his mind on the agrarian question. In a decree dated Septem-

ber 1st (? 4th), 1812, providing for a survey of the lands comprised in the Province of Buenos Aires, he declared "that the object of this proposal was to distribute proportionately to the citizens of the country building sites and arable land under a political system which would ensure the establishment of population and the happiness of the many families, victims of the cupidity of the powerful, who are living in poverty and oppression which is shocking to reason and prejudicial to the true interests of the state." Nothing came of this at the time, for Rivadavia went out of office.

On May 18, 1826, Rivadavia submitted to Congress a law dealing with the public lands, which at that time were most extensive. The first section provided that public lands (the sale or transfer of which had been prohibited by an earlier decree of Rivadavia) should in future be granted in emphyteusis for a term of not less than 20 years, reckoning from January 1st, 1827. Emphyteusis is a system of land tenure in which the use or usufruct of the land is transferred to the holder for a long period, but not the whole right of property. The other sections of this law provided for a rent to be paid to the state in accordance with a valuation to be made by a jury, and for the rent to be revised in the same manner at intervals of ten years.

Describing his proposals, Rivadavia said in an explanatory report to Mr. Woodbine Parish that "if the State offers to sell the lands which are public property, it will, besides transferring them at a price which will be more than doubled in four to six years, put in the hands of a few dozen speculators the fortune of every foreigner, poor or rich, who would emigrate in order to employ himself in any branch of agriculture."

This law remained in existence for only three years from 1826 to 1829. Rivadavia was exiled and his law was abrogated and the recollection of it sank into oblivion. Corrupted and stupid governments squandered the land by selling it at two or three thousand pesos per league, instead of renting it in accordance with the far-sighted plan of Rivadavia. Rosas, the dictator who succeeded him, by one decree alone placed 1,500 leagues of land on sale, and by a law of 1839, he gave at a nominal price six leagues to his generals, five to his colonels, four to his lieutenant-colonels, two to majors, one to captains, to officers below that rank three-quarters, and to non-commissioned officers and men one-quarter.

Forty years ago the incubus from which these republics suffered was the continuity of civil wars. My first statements about private property in land fell like a bombshell. Rivadavia and his interpreter, Andres Lamas, were hardly remembered except for the records in the libraries of a few erudite lawyers.

A daily journal instituted a competition for the best diagnosis and remedy for the troubles of the country, offering three prizes. My pamphlet got the third prize. The first two were awarded to two literary men. Their works were written in nice language and attempted to show that wars are due to

political ambition and the ease with which peasants who are lazy and indolent and warlike by nature can be enlisted for such fights. No economic or land question was touched on by them. About a thousand copies of my pamphlet were distributed, either sold or given away.

My first convert was the distinguished Uruguayan statesman, Dr. Manuel Herrera y Reissig, who subsequently published a valuable book entitled *El Impuesto Territorial* (Land Taxation); and we were greatly helped by a business man from New Zealand, Mr. C. N. Macintosh, a thorough single taxer with wide knowledge of all the financial and business details which crop up in discussing the entanglements of official political economy. I do not know how the doctrine was spread in Buenos Aires, but I think it was due to this co-worker, who was very influential and in contact with business men in his own affairs.

One of the recent Presidents of the Argentine Republic, Dr. Roque Saenz Pena, originator of the law for universal suffrage, speaking in 1912, at the opening of the fifty-first Assembly of the National Congress, said: "I consider it necessary to levy a tax which some nations have adopted with success and the lack of which does not indicate the distributive justice which should prevail amongst us; I refer to the tax on the value of property which does not arise from private effort or work but from the collective effort. All necessities of life and all industries, as well as the labor of man that gives him but a small return are taxed but not the enrichment which is obtained without personal effort but by the action of the community. A compensation is needed for such a glaring privilege. . . . I think that a desideratum of a good administration is simplification of our tax system till we reach the establishment of one single tax imposed upon land which is the tree upon which grows all wealth, and so we will leave free the branches of all industries from a pruning by the state which makes the trunk bleed twice over."

We are still in the beginnings, but new ideas about property in land are coming to prevail. "Property in land," said the Minister of Agriculture, "must have its limits. It will be recognized so long as it does no harm to the progress of our country population, but it must help the object of colonization." There is nothing practical in this, but it is the first step, a weak step, but nevertheless a step in a country dominated by landed gentry. About forty-five schemes of colonization have been presented to Parliament. Not one of them is practicable; the expense of carrying them out makes each one impossible. The socialists are united with a group who call themselves radicals. They have many seats in the upper and lower house. They propose and help the passage of small reforms which, like the lump of sugar, satisfy some working men, but leave intact all the vested interests, nay, make them stronger. They do not interfere with taxation. The following table will show how little the value of land contributes to the expenditure of the nation.

Customs and port dues	.....	.....	\$300,000,000
Inland revenue	.....	.....	170,014,000
Land tax	.....	.....	29,000,000
Income tax	.....	.....	101,485,000
Sales tax	.....	.....	31,020,000
Stamp duties	.....	.....	62,500,000
Licenses	.....	.....	2,100,000
Petroleum and mineral royalties	.....	.....	4,000,000
Inheritance tax	.....	.....	116,500,000
Post and telegraphs	.....	.....	41,000,000
Lottery	.....	.....	17,000,000
Exchange profits	.....	.....	24,000,000
Miscellaneous revenues	.....	.....	24,100,000
			\$922,719,000

This represents only the national revenue. Each province and municipality raises revenue by heavy taxation of small industries and staple commodities.

I have not at my disposal complete statistics to illustrate the distribution of land, but some illustrations will give a picture of the situation. Very near my house one gentleman owns an estate of 22 miles in extent. Four families own between them more than 4,500 square miles of land in the province of Buenos Aires. In the same province there are 1,031 landowners with more than 12,500 acres each. These and the four previously mentioned are proprietors of more than one-third of the entire province.

There is a great fuss about *latifundia* (great estates) for people realize that they need land and that it is not possible to gain access to it. Thus the sacred right of property presents itself to the human mind in these countries where everybody knows that the ownership is due to violence and robbery through political tricks and corruption.

In the Province of Cordoba, the governor, Dr. R. J. Carrano, a courageous man, defied the press and applied a tax to the big estates, and managed it with wise judgment. The legislature of Cordoba raised the taxes on large areas of land and reduced the taxes on small industries, the excise, etc., so that to some extent the working man finds work easier to get and the cost of living cheaper. It is not, of course, the whole of our ideal. The federal taxes prevent a complete improvement in the system. The largest item of this is the customs duties, which are taken for granted as a necessary source of revenue.

Undoubtedly our cause seems to advance slowly, and that makes us impatient; but no reform involving a complete revolution in an old system can go quickly. To understand the problem of free land and free trade the human mind must be guided by a deep democratic feeling. That there has been some step forward in Argentina is shown by the outcry against big landowners, by the idea that property in land must be limited in the interests of progress, by recognition of the needs of the agricultural laborers wandering from one Province to another in search of work, and by the

idea that land is not a kind of wealth which should be inherited in large amounts. Politics are so corrupt, that business, land and public offices are divided like the garments of Christ.

In Uruguay in 1914 we had high hopes. A Bill was presented by the Exchequer, increasing the tax on land values and exempting improvements. It excited some enthusiasm, but not enough. Later on, a party led by a demagogue took the matter up again, and in 1930 a daily paper published my proposals, omitting to mention that they were mine. But such people have no exact idea of the day-to-day evils of private property in land, and are unable to draw the distinction between confiscation and compensation.

In the Argentine Republic the population is generally more conservative and reactionary than in Uruguay. But I hope that an appeal to patriotism and the memory of Rivadavia, to whom the people have dedicated a monument, will help to change people's minds. Landlords have tradition and money. We have neither. I am looking to the English-speaking peoples. The great revolution against private property in land was born among them; it will ripen there; we will emulate it.

The Cordoba System

From *Nueva Argentina*

Fortnightly Journal of Economic, Agrarian and Social Issues
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TRANSLATED BY WILL LISSNER

CORDOBA is an important issue in current public debate. The administration of Dr. Amadeo Sabattini (Governor of the Province of Cordoba, Argentina) has ardent partisans and implacable opponents. Let us see what is happening in this Province that singles it out in such an unusual manner from the other Provinces in the union of more or less independent States constituting the federal government system of Argentina. In Cordoba, under the new regime, the land value tax is a reality. The latifundists are setting up a tempestuous clamor; the press which is at their service amplifies their voice.

For this reason, it is just that the defense of the Córdoba administration be given a hearing. We therefore present, with doctrinal reservations, an extended report* by the Finance Minister of Cordoba, whose remarks are of the highest interest despite certain Socialistic leanings.

REPORT OF THE FINANCE MINISTER

When, after the change of administration (in 1936), operations were begun, the state of the provincial finances presented alarming problems. Debts had been contracted on wages and salaries of the administrative personnel up to

*The text of the report is not here presented in full, some technical financial points having been omitted.

nearly one-half million pesos. And during 1935, the administration had been illegally disbursing part of the appropriations budgeted for 1936.

The national debt had not been attended to in any way between 1931 and 1934. The recorded public debt of the Province suffered an increase of 9½ million pesos up to the first of January, 1936. The floating debt, which had been consolidated on December 31, 1931—at the beginning of the former regime—increased this sum by about 3 million pesos; thus making a total public debt of 12½ million pesos. And yet, in the budget for 1936, the public debt did not receive preferred claim on the revenues of the State.

The new administration's outlook for achieving financial stability could not have been less promising. The estimate of State revenues on April 30, 1936, showed a drop of 1¼ millions compared with the preceding year. But the new chief executive was a man capable of handling the difficulty. Opportune and prudent measures were undertaken for improving the financial situation. Adjustments were made in the means of collecting taxes. Liberal opportunities were given to the slower taxpayers. Improvements were introduced in the methods of assessment and in estimating the public revenues.

The condition of the public finances grew better within the first few months of the administration, reaching the point where it concluded the first period with a surplus of more than one-half million pesos. In succeeding periods the results were even better. Operations under the budget of 1937 left the considerable surplus of 3¾ million pesos. The period of 1938 was concluded with a surplus of 2½ millions. With the confinement of present expenditures to the estimates of the revenues, it is to be presumed that there was in the following period a surplus of no less than one million pesos.

HOW THE PROBLEM WAS SOLVED

In the policies that have been imposed, the chief executive has reduced the burdens on enterprise by means of suppression of patents and the reduction of taxes on business, with the exception of those levied on branches related to luxury or vice; and he has increased, in the place of these taxes, the direct tax on the valuations of the holdings of the great landed proprietors. This was done with the double purpose of assuring that the tax burden would be distributed in a progressive form with respect to the value of the properties; and of combating the feudal land-holding system (*latifundismo*) by stimulating the subdivision of the land.

The chief executive expressed his ideas in the message which accompanied his legislative proposals for the year 1939: "The laws imposed are not, and cannot be mere fiscal expedients for the State. They cannot respond solely to a fiscal aim, *without also making for true social justice*. This aim has been accomplished with the increase in the rate of the progressive tax on land, and the exemption of improve-

ments; and at the same time, each contributes according to his means, as contrasted with the sacrifice which is involved in the payments of regressive taxes. The great land-holders collaborate in proportion to their economic capacity to the work of building up solidarity and social justice, which is being realized in many forms by the State."

As inevitably happens in connection with all such fundamental reforms, the large land-holders are agitating for the modification of the rate of taxation and are carrying on a systematic campaign against the new legislation. These wealthy proprietors, who fall within the highest classes of the progressive tax, comprise only some 300 taxpayers out of a total of 287,000 landed proprietors registered for tax purposes in the Province.

The Supreme Court of the Nation has repeatedly declared that the principle of equality as the basis of taxation and of public burdens must be harmonized with the realization that this equality can be effected only among those of the same condition; and that it is good public policy to let the weight of taxation fall upon those who are the least distressed by it. Jeze has phrased it thus: "The economic capacity of an individual does not vary proportionately to his income or his fortune, but progressively."

PUBLIC DEBT REDUCED AND PUBLIC WORKS INCREASED

The public debt of the Province, which up to May 16, 1936, had risen to 75,334,532 pesos, amounted to 70,721,086 pesos on January 31, 1940—a reduction of 4,613,446 pesos; to which can be added 12½ millions paid out for debt service. The public debt has been reduced, but no new bonds have been issued, and yet great public works have been constructed.

An integrated system of public water supply has been completed. Throughout the Province, school and administrative buildings have been constructed. There were also established school dining rooms; more than 600 offices were built for teachers; the pay of the teaching personnel was raised and bonuses provided for teachers; the Sanitary Station of Noroeste was established, as was the Textile Trade School; the President Roca School was enlarged; the subsidies to hospitals were increased; and an appropriation was given the office of the General Director of Revenues for mechanical equipment which assured the rapidity and exactness of its operations, permitting the complete drawing up of the poll of taxpayers, and facilitating the calculation, currently and exactly, of the estimate of the revenues.

The above-mentioned public works and many others, such as the creation of the office of the General Director of Waterways and Waterworks, the organization of a symphony orchestra, and the establishment of the Saenz Pena Department, has raised the budget to more than 34 million pesos, surpassing by about 7 millions the initial budget of the present administration. However, in all the budget periods, as has been pointed out, the operations ended with surpluses.

The Latin American Crisis

By ROGELIO CASAS CADILLA

UP to the first World War, the South American countries administered themselves under simple formulas. Immigration laws were scarcely known, and the customs-house were tolerant. The states could be developed more or less freely. Argentina and Brazil, to which most of the emigrants repaired, received the greatest benefit from the enormous human resources which arrived on their shores. The cities were populated rapidly, and the vitality of these countries was invigorated. Wealth circulated in abundance. In general South America was making rapid progress.

The post-war crisis produced a great economic reversal. Prices of goods fell. The budgets of the governments were not reduced. The great landed proprietors accepted only small increases in taxes (in proportion to the benefits they received), and all the countries fell into the fatal error of imposing higher customs duties on imported goods. This course eventually led to poverty and catastrophe. Each day saw higher duties heaped upon necessities. A new privilege was born, called "home industry." And with it was also born another form of privilege, the combinations of working men.

Today all South America is burdened with restrictive laws. Its nations oppose the import of goods. They also forbid the entry of persons, which results in a further diminution of wealth. Ships no longer go to their ports, because people and goods may not enter through them. With the reduction of commerce, freight rates have increased, and the little trade that remains is not worth mentioning. On the whole, the South American economy presents a desolate aspect. At the wharves there are almost no shipments to be seen. The governments have tampered with their monetary systems. The apprehension that the government will devalue the currency and suppress the natural workings of the market has caused a tremendous destruction of wealth. Although all these governmental restrictions may seem to be born of necessity, they run counter to economic laws, and thus bring disaster to the economy of the nations.

There is only one way open to the South American countries to sustain and renew themselves: To return to the natural law, and permit people to enter their territories freely; to permit the free entry of goods; to permit competition to exist, so that prices will be lower and wealth accessible; and finally, to collect taxes only from the ownership of land and public services, that is, the profits of privilege. This is the only course to follow to establish liberty and justice.

At the head of the government of the United States there are some men, such as Cordell Hull and Sumner Welles, who understand the problem of trade. With their cooperation South America has a splendid opportunity to solve some of her difficulties in the new and more dangerous crisis created by the second World War. Her economic life and sovereignty are being threatened. Will she heed the warning?

The Incas of Peru

By CECIL CARROLL TUCKER

THERE is a happy tendency among modern historical researchers to subject ancient systems of government to an emotional analysis. This is perhaps caused by the pressure of our need for accurate knowledge of the past to assist us in determining present courses of action. The sighing for the "glories that were Greece" is no longer in vogue. The attitude has become, "Let us read history to learn lessons."

With a sympathy of treatment that is truly touching, Clement Roberts Markham, a historian of the old school, relates the saga of the Incas. He tells of their music, poetry, and drama, of their beautiful religious mysteries, of their arts and architecture, and of their government. Their system of government inspired Markham's intense admiration. It was a Utopian socialism, he said, in actual working order. It was a benevolent despotism under rulers whose genius for government "far surpassed that of the Spaniards who conquered them."

Guinness, a later writer, is less sanguine. He realized the socio-economic implications of a totalitarian regime. The Inca rulers extirpated poverty—"but at what a cost!" The people were treated like children—and children they remained. They were the property, body and soul, of the state. Their labor and persons were conscripted by the state at the discretion and whim of the rulers. Personal initiative did not flourish under such a system. The great body of the population was conditioned to be satisfied with a full stomach, the worship of idols, and reasonable protection from physical violence.

If a book could be written containing, on one side of the page, Max Hirsch's "Socialism, the Slave State," and on the other side, the history of the development of the Inca civilization, the deductions of Hirsch and the facts of the history would exhibit a striking parallel. Certainly there remained no virility in a people who, themselves numbering more than eight millions, could be subjugated by a band of one hundred eighty Spaniards.

There were extenuating circumstances, of course. The Spaniards rode the first horses the Incas had ever seen. And it must have been terrifying to the Incas to see a cannon—a beast that could come apart into two pieces, and was, moreover, "apparently able to control thunder and lightning." Yet the North American Indians were introduced to firearms—the awkward way—by their invaders, but through the stubbornness of their resistance, they acquired firearms and became proficient in their use. Only internal decay could explain so easy a conquest as that of the Incas of Peru.

The facts substantiate the deduction. The Inca civilization was rotten to the core. At the time of the Spanish conquest, the Benevolent Despot was directing, from his luxurious quarters in the nation's capital, the resistance against armed insurrection promoted by the Inca version of

the Crown Prince. Revolutions can be inspired by hatred of oppression, or desire to enjoy the fruits of privilege. In this case it was probably both. To the Inca rulers were not only the power and the glory, but also two-thirds of the produce of the nation's industry.

A "system of land-tenure" might more exactly be called a "system for distributing the products of labor." The one involves the other. In Peru, under the Incas, the State was the absolute owner of the land. All cultivated land (the extent of which was vastly increased by elaborate systems of terracing and irrigation) was divided into three parts. The produce of one-third went to the support of the royal line. Another third supported the religious system. To the producers was returned the remaining third.

The State was also the absolute owner of the people. It decided what production should be carried on, and selected the producing personnel. The State undertook the education and training of the producers. It carried out large-scale colonization of loyal subjects in provinces of doubtful party regularity, for purposes of espionage and consolidation. The State directed scientific research, and designated the scientists. It is true that a remarkable degree of knowledge had been acquired. The surgical operation of trepanning was practised. Silver and gold were extracted from the ore. Ruins of public buildings contain blocks of stone weighing up to 150 tons, which had been moved several miles from, and raised hundreds of feet above, the quarries from which they were hewn. But a great portion of the labor was wasted in preparations for defense against internal and external aggression, and in the carrying on of empirical conquests.

Unless its foundations be laid in justice, the social structure cannot stand. The monuments remain, but the Empire has crumbled. According to Sarmiento de Gamboa, mouth-piece of the Spanish viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, the tyranny exercised by the Incas over their people provided the justification for the seizing of those lands by the Spanish Crown. Whether the three gentlemen who sat around a table in Panama and planned the conquest of Peru were motivated by pity for the natives, by a pious desire to substitute monotheism for idolatry, by a lust for gold, or by mixed feelings, cannot be stated with certainty. At any rate, the despoilers of that remarkable civilization found conditions badly in need of mending. And so the cycle completes another turn.

Five hundred years before the Spaniards came, the rich Peruvian plateau was the seat of another highly-cultured race, the Yuncas. The Incas, then in the vigor of their barbarism, overran this civilization. The size of the Yunca capital city of Chan Chan gives an index both to the character of the conquered civilization and to the power of the conquerors. It was larger than Manhattan, being over fourteen miles long and over five miles wide.

The Spanish conquest of Peru was yet a step in advance, despite its attendant evils. The Catholic Church, through its Spanish military arm, planted, in the ruins of a rotting civilization, the seeds of progress.

Canada's Economic Status

By HERBERT T. OWENS

THIS article will deal with the economic status of Canada as it now is, and as related to the Georgeist program for the ultimate collection of economic rent for all purposes of government.

A Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations was set up in August 1937, to examine into our constitutional and public finance set-up, and its Report was tabled in May of this year. Its statistics are based on the fiscal year 1937. It is known for short by the name of its chairman, Mr. Joseph Sirois, and will be designated as the Sirois Commission's Report throughout this article. A remark of Campbell-Bannerman's concerning a political opponent—"a fine chap-pie but na sound on the land"—epitomizes this Report. There is no awareness in it of the primacy of the land rent question.

HOW CANADA RAISES ITS REVENUES

Municipalities raise their principal revenues from a tax on land values and on improvements. There is also an assessment on business usually based on the value of real estate

used, but in British Columbia there is instead a schedule of licenses which yield about as much revenue as the Business Assessment of Eastern Canada. For 1937, the Sirois Report shows \$308,000,000 as municipal revenues, of which \$245,000,000 came from real property; \$20,000,000 represent chiefly business taxes, based usually on "real estate" and also (in the Maritime Provinces) personal property taxes. Sales and income taxes accounted for \$6,000,000; licenses permits and fees produced \$10,000,000; public utility contributions yielded \$6,000,000, while other current revenues—rentals, interest, penalties, etc.—totalled \$21,000,000.

Provincial revenues are largely based on income tax, succession duties, gasoline tax, automobile licenses, corporation taxes, public domain, liquor taxes and profits, federal subsidies, and in some cases taxes on land and on improvements. Automobile and gasoline taxes are the most productive, being 27% of the revenue of all Provinces for 1937. Liquor revenues were 12%; corporation taxes and company fees and licenses yielded 17%; succession duties produced 15% and personal income taxes 5%. Public domain revenue yielded 9% of the total, and federal subsidies 8%. The total revenues of the Provinces for 1937 were \$244,000,000.

	Assessed Land Values	Assessed Improvement Values	Business Assessment or Equivalent Licenses Assessed	Personal Property Assessment	Differential Assessment Favoring Improvements	Farm Buildings	Taxation on Land Values for Provincial Purposes
Nova Scotia	Not Separated		Assessed	Assessed	None	Taxed	Provincial Timber Land Tax Yielding about \$80,000—(1938)
New Brunswick	Not Separated		Assessed	Assessed	None	Taxed	Wild Land Tax \$57,000—(1938)
Prince Edward Island	Not Separated		Assessed	Assessed	None	Taxed	"Real Estate" tax yielding about \$86,000—(1939)
Quebec	Not Separated (a)		Assessed	None	None	Taxed	None
Ontario	Separated	Separated	Assessed	None	None	Taxed	None
Manitoba	Not Separated (b)		Assessed (c)	Assessed	One-third exemption mandatory	Exempted 100%	None
Saskatchewan	Separated	Separated	Assessed	None	Urban and non-agricultural exempted 40% (e)	Exempted 100%	Public Revenues tax—2 mills on assessed taxable valuation including buildings \$2,000,000—(1940-41)
Alberta	Separated	Separated	Assessed	None	Local option as to total or partial exemption	Exempted 100%	Wild Land Tax \$25,000. Social Service Tax \$1,250,000—1939-
British Columbia	Separated	Separated	Licenses	None	Local option as to total or partial exemption (f)	Exempted up to \$1,500	Land Tax on "Real Property" \$1,500,000 Wild Land, Coal, Timber Land \$400,000—1938-39

(a) Montreal area, comprising about one-third of Quebec's population, separates value of land from that of improvements.

(b) Winnipeg area, comprising bulk of population, separates value of land and improvements. The Manitoba assessment Commission advises that in assessing, the separation is made as a matter of practice but that tabulated returns do not publish the information or make it available for the Canada Year Book.

(c) The Manitoba Assessment Commission advises that under the Assessment Act Business Assessment may be placed either on a rental value basis or on a Personal Property basis. A large number of urban municipalities now use the rental value for

business properties and do not assess any personal property in the municipality.

(d) Quebec Province has just initiated some new tax levies of personal property nature: radio \$2; automobile water tax \$3; telephone tax 25c per month.

(e) The Saskatchewan law prohibits any higher taxation than 60% of the assessment of improvements, but municipalities can allow a greater exemption. Regina, the capital, has exempted buildings 70 per cent. since 1913.

(f) British Columbia has a statutory limitation as to the rate of taxation on land values. The general rate, aside from education and debt provision, must not exceed 35 mills

Federal revenues are based mainly on such consumption taxes as customs, excise, sales tax; income and corporation taxes, etc. The total for 1937 is \$464,000,000, made up of the following principal items in millions of dollars: Customs 105; excise 32; manufacturers 17; sales tax 138; liquor excise 27; utility 7; miscellaneous 11; corporations and companies 74; public domain 2; personal income 51. A total of \$337,000,000 or 72.6% thus came from consumption taxes. No wonder the Royal Commission found the Canadian consumer to be carrying "one of the heaviest consumption tax loads in the world." So much for the present set-up. We now proceed to the consideration of what sort of a substructure we have for the eventual total collection of economic rent.

SEPARATION OF LAND AND IMPROVEMENTS

The aim of Georgeists is to have public revenues in general collected from the economic rent of land. As a prerequisite to this it is necessary to have an assessment of land separate from other assessments. In both respects we can report considerable progress in Canada. The foregoing table shows what the present situation is as to assessment and taxation and by the same token indicates how much farther we have to go.

It will be noted that, aside from the three Maritime Provinces, the practise of separating the assessed value of land and of improvements in Canada is fairly general, for in Quebec and Manitoba the great centers of population do make the separation and the Manitoba Assessment Act requires that land be assessed for taxation at its full value and buildings (except when used for farm purposes) at two-thirds of their value. The totals under these requirements are unfortunately not made available for statistical purposes. It would not be difficult for Manitoba and Quebec to swing into line with Ontario and the other Western Provinces in this respect. So far as our information goes, the Maritime Provinces do not require the separation and even if made they do not yet make the separate figures available.

It is interesting to note that the Sirois Commission's Report has this to say of the Atlantic Provinces: "The Maritimes form the most mature, and the most chronically depressed, regional economy in Canada." Their attitude toward economic rent, combined with the tariff, has reduced one of Canada's former most flourishing sections to the condition described above.

EXEMPTION OF IMPROVEMENTS

The principle of some exemption of improvements is in practice from the Western boundary of Ontario to the Pacific Ocean. In Manitoba one-third off is a province-wide requirement. In Saskatchewan, the law requires a 40% exemption, but there is also a provision that "the assessment of buildings and improvements shall not in any year be re-

duced below the assessment for the previous year by a greater amount than 15% of the fair value of such buildings and improvements. The assessment of buildings and improvements may be increased beyond the assessment for the previous year by such amount as the council may determine." Under this provision it is possible for Regina, the capital city, to exempt improvements 70%, which she has done since 1913. Saskatoon, the second largest city, exempts buildings 40%.

In Alberta municipalities have local option in the matter of exemption or taxing improvements, and the exemptions range all the way from 100% to zero. Calgary exempts all improvements 50% and Edmonton exempts homes 50% and business premises 40%. The accompanying table shows the Alberta situation and it will be noted that an exemption of one-third on improvements is the prevailing rate in the towns and villages.

ALBERTA (1938)

Improvements Exempted	Cities	Towns	Villages
100%	----	1	4
50%	3	1	4
40%	1	3	4
35%	2	----	----
33 1-3%	----	35	125
30%	1	1	----
25%	1	3	2
20%	----	3	----
10%	----	----	1
0%	----	4	3
Not Stated	----	1	3
	7	52	146

British Columbia, like Alberta, permits local option as to amount of exemption subject to the restriction that the taxation on buildings shall not exceed 65% of the assessed value. There is a further restriction, namely that land values cannot be taxed for general purposes at more than 35 mills. Educational and debt service items may be added, which permits New Westminster to exempt improvements 100% and to levy a rate of 70 mills on land. New Westminster is about at its maximum mill rate now.

At one time there were 39 municipalities and districts in British Columbia which exempted improvements 100%. That number has decreased to 6, due largely to the restriction aforesaid of limiting the land value tax, as well as to the ignorance of the present generation of the principles for which their fathers fought. Nevertheless the following table shows that British Columbia takes more of the economic rent for municipal purposes than any other Province, and the most common rate of exemption of improvements is 50 per cent. It is significant that British Columbia is listed in the Canada Year Book as having the greatest wealth per capita (\$3414) in Canada.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Improvements Taxed	Cities	Districts	Villages	Total
Nil	2	4	....	6
5%	0	1	....	1
10%	2	0	....	2
13%	0	1	....	1
15%	0	1	....	1
16 2-3%	0	1	....	1
20%	1	1	....	2
25%	3	2	....	5
30%	2	1	....	3
33 1-3%	2	0	....	2
35%	2	1	....	3
40%	0	1	1	2
50%	17	13	18	48
55%	1	0	....	1
60%	0	1	....	1
65% (Victoria)	1	0	....	1
	—	—	—	—
	33	28	19	80

REVENUES DERIVED FROM LAND VALUES

Every Province in Canada derives some revenue from the use of the public domain in the shape of fishing, hunting, game, trapping and mining licenses, timber, oil, grazing, land and water leases, etc. These public domain revenues are given in the Sirois Report as \$21,100,000 in 1937, as compared with only \$2,500,000 from national domain collected by the federal authority.

These revenues, however, are not in reality economic rent, as licenses, e. g., are on a flat rate not having any relation to land value. In Nova Scotia a small portion of provincial revenue is based on timber land value taxation and New Brunswick has a "wild land" tax, but in the other Eastern Provinces no levy on land values is made. In the Western Provinces, however, some substantial provincial revenues are based on assessed land values. By specific Provinces these are as follows:

Saskatchewan has a Public Revenues Tax derived from a tax of 2 mills on assessed taxable valuations including improvements. It is budgeted to yield \$2,000,000 in 1940-41. Of course, that part of the levy which falls on improvements is not economic rent, but Saskatchewan has the highest land value per capita in Canada—it was \$1011 in 1935.

Alberta collects a Social Service Tax levied on land values budgeted to yield \$1,250,000 in 1939-40. The municipalities levy a Hospitals tax assessed on both land and buildings. This specific Hospitals tax is peculiar to Alberta, which has for many years provided medical services for its people, and has built up a mobile medical force for the settlers something on the order of the much publicized Mounted Police.

British Columbia lists among its "land taxes" a provincial "real property" tax estimated to yield \$1,500,000 in the fiscal year 1939. It also budgeted for \$400,000 from Wild Land, Coal and Timber Lands.

All the Western Provinces except Saskatchewan levy "wild land" taxes — being taxes on privately-owned undeveloped lands.

The federal revenues for 1937 were \$464,000,000 and the items comprising that sum have been given above. Aside from the small sum of \$2,500,000 raised from national domain—timber, mining, trapping, national parts, etc.—the federal authority does not secure any revenue from land values. In that respect Canada is out of line with her sister Dominions of Australia and New Zealand, who have been collecting a small part of the national revenue from land or land value taxes for many years.

THE GEORGEIST AIM

The aim of Georgeists must be directed therefore along the following lines, in order to realize our full program:

1. To secure the separation of assessment in those Provinces which now lump assessed land and improvement values together.
2. To get the principle of exempting improvement adopted in those Provinces in which it is not now practised.
3. To secure an extension of the principle of exempting improvements in those Provinces which now practise it in part.
4. To induce the Provinces to levy on land values for more of their provincial revenues.
5. To persuade the federal authority to levy a federal tax on the rental value of land.

As for this last aim, the Sirois Commission Report make a most retrograde recommendation. The Commission recommends that the Provinces should agree to surrender to the federal authority their present practice of taxing incomes, estates and corporations in return for being relieved of certain debt obligations and carrying charges. If the Province agree, the Commission proposes as follows: "The Dominion while retaining its unlimited taxing powers, *would recognize an obligation to respect the remaining revenue sources of the Provinces.*" That is why we said that the Commission was not "sound on the land."

With so many forces to contend with, our only salvation is ceaselessly to educate the electorate on the fundamental principles of economics.

L & F Goes to Washington

FIFTY copies of the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM were personally delivered to as many Congressmen by our good friends, Elizabeth Magie Phillips, and her associates. Each copy was accompanied by a letter appealing for free trade among the Americas and also for the financing of the defense program by a direct levy on the Nation's land values.

The American Farmer

By JOHN HARRINGTON

RECENT generations of American farmers have seen their farms getting away from themselves and their children, into the hands of money lenders, banks, insurance and trust companies, to such an extent that in the middle West, at present, nearly one-half the farms are operated by tenants. Year by year the percentage of tenancy is growing. Over a single generation the change comes almost unnoticed; but it may involve ten to twenty percent of the farms in a county. The census now under way should shed important light on the subject.

The prevailing conditions are important to those farmers and others who would like to look forward to future generations, not as a serflike tenantry of the European pattern, but as a nation of independent, upstanding American farmers, each owning and operating his farm home, and asking no favors nor charity from government, national, state or local—such farmers as were common when land was relatively free not many generations past.

Can our present farmers assure their children and grandchildren of such a future? Is it not more likely that three-fourths of middle western farms will be operated by tenants in less than three generations? Or can our farmers learn how to hold their farms away from money lenders, investors, banks, trusts and insurance companies?

My answer is that it can be done. Not only can, but must be done; and that there is only one way; and the brief answer is to take "Investment for Income" value out of the farm, and keep it out.

All incomes are derived from three sources—from the three factors of production: Land, Labor and Capital. The respective incomes are Rent, Wages and Interest. Any other incomes are negligible. Of these, wages and interest are earned incomes; rent, more accurately, ground rent, is an unearned income. Because it is unearned it is ruining the business of farming. It is the bait held out to all those seeking "something for nothing." Every investor, every banker, trust company, insurance company, land speculator, landlord, is combing the countryside for a good piece of land to produce him an "income without effort" on his part—an unearned income, or as he would call it, an "investment."

The operating farmer is also loaded down with taxes. The only tax he does not earn before paying is his land tax, payable out of ground rent. Taxes on his buildings, livestock, machinery and equipment are paid out of his earnings, wages, or interest on capital. Out of his earnings he must also pay numerous auto, gas, income, sales and other taxes—taxes on everything he purchases, and on most things he sells—direct and indirect taxes, import taxes and transport taxes.

Let the farmer wake up and abolish some taxes he now pays, and add the amount to his land value tax. Let him exempt from taxation his livestock, farm machinery and equipment, improvements and buildings, and make it up by an increased tax on land value. Let him repeal his income, sales, transportation taxes and add to his land value taxes. Thus he will in time have shifted all his taxes to his land value—that is, to ground rent—the unearned income—until all ground rent is taken. Being unearned, it has cost him nothing. His land will have paid taxes—less in most cases than his present taxes.

But his land tax will have done more; it will have paid his public expenses—his schools, highways, courts, public offices, parks, playgrounds, libraries, hospitals. And it will not have paid incomes to money lenders, banks, and investment companies. His earnings from his labor, and from his buildings and other capital equipment will be

secured to himself from the tax gatherer as well as from the investor. When ground rent is reserved for his taxes and public expenses his land is safe from the "investor for income." Land has no purchase price when it will produce no ground rent for an investor. But it has retained all its fine value for a home and for the production of crops and stock.

A note should be added here to forestall the question of assessment as commercial value disappears: At an early stage, land must be valued in terms of annual ground rent production instead of sales value.

Farmers have not had time to analyze the different forms of their income. It might seem to make little difference out of which pocket their taxes are paid. But it actually makes the difference between ownership and tenancy. If the farmer pays out of wages, ground rent is left for the landlord. If the farmer will stop and think awhile he can easily separate ground rent from wages. Rent is the part which a landlord will take when there is a landlord. Any farmer can apply it to his own land if he knows its value. If the law compels him to set ground rent aside for taxes, he saves his earnings, and more important, he saves his farm from investors.

Consider the expense to be saved. Tens of thousands of men and women are now engaged in administering and collecting all the different varieties of taxes with which we are oppressed. A few men in the towns and villages assess, collect and disburse the land taxes; and in the cities the number is still smaller in proportion to population. Increasing the tax on land value will increase not much the number of officials required for its administration.

Our statesmen, our politicians and our "scholars" waste their time on the mock battle of "capital and labor". There is no conflict of interests between labor and capital except as caused by shutting men out from land. There are only two fundamental factors in production, Man and Land. Capital, the third factor, is only the tool of production—the factory and the machine, from the axe and sickle of our ancestors to the laboratory with a hundred smoke-stacks of today.

The "capital-labor" problem must be settled by the farmer who knows and loves the land. He must make it free to himself, his children and grandchildren down through the generations, and to all who want to live on and from the land. It is not that we need more farmers to support the population; but that we need more farmers to support themselves and their families; to make homes that cannot be mortgaged and which cannot be sold against their will; that hold out no inducement to the landlord, speculator or investor. When the farmer begins by exempting his buildings and improvements from taxation, and replacing that tax by a two or three percent surtax on land value, or as much more as may be needed to absorb all ground rent, he will never turn back. He will never again leave land as an open bait for the investor, who wants an unearned income. There will be no land owners except land users. But this work must be done, not by farmers who want to make money from farm work done by tenants, but by farmers who want to see tenancy an institution of the past, or at worst, of lands beyond the sea.

A Request

WE are in need of a set of back issues of LAND AND FREEDOM, covering the period from and including 1914, to and including 1925. If any of our subscribers have these numbers, or any of them, we would be grateful if they would communicate with us so that we might make arrangements to obtain same.



IN THE UNITED STATES THERE ARE
 262 MILLION ACRES OF FOREST LAND
 468 " " " GRAZING " "
 973 " " " FARM " "
 OF THIS LATTER THERE ARE
 7½ ACRES FOR EVERY PERSON, OR
 30 ACRES FOR A FAMILY OF FOUR
 Sec. Wallace admits that "one tenth of the
 farmers receive half the produce, and nine
 tenths receive the other half."

NATIONAL INCOME (1939), \$69 BILLIONS

CANADA
IMPORTS-\$420 MILLIONS
EXPORTS-\$520 "

ASIA
IMPORTS-\$950 MILLIONS
EXPORTS-\$550 "

OCEANIA
IMPORTS-\$90 MILLIONS
EXPORTS-\$95 "

SEATTLE
30 YEARS AGO
A WILDERNESS
GRAND COULEE DAM
WILL IRRIGATE A MILLION
ACRES - LAND TO BE SOLD

TIMBER
43% OF WORLD PRODUCTION

1 OUT OF EVERY 10
UNEMPLOYED

MARGIN
OF
PRODUCTION

RAILROADS
34% OF WORLD'S

TARIFF WALLS AGAINST "GOOD NEIGHBOR"
LATIN AMERICA

PUBLIC DOMAIN
(INCLUDING NATIONAL PARKS)
NOW 220 MILLION ACRES
OUT OF AN ORIGINAL
1,310 MILLION ACRES

COPPER
32% OF WORLD
PRODUCTION

IRON
29% OF WORLD
PRODUCTION

11,000 MINING ENTERPRISES
IN U.S. (NEARLY 10% OUT OF
USE) - 25% LESS THAN IN 1910

TARIFF WALLS AGAINST "GOOD NEIGHBOR"

WHEAT
16% OF WORLD PRODUCTION

THE
DUST
BOWL

SOIL EROSION
DUE TO USING
INFERIOR LAND
FOR FARMING

MIGRANT WORKERS
PUSHED OUT TO STILL
POORER LAND

TARIFF WALLS
DEVELOPING BETWEEN
STATES - WITH PORTS
OF ENTRY, AND DUTIES
ON IMPORTS

OIL
62% OF WORLD
PRODUCT

AN ECONOMIC PICTURE OF THE UNITED STATES 1940

by Robert Clancy



IN THIS REGION

75% OF GRADE A FARM LAND
 35% OF FARM LAND VALUES
 25% OF ALL FARM CROPS
 50% OF THE LAND IS NOT IN USE
 50% OF THE FARMERS ARE TENANTS

COTTON
 50% OF WORLD PRODUCTION

IN SOUTHERN STATES
 75% OF AGRICULTURAL
 WORKERS ARE TENANTS
 OR SHARECROPPERS

CENTRAL AMERICA
 IMPORTS - \$280 MILLIONS
 EXPORTS - \$320 "

TVA

COAL
 34% OF WORLD PRODUCTION

PUBLIC DEBT - \$40 BILLIONS
 1939 TAX COLLECTIONS -
 \$13 3/4 BILLIONS, OR
 20% OF NAT'L INCOME.
 ONLY \$2 BILLIONS REC'D
 FROM LAND VALUES.
 FEDERAL GOV'T REC'D
 \$5 1/2 BILLIONS, OR
 40% OF ALL TAXES.

\$14 BILLIONS FOR DEFENSE

MANUFACTURING CENTER
 35% OF WORLD'S
 ELECTRIC POWER

EUROPE
 IMPORTS - \$750 MILLIONS
 EXPORTS - \$900 "
 (DECREASING)

SOUTH AMERICA
 IMPORTS - \$430 MILLIONS
 EXPORTS - \$325 "
 (INCREASING?)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AREA - 3 MILLION SQ. MI.
 POPULATION - 130 MILLION
 AREA PER PERSON - 15 ACRES
 POPULATION PER SQ. MI. - 43
 URBAN POPULATION -
 75 MILLION
 RURAL POPULATION -
 55 MILLION

Pres. Roosevelt admits that
 "one third of a nation is ill-
 clothed, ill-housed and ill-fed."

NATIONAL WEALTH, \$300 BILLIONS - LAND VALUES, \$175 BILLIONS

The Decentralist Movement

By WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB

HERE is Rurban Corners. Rurban is that kind of community that is established outside the speculative greenbelt area of our cities by a dozen or more families who have bought their land at farmland prices because they tired of paying high urban rent to landlords. Rurban is the community created by an ever-growing decentralization movement on the part of people who no longer want to live in over-crowded cities. The adult male members of this community will keep one foot in the city, taking from its sustenance that which is necessary to build houses, buy cars, and the other mass production goods that today can only be secured from monopoly. But beyond that, these people will not contribute one iota of money or population to monopoly land values. They will produce the primary necessities of life of their individual one or two-acre plots, and produce them at less cost (labor cost, mark you) than in the exchange market.

Consider the outgo of the average \$1500 to \$3000 family income. A fourth of it goes for shelter (and in New York this factor comes closer to being a third of a man's income). Food and raiment take most of the rest, leaving possibly fifteen per cent for transportation, luxuries, health requirements, insurance, and gratuities. In order to satisfy the desires of the average family it has become commonplace for the wife to take a job in industry or commerce. Startling repercussions to our social life have resulted.

Ralph Borsodi, who conducts the School of Living, at Suffern, N. Y., in the realization that most \$1500 to \$3000 families living in big cities either do not own their homes, or spend a life-time paying for them, asked the question: Why not encourage a way of life that promotes home-owning without sacrifice to other needs? Why not make it possible for the young housewife to produce at home for direct consumption what she was producing for exchange in the office or the store or the factory? Why not find a means whereby children will be considered an asset, as of old, and not a liability, as they are today?

Mr. Borsodi realized that so long as Georgeists continued to aid landlordism by supplying urban centers with their population, just so long would they be nurturing the condition we are trying to rectify. Consequently, he removed his own family from the city to set up its rurban productive homestead. He established the School of Living in the first productive homestead community that was developed from his researches and instruction.

Here is Rurban Corners, a hypothetical homestead community started outside any city in America. This community, let us say, was created out of the endeavors of a couple of families who discussed the possibilities of collectively improving their economic status in a strangulated economy of exchange. When there are a half dozen couples in this group,

a credit union is formed, and incorporated. This little banking institution creates a credit backlog on which money can be borrowed from a bank or loan association for the purchase of land at farmland prices within commuting distance of the city.

With this land as equity the first group of prospective homesteaders takes the plunge. An architect, possibly one who has joined the decentralized group, draws plans for the houses. Perhaps some of the homesteaders will use basic plans that can be procured from the School of Living, because these plans embody the experience of homestead dwelling construction.

Each family, as it pays off its loan from the credit union, replenishes the banking fountain with funds for the development of new homes, by the enlarging group of urbanites who will be following the initial participants.

Throughout all this program of rurban preparation and rurban living, it is valuable for every homesteader to seek the services of the School of Living. Bulletins have been prepared showing the contrast in the cost of direct production of foodstuff and raiment against the cost of these needs in the exchange labor market. It is conservatively estimated (based on five years of homestead statistics compiled by the School of Living) that the average housewife who plans her work as she would have to do in the city job will spend less hours of labor a day. Her productive effort should average about a thousand dollars a year.

But have not most economists argued for an extreme division of labor? Yes, but Henry George himself has pointed out that there is a point of diminishing return in that division ("Progress and Poverty," Book I, ch. 5). I propose to show that decentralist homesteading not only offsets the so-called economies of mass production, but serves as a powerful factor in bringing socially-minded people into the Georgeist fold, and bringing Georgeism into our economy.

The price of an article in mass production has always been established at its point of manufacture. This is usually about one-fifth to one-third of what the consumer pays for it. Warehousing, cross-country transportation, refrigeration, vast accounting structures, advertising and retailing have brought the price of goods far beyond the cost of initial production. Granted that distribution is a part of production; still, if I can produce my primary needs at a lower cost than I can exchange my services for these needs, is it not better that I produce them? If by cooperative action, men in a homestead community can produce goods at a lower cost than they can buy in the world market against their services, is it not better to achieve that reward in a community of *low economic rent*? Is it not better to let urban landlords find their properties deserted as a result of denying capital and labor opportunity to secure a fair return for services?

I am of the opinion that there is nothing so challenging to vested landlordism as the de-urbanization of our cities. A coordinated decentralist program that embraces a limited ex-

change brings us nearer to the goal of Georgeism. Five million families in as many years removing themselves from urban centers, and telling municipal government and landlords *why* they are homesteading, will create some mental disturbances among the status quo powers* that will be salutary to correct thought. Right action will follow.

It takes imaginativeness, stamina, vision and a spirit of adventure to make a move like this. These homesteads will be peopled with twentieth century pioneers, analagous, to a degree, to those who left the habits of a life-time to explore and settle America two centuries ago. With five million families removed from the food and part of the clothing exchange in our wealth production, many of the husbands in this group will lose their jobs. But these same men will be developing cooperative factories, stores and services in the homestead communities with far better cooperative opportunities than ever existed in modern urban exchange.

Under the auspices of the School of Living, every family that joins an urban forum group to make preparations for rural living is indoctrinated with Georgeist views immediately. The forum member becomes a prospect for the Henry George School of Social Science, and a possible subscriber to one of the Georgeist publications. The first factor made clear to those joining decentralist forums is that the private collection of the economic rent is driving them more forcibly to insecurity so long as they maintain urban residence.

Every piece of literature coming out of the School of Living has in its bibliography a listing of "Progress and Poverty." The School's library and book store is replete with Georgeist literature for student use. An extension class of the Henry George School is conducted at the School of Living, and the forums in various cities will undoubtedly augment the decentralist discussion with the regular ten-week course offered by the Henry George School.

The productive homestead communities are a group of Georgeists within a township population of only modest density, and the collective Georgeist voice is heard in each local Town Hall, so you can well imagine what effect this has on the politicians. You can well realize that a township in which several rural communities are settled soon becomes overwhelmingly Georgeist in complexion.

Can you foresee what effect such township (and later, county) strongholds in Georgeism have on State legislative representatives of those areas? Can you see what effect a solid body of Georgeists has on villagers and farmers, when the latter folk realize that the taxes on their improvements are subsidizing urban landlords?

Yes, we have too long worked in the city. We have proselytized; we have been Davids in the midst of Goliaths, and our insecurity has frequently committed us to silence for fear of reprisals from employer-monopolists. There is real opportunity in the homestead movement for quicker understanding to fellow citizens of what constitutes a natural economic order.

Dominican Haven

A FERTILE strip of land on the Northeastern coast of the Dominican Republic has been made available for settlement by European refugees. This little island Republic in the Caribbean Sea is the first country to grant full and permanent settlement rights to refugees.

The section to be settled and developed by the refugees is known as Sosua and contains over 26,000 acres. It was formerly part of the estate of Generalissimo Rafael L. Trujillo, first citizen of the country, and was donated by him to the Dominican Republic Settlement Association. This Association, which is making the arrangements for colonization, is independent of the Republic itself, but is operating with the approval and cooperation of the Government. One of the reasons for this cooperation is that the Dominicans wish to increase the population of their country and develop it economically. It is Trujillo's ambition to people the Dominican Republic with 100,000 refugees. The Sosua development will support 2,000, and if it is successful will be followed by similar projects.

The land had been the property of the United Fruit Company, from whom Trujillo bought it. It had been a banana plantation, and was equipped with houses, plumbing, etc. These are still in good condition, and available for the settlers. 5,000 acres are already suitable for farming. The rest of Sosua's 26,000 acres consists of rolling hills, good timber land, and other resources, all capable of being developed. In general it is quite satisfactory for settlement.

Other economic opportunities exist for the settlers. Sosua is only ten miles from the important port of Puerto Plata, and there are good roads between the two. Trade possibilities with other Latin American countries are being studied, although trade barriers will have to be reckoned with, as well as the fear of labor competition.

The settlement is still in an embryonic and experimental stage. At present there are only 37 settlers. The tentative plan adopted is that each family will be given about eight acres of farm land; and larger tracts will be operated on a cooperative basis. The settlers will be given the rights and responsibilities of citizens (including the payment of taxes!) and citizenship will be encouraged.

On the whole, the endeavor is a worthy one. If it is a success, problems will arise which must be met and settled. If the community grows, there will be the question of the disposal of the rent of land, as lands of different qualities are settled. There will be the problem of maintaining equality of land tenure. There will be the problem of communal financing. If this new society makes arrangements to collectivize the rent of land, and exempt the members from all other financial impositions, these problems will be solved. If it allows inequalities in land tenure, and finances its communal projects out of taxes on the production of its members, then it will be the nucleus of the same kind of tax-ridden, land-monopolized society that we have elsewhere.

A Theory of Interest

By GASTON HAXO*

THE INTEREST QUESTION

FOR centuries the interest question has been a subject of discussion among philosophers, economists, and reformers of all shades of opinion, yet it has never been settled. No general agreement has ever been reached as to what interest is, what causes it, how it is determined, and whether or not it is equitable.

The feeling that interest is unethical is perhaps as old as interest itself. Long before Christ was born, the taking of interest was denounced as unjustifiable by philosophers like Plato, Cicero and Aristotle. Later the Roman Catholic Church condemned the practice and laws were passed forbidding it; but in spite of all efforts at suppression, interest persisted. This is no doubt the reason why it came to be regarded as a natural economic fact by all economists, who have tried ever since to justify interest as the legitimate reward of those whose industry and thrift (?) have enabled them to accumulate capital.

Today interest is more firmly established than ever. It has become an integral part of our economic system and is regarded by rich and poor alike as a beneficial and necessary institution. Interest, we are told, is the reward of thrift, and thrift is a virtue; could a virtue bear evil fruits?

Yet, even today, there are thinkers who, like the ancient philosophers, look upon interest as but a form of privilege and a tribute upon labor. It seems to me that such views are not without justification. In fact I believe such feeling to be the logical reaction in any one possessed of a sense of justice, whose judgment has not been warped by the incongruous teachings of our plutocratic civilization.

No one can possibly question the right of the man who has produced and accumulated wealth, to live without working as long as it takes him to consume the wealth he has accumulated; to be told however, that he should be able to live without working for an indefinite period, and his children, grandchildren and their descendants after him, without even taking from his accumulation, but entirely from the interest thereon, is somewhat disturbing to the minds of those who are convinced of the righteousness of the command: "By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread."

*I wish to say that my views on interest, as expressed in this article, in no wise affect my adaptation of "Progress and Poverty" in a forthcoming work, "The Philosophy of Freedom" (advertised elsewhere in this issue). In that book, I have adhered scrupulously to the views of Henry George.

However, some prominent Georgeists have suggested that the above article be printed as an appendix to the aforesaid book, not only to present students with a new angle on the moot question of interest, but also to impress upon them that one may disagree with George on interest and yet fully accept his fundamental philosophy. —G. H.

HENRY GEORGE'S THEORY OF INTEREST

In "Progress and Poverty" Henry George attempts to explain and justify interest in a unique theory, in which he bases interest on the reproductive forces of nature. He tells us ("Progress and Poverty," Book III, Chapter III) that capital, when used in the reproductive modes, receives a natural increase over and above that due to labor, and while capital has to yield a certain portion of this increase to labor, it retains the other portion, which is interest. George then goes on to say that any one possessing capital can demand and receive this increase (interest) even though his capital is used in other modes. For the same reason, he who has money which could buy seeds or breeding stock will exact from the borrower the interest he could thus secure from nature.

This is a logical deduction from the premise that nature gives an increase to capital apart from the return to labor. If, however, the premise is false, as I believe it is, then the conclusion is not valid.

It cannot be denied that the reproductive forces of nature give an increase. A small cabbage seed buried in the ground will become a cabbage weighing several pounds. A calf turned out in the pasture will in time grow into a cow, and it is evident that such amazing results are due mostly to nature and not to the labor of man. But it does not follow that this work of nature increases the capital of the farmer.

The ultimate purpose of all production is the satisfaction of human wants, and this is obtained by an increase in quality or usefulness as well as by an increase in quantity. The power of shoes to satisfy human wants over that of skin and hides is not less than the power of the wheat crop to satisfy human wants over that of seeds. In either case the return to labor and capital is based on the value created whether it be quality or quantity.

When the farmer takes his wheat or his cattle to market, he exchanges something which is partly his work and partly the work of nature. *But does he get anything in exchange for the work of nature? He does not, for the effect of the cooperation of nature is to give more produce for the same amount of labor, hence, not to increase his return as a producer but to lower the exchange value of his product.*

And the same is true of the increased productivity due to the use of capital in non-reproductive modes. If the shoemaker has used machinery which has enabled him to produce more shoes with a given amount of labor, the effect of this greater productivity will be to lower the price of shoes. Barring monopoly, he cannot sell the added productivity due to the use of capital any more than the farmer can sell the added productivity due to nature.

Henry George has clearly demonstrated that the power which exists in tools to increase the productiveness of labor cannot be the cause of interest, and to this I add that neither can the reproductive power of nature. In this connection I wish to formulate an economic principle which I deem of

importance, inasmuch as it bears on the foregoing discussion. It is this:

Those forces, outside of man himself, which increase the productiveness of labor, when such are used to increase production, never benefit the producer as such but always the consumer as such, unless these forces are monopolized, in which case the benefit will accrue, not to capital or to labor but to monopoly in the form of extraordinary profits or in the form of rent.

If this principle is economically sound, it will serve to prove that the reproductive forces of nature cannot be the basis of interest, for interest is unquestionably a production cost and cannot benefit the consumer as such; and if the reproductive forces of nature do benefit the consumer by lowering the value of the product, they cannot give any increase to the labor or the capital of the producers.

But is it not a fact that capital generally obtains a return over and above its replacement and compensation for risk? This is an absolute fact in the case of money, though not always a fact in the case of real capital; but whenever capital can command such a return, it is certainly not due to the reproductive forces of nature.

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF CAPITAL

The failure to reach an agreement as to the cause of interest is simply a consequence of the failure to agree as to what interest is, and this in turn is due to the confusion that exists concerning the nature and function of capital and its true relation to labor.

What is capital and what is its purpose? Capital is wealth, i. e., labor products made or accumulated for the purpose of aiding labor in production. As production includes making, transporting and exchanging, capital has been properly defined as wealth in the course of exchange, i. e., wealth which has not as yet reached the ultimate consumer.

In the field of agriculture it consists of: seeds, breeding stock, tools, machinery, buildings, produce for sale, etc.

In the field of manufacturing, mining or transportation, it consists of: buildings, machinery, materials, equipment, finished goods, etc.

In the field of commerce it consists of: buildings, equipment, stocks of merchandise, etc.

When we see the huge and expensive machinery used in a modern mill or factory, we are apt to think of it as having nothing in common with the simple tools of the old fashioned cobbler or journeyman mason or carpenter. Yet, though the difference is enormous, it is but a difference in degree, not a difference in kind, and for the purpose of our discussion we might just as well think of capital as a simple tool such as a spade or a carpenter's plane.

A tool, which is the most characteristic form of capital, is nothing more than a contraption conceived, produced, and utilized by labor to produce wealth more efficiently; it is, so to speak, an artificial amplification of man's physical

power by man himself. It is labor's own brain child, and what is true of tools is true of all other forms of wealth used as productive instruments.

And now that labor has produced wealth with the aid of this thing called capital, we are confronted with the task of determining how much of the produce shall go to capital in interest—and how much to labor in wages. Justice demands that each shall receive what it produces, but what has capital produced?

Capital itself, whatever its form, has no productive power. What we might term "live capital," of which domestic animals, cultivated plants and trees are good examples, has a power of growth but this should not be confused with productive power, which is essentially a human power. The power of growth is a natural power altogether independent of man's effort. It is not an attribute of capital but a characteristic of all living things under any condition.

As for "inanimate capital" such as tools, machinery, etc., it is as dead as a door nail and has no more productive power in itself than would a man's arm cut off from his body. Not that man's limbs have in themselves any productive power, for man's arms and hands are but natural tools which can operate only through man's mind. We speak of physical labor as one thing and of mental labor as another, but this distinction is not a fundamental one. There is no such thing as purely physical labor, i. e., labor dissociated from the exercise of the mental faculties. Even in what we call physical labor, it is not the hand that produces, it is the mind which directs the hand. Likewise it is not the tool that produces, it is the mind which directs the hand that guides the tool.

No matter how much capital existed and no matter how rich the field of production, not one iota of wealth could they bring forth without labor. It is only by labor that capital is produced; it is only in the hands of labor that it can be utilized productively; how then, can we think of capital earning anything to which labor is not entitled?

The fact is that capital itself produces nothing and is not entitled to any part of the product as a factor of production, and this for the simple reason that *capital is not a factor of production.*

Here I beg to take issue with all economists, past and present, who consider capital a factor of production apart from labor. This, in my opinion, is the economic fallacy which is responsible for the failure to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion concerning interest.

Capital is not a factor of production, it is merely a factor (instrumentality) of labor.

Nature provides all animals with such natural implements as enable them to secure sustenance and protection, together with the instinct to use them to the best advantage. Nature has not been quite so generous with man as regards physical assets, but on the other hand nature has gifted man with that which no animal possesses, viz., the power of rea-

son. Vested with this power, man can produce tools and weapons so superior to anything which nature can provide, that they have enabled him not only to gain dominion over the animal kingdom but to harness nature itself to do his work.

Bearing in mind that capital is anything external to man which he has secured through conscious effort and which he uses to aid in production, was there ever a time when men produced without capital? Never, for if there ever was a time when human beings lived by producing all their needs entirely with their bare hands, such human beings could hardly be called "men." The most primitive savage we know of made use of objects external to him, fashioned or secured by him, were it nothing more than sticks and stones.

The use of capital by man is therefore as natural as the use of his own powers. Labor alone needs capital, labor alone can produce it, and labor alone can utilize it. It is an integral part of labor. How can we think of it as a separate factor? It is just as natural for a laborer to have capital to work with as it is for a buffalo to have horns or for a tiger to have claws. We expect a laborer to own his clothes—why not his tools?

THE NATURE OF INTEREST

But, since capital can produce nothing without labor, and labor can produce hardly anything without capital, it is utterly impossible to determine their respective contribution to a given result on the basis of what each could have produced alone. How, then, is interest, which is supposed to represent the contribution of capital in aid of labor, determined?

To this question there is but one answer and one explanation. What we call interest does not represent the contribution of capital in aid of labor; it represents that part of labor's produce which labor agrees to surrender for the loan of capital. It is determined by supply and demand in the loan market.

It is not until borrowed capital is used in production that a division between labor and capital is necessary. The producer who uses his own capital has no concern in ascertaining what he would have produced without it, any more than he is interested to know how much less he would have produced were he stupid instead of intelligent or sickly instead of healthy.

Had laborers always owned their tools and whatever other labor products they needed to work with, how could such a thing as interest ever have been thought of?

If there were, in general, an advantage to labor in borrowing capital rather than owning it, this might be some justification for interest, but the cases where borrowing is more advantageous than the use of one's own capital are exceptions and not the rule. It cannot be said that laborers do not own their capital because it is more profitable to borrow it. The incentive to accumulate capital cannot be greater for the lender who receives interest than it is for the borrower who pays it. If laborers do not accumulate capital, it cannot be

that they find accumulation unprofitable, it must be that they find it impossible.

That we have today a class known as "labor" who use capital and another class known as "capital" who supply it, is but the result of economic injustice which, by depriving the laborers of the fruits of their toil, makes it impossible for them to accumulate capital and compels them to borrow their own production.

Capital is, as we have seen, an integral part of what in political economy is called "labor." Accordingly what man produces with or without the aid of capital is (excluding rent) a return to labor and can only come under the head of "wages."

Land and labor (including capital) are economic facts essential to the production of wealth, but while the use of capital is necessary to production, the borrowing of capital is not. Borrowing and lending are not economic processes but purely social phenomena. Therefore, interest, which is nothing more than the price of a loan and the only cause of which is the need for borrowing, is not an economic fact and has no place in distribution.

After allowance is made for the replacement of capital, wealth is divided, not into three parts but only two, viz., rent and wages.

Having established the fact that interest is not a return to capital as a factor (since capital is not a factor of production), nor a return to the use of capital (the return to which is wages), but only to the loan of capital, it remains to be seen how interest is determined.

We hear of borrowing capital and paying interest at a certain rate or percentage, but what does it mean? When a man goes into the printing business, for example, does he borrow printing presses, linotypes, paper, ink, etc. from those who manufacture these products, and does he pay them interest? Of course not. Those who produce capital goods are not lenders of capital; they produce them for sale just as the farmer produces and sells potatoes. Those who need capital goods buy them from those who produce them and whose return is therefore wages and not interest.

But if capital goods are purchased and not borrowed, what is borrowed? It is the medium of exchange, money or its equivalent, i. e., purchasing power.

If actual capital were borrowed, we would have an independent rate of interest for each form of capital, which would be based on the supply and demand, for loaning purposes, of each particular commodity. But since all commodities may be secured through the medium of money, it stands to reason that the rate of interest will be that at which money or purchasing power may be borrowed. Therefore, interest being a return to lending, it is the return to money lending, and the interest rate is determined by supply and demand in the money loan market.

Money or loan interest is therefore pure interest, i. e., the

only real interest, and must not be confused with the returns of producing capitalists, manufacturers, merchants, and other business men, for though the return to their capital may be affected to some extent by what they could have secured in the money loan market, it is on the whole nothing more than wages of superintendence and compensation for risk commonly known as "profits." It is only when business is good that such profits include real interest, for when business is bad and competition keen, the average business man is lucky if he can maintain his capital and in addition receive a fair compensation for his work and risk.

In money lending there is no replacement; risk is covered by collateral and the return is fixed in advance by contract. But the business man cannot thus fix the rate of return on his capital, for the price at which he sells his goods is determined by the market and consequently his profits are always subject to market and business conditions. Furthermore, the supply of capital goods in productive use cannot affect interest since it is not part of the supply of loanable capital. Neither are new capital goods for sale a factor in determining interest, for the supply of such can only affect their market price, not the interest rate, which is essentially a loan rate.

It is hardly necessary to point out that, inasmuch as money loans are secured by collateral, and there being no depreciation or labor involved, allowing only for any possible insurance against loss, the return to money lending, viz., interest, is an unearned increment, a form of privilege to which too little attention has been paid by economists and social reformers.

CONCLUSION

In the light of the foregoing discussion we may give answer to the questions involved in the interest problem, i. e., what is interest? what causes interest? how is interest determined? is interest equitable?

Interest is the return to the loan of money or its equivalent in actual wealth. It is caused by the need for borrowing, due in the main to poverty. It is determined by supply and demand in the money loan market.

As for the question: Is interest equitable? this depends on whether we are considering interest as a private business transaction or as an institution. The former is equitable because it is a contract freely entered into by two parties, both of whom, under the prevailing circumstances, derive a benefit from the transaction. The latter is inequitable because it is forced upon the people as a result of a condition of social and economic injustice which creates debts and which deprives men of the opportunity to receive and accumulate the wealth which their labor brings into existence.

It is not likely that the borrowing of money shall ever cease altogether. Life will always have its ups and downs, and men, whether in private life or in business, may at times be forced or induced by circumstances to call on others for financial assistance and be willing to pay for a service thus

rendered them. But given just social conditions and an equitable distribution of wealth, the equation between the number of those able and willing to lend and the number of those forced to borrow will be such that loans will be obtainable at very low rates. Such loans will be but temporary burdens easily borne.

On the other hand, interest as an institution is but the evil fruit of an evil economic system. It has its roots in land monopoly and the resultant exploitation of labor. It will tend to disappear with an equitable distribution of wealth. Public debts will be unnecessary when the world goes to work instead of going to war and governments subsist on their legitimate and natural income, the rent of land. Mortgages and other private debts will vanish when land is free and wages high. Capital invested together with labor will bring handsome returns, but capital or money seeking investment without labor will find little or no market.

This is not to say that there will be no savings to provide for man's needs in sickness and old age, nor accumulations for future consumption or future productive undertakings, but the system which enables an individual to lend his money at interest and watch his fortune grow while he lives in luxury without doing a stroke of work, will be a thing of the past.

To the A.A.A.

On Reading "The Grapes of Wrath"

IF we must buy our right to live on Earth,
 What are your favors to the migrants worth?
 If Joad be penniless, must he not live
 As Ishmael did — a locked-out fugitive?
 Your loans are no relief, although well meant;
 What's Interest but another kind of Rent
 With Taxes added? . . . As for good intentions,
 They are the paving stones the cynic mentions!
 Can Friday be made free from Slavery's toil,
 'If Crusoe still is master of the soil?
 Not being bird, he could not reach the sky;
 And Friday was no fish, the sea to try . . .
 Unless you free the Earth, call off your quacks--
 They'll only pile more burdens on our backs!

—HORATIO

P M, New York City's latest daily newspaper, has carried some articles on land speculation. One is a story of Muscle Shoals, which, after two decades, is still a hotbed of speculation. Lots of 20 by 100 feet are being sold for \$1000 and \$5000. More than \$20 millions have been "poured down the sink" by credulous buyers. Another is a story of the new Zoning Ordinance of New York City. Land owners and speculators have fought the bill, since it limits the blighting of residential areas. P M praised Harold S. Bottenheim and the City Housing Council for backing up the Ordinance.

Signs of Progress

GEORGEIST ACTIVITIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Annual Conference of the Henry George Foundation

This year, the annual Henry George Conference will be held at the Nation's Capital — Washington, D. C. — September 25, 26, and 27. The Women's Single Tax Club will act as hostess.

A lively and interesting program has been prepared. On the morning of the first day, delegates will be welcomed. The afternoon will be devoted to the clergy of various religions, with Bishop McConnell presiding. The evening will be reserved for discussions of academic education and professional teaching.

The morning of the second day will be taken up with reports on the activities of various groups in the Georgeist Movement. In the afternoon, manufacturers and business men will have their say. There will also be a reception at the White House. In the evening, the Woman's Session will be held. The feminine part in the Georgeist Movement will be discussed.

On the third day, in the morning, plans for advancing the Movement will be set forth. The slogan "The Beginning of the Winning" has been suggested. Labor representatives and members of the press will be received in the afternoon, to present their views on the Good Society. And finally, the Banquet, on the evening of the third day. "Operated by double chairmen—Fun, Fast and Furious," is the description of the Banquet in the prospectus of the Conference.

All in all, it looks as though the Conference is going to be a big success. The program is indeed progressive, and excellently planned for interesting influential groups. A large attendance is expected. The response so far has been enthusiastic.

The Hotel Washington is to be the scene of the Conference. The Committee on Arrangements can be reached at that hotel, in Washington. Should anyone wish to contact them by phone, the number is Atlantic 3061-J.

We urge all Georgeists who can attend this Conference to do so. It offers a splendid opportunity for workers in the Cause to come together, to compare notes and exchange ideas. And this Conference is particularly well adapted to make the Georgeist influence felt by important industrial, educational and political groups. Together with these more sober duties, it will also be a happy occasion for visiting the Nation's Capital and having a delightful time!

Henry George School of Social Science HEADQUARTERS

REPORT OF EDWIN ROSS, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

SUMMER TERM—Enrollment for the term beginning June 17 reached the highest point for summer classes in the history of the School. Seven hundred adults and high-school students are studying the philosophy of freedom, both in the elementary and advanced courses. A new course in the Principles of Logic is being conducted under the guidance of Paul Peach, whose article, "Science and Economics," appeared in the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM. In its present stage this is an experimental course, but judging from its immediate popularity, it will probably be made a permanent part of the School's curriculum.

ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN — Soon, the capacity of the headquarters building will exceed 15,000 students annually. The increased difficulty of securing mailing lists numerous enough to keep pace with the School's expansion makes a large scale newspaper advertising campaign almost a necessity. A voluntary committee, consisting of graduates of the School, has been organized to raise funds for this venture. Three insertions of a full page advertisement in the Sunday magazine section of *The New York Times* are planned. It is estimated that this will place the School before the eyes of 7½ million people, and reduce by two-thirds the cost of obtaining students. "Newspaper advertising is the answer to our problem," says the committee.

HARTFORD, CONN.

REPORT OF ANN C. MARTIN, SECRETARY

Plans are under way to open up headquarters for the Hartford Extension of the Henry George School. The plan, formulated by the Henry George Fellowship of Hartford, is to obtain pledges from one hundred graduates of \$1 a month each, for the necessary support. Several pledges have already been secured. Many of the graduates have shown great enthusiasm over the prospect of headquarters, and it is probable that the Hartford School will have its own home by the time the Winter semester is organized.

At one of the recent regular meetings of the Henry George Fellowship, Prof. W. N. Leonard, teacher of Economics at the University of Connecticut, was the guest speaker. The Professor presented what he called a criticism of Henry George's principles. In the course of his address he said that Henry George proposed to collect the rent on buildings; and

his contention was that it is not fair that rent on buildings be collected. When one of the members present pointed out that Henry George did not propose to collect the rent on buildings, the Professor seemed nonplussed. Then he lapsed into a lengthy recitation on Socialism as the cure for our economic ills. The more than fifty members present must have learned more from the Professor's discussions than he had intended.

CHICAGO, ILL.

REPORT OF JOHN LAWRENCE MONROE

Graduates of the School are going to work to make the Windy City "Henry George School conscious."

A Speakers Bureau is being formed under the leadership of Mrs. Edith Siebenmann and Mrs. Beatrice Ortis, to emulate the work of the Speakers Bureau in New York. A meeting of the prospective speakers of this Bureau was held July 23, at the School headquarters.

A motion picture is in process of preparation by a Committee of graduates headed by Leonard K. Nitz. The picture will be shown at clubs, employee meetings, etc., for the purpose of securing class enrollments.

Besides this valuable propaganda work, the graduates are contributing considerably toward the financial support of the Chicago School. Already they have contributed or pledged one-half of the amount needed to finance the School through the Fall term.

Manhattan Single Tax Club

This coming Fall, President Ingersoll will be active in forming a national association as a subsidiary of the Club. The purpose is to expand the scope of activities so as to embrace a nation-wide educational program, without changing the revered forty-five year old title of the Manhattan Single Tax Club.

On August 1, Mr. Ingersoll spoke at the William Sloane House on "Democracy and Its Relation to Economics." There was active discussion after his lecture.

Following are excerpts from recent broadcasts:

FRANCE, POLAND, AND OTHER COUNTRIES THAT HAVE LATELY become exhausted before the onslaught of superior forces, have been trying the experiment of a nation existing three-fourths slave and one-fourth free. And when one contemplates what has happened, is it any wonder? Lincoln said slavery could not work out, even on a fifty-fifty basis. Our own taxes and exactions from monopoly take away a full one-half of our people's earnings, making them half slaves. If this is true in the "greatest democracy," parasitism must surely cost the European masses 75% of their earnings.

AT THIS CRUCIAL TIME DEMOCRATS SHOULD SEE THEIR DUTY clearly. Taxation was supposed to be a G. O. P. disease which the Democrats were elected to cure. They've muffed their play two terms. Now let them—or anybody else—go to it and kill both G. O. P. and Democratic taxation of the consumer. There are 15 billions of it, so the opportunity is unlimited. A reduction of even 25% would bring the blessings of the public.

Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

REPORT OF V. G. PETERSON, SECRETARY

GEORGE AND SPENCER—It would not be amiss to describe "A Perplexed Philosopher" as Henry George's most neglected book, for while his other writings have enjoyed successively large printings, not since 1904 has an American cloth-bound edition of this famous work been published. This, however, is soon to be remedied. A new edition, similar in format to "Progress and Poverty," will be ready for distribution by the end of August.

It is through coincidence, rather than design, that at this same time a reprint of Herbert Spencer's "Man Versus The State," should be made available by a Western publisher. This book will be interesting to those who desire to examine for themselves the basis of the criticism levelled against the Spencerian philosophy in "A Perplexed Philosopher." The reprint consists of six essays, with a new and remarkably fine introduction by Albert Jay Nock. In opposing the growth of Stateism in Nineteenth Century England, Mr. Spencer predicts—and history corroborates—the loss of human rights as a result of the social forces that were then set in motion.

SCULPTOR AND POET—The early Georgeist Movement records no more colorful personality than Frank Stephens, sculptor and poet. "Some Songs," a collection of his verses, is now being offered by his son at one dollar a copy. The volume contains poetry on a variety of subjects and has some apt lines on the landlord, taxes and rent. Orders sent to the Foundation will be forwarded.

INDIVIDUALISM HOLDS ITS OWN—The revival of interest in the individualist philosophy has no better illustration than the tremendous response to Mr. Albert Jay Nock's article in the June *Atlantic Monthly*. Under the title, "In Defense of the Individual," Mr. Nock describes Max Hirsch's "Democracy versus Socialism" as "a complete case against every known form and shade of State collectivism from Marxism and Fascism down to the New Deal." Four hundred and fifty people have been impelled by Mr. Nock's recommendation to send in orders, and spurred by this show of enthusiasm, the Foundation is running a half-column advertisement of the book in the August *Atlantic*.

ON THE PROGRAM—The campaign to have Henry George elected to the Hall of Fame is still one of our major activities. Help has been recruited from many influential sources. One of America's best loved novelists, and one ambassador to a neighboring Republic both wrote in support of our candidate recently. The famous columnist and traveler, Bob Davis, also penned many letters to the electors.

Several fresh activities will be initiated this Fall. Among them is a campaign to bring the lawyers of the country under the Georgeist banner. Our ranks are already strengthened by many of the legal fraternity; and we hope, through our work this fall, to show more of them the only way to a true democracy.

We, The Citizens

The group known as We, The Citizens, incorporated by the State of Illinois, is dedicated to the promulgation of the economics of freedom. They have as their main objective the abolition of all taxes, and the collection by government of the rent of land. In their approach, they emphasize that the government earns ground rent, but collects only a fraction of it.

To spread this idea, We, The Citizens circulates literature, arranges speaking engagements with civic and industrial groups, and contacts business men. They offer to cooperate with any other group that has the same aim as they have. In addition to this work, they conduct a School of Citizenship and Economic Science. This School offers a short four-lesson course in economics, using Otto Cullman's "Twenty Million Dollars Every Day" as a text-book. An Expositor's Manual for this course has been prepared, as well as question papers for students. Mr. Cullman's book of eighty-nine pages presents in a concise way, and in terminology likely to appeal to business men, a picture of our economic structure today, and a proposal for the basis upon which it should rest.

The School and its course have been well received. Classes are now either functioning or in process of organization in ten states. In addition, correspondence courses are being offered. Those interested may write to We, The Citizens, 127 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

People's Tax Relief Program for Mass.

There is a specific reason for this new organization, the People's Tax-Relief Program. "Whether or not the time has come" says one announcement, "to attempt any legislative action in Massachusetts, we feel that we should no longer allow unsound ideas on taxation to go unchallenged in the press and before the Legislature. We should prepare ourselves to expose fallacies and to suggest just and workable alternatives."

At the next Legislative Session there will be a proposal to amend the Constitution of Massachusetts to limit the tax on real estate to some definite figure, and to make up the loss of revenue by income and sales taxes. Active and unflinching work will be needed to combat these proposals.

In order to be better equipped for their work, the Tax-Relief group, in cooperation with the Boston Extension of the Henry George School, have given a course covering the current questions relating to State and Municipal revenue. The course, conducted by John S. Codman, had twenty graduates.

The Chairman is Francis G. Goodale, and the address is 138 Newbury Street, Boston, Mass.

Henry George University

REPORT OF HARRY W. OLNEY

The idea of this University began with Western Starr. When he was stricken blind and invalided some years ago, to cheer him up, I asked him to dictate some of his ideas, to be set down in writing. The advertisement on the back cover of this issue gives the gist of Mr. Starr's ideas on economics.

From time to time, Mr. Starr suggested that there should be a Henry George University at the Nation's Capital. So we formed it, at first as a paper organization. Now, though Western Starr has passed away, I am unwilling that this idea should die with him, so I am running an advertisement about it in some magazines.

My present aim is to circulate the works of Henry George, together with abridgments of other famous classics. It seems to me that these latter will do well as "pot boilers."

Depending upon results I propose to go on as far as my means and other support will permit. It is a great and worthwhile work.

Old Age Pension—Fair Taxation League

In Kansas City, Mo., this League is preparing to launch a State-wide campaign for the Fall, to amend the State Constitution. The purpose is to provide—through land value taxation—not only for an old age pension, but also for other eleemosynary and constructive purposes. The old age pension is emphasized doubtlessly to take advantage of the present popularity of the idea, in order to attract attention. But the drafters of the Amendment do not neglect the opportunity to also present a brief instruction in economics. Their message to the people of Missouri tells of the effects of the present system of taxation, and the probable effects of the proposed system.

The Amendment provides for the removal of taxes on industry, homes, agricultural equipment, and other labor products, and an increase in the tax on the value of land and natural resources. Great care has been taken to draft the measure so that it will be in full accord with the present Constitution. Each section in the Amendment stipulates specifically what items are to be exempted from taxation, what amount is to be collected from land values, and for what purposes the revenue is to be expended.

Mr. Vernon J. Rose writes of the League's efforts: "We are getting quite a wide response, but are confronted with the job of getting our petitions filled with the required number of signers in time to get on the ballot at the coming Fall election. I believe we can make it."

The address of the Old Age Pension-Fair Taxation League is 804 Grand Avenue, Kansas City, Mo.

Individual Effort

Not all work is done directly through organizations. Numbers of valiant individuals are carrying on the struggle for economic enlightenment in their own way, and their influence is inestimable.

Mr. R. A. Scott, of 152 William Street, New Bedford, Mass., has just printed a large quantity of stickers, which read as follows:

Heavy Taxes Are Strangling Industry. *The Remedy*

Remove all Taxes from Business and Buildings. Replace them by collecting the yearly location value of Land only, for all Public Revenue. Make it unprofitable to hold valuable Land unless it is put to its best use. Land cannot be put to its best use except by setting Idle Capital and Labor to work, making Jobs for Everybody!

Mr. Scott says he will be glad to furnish a supply of these stickers to any one who will attach them to his outgoing mail. Mr. Scott wants to flood the country with them.

Miss Alice I. Siddall of Washington, D. C., has prepared a Bill to be presented to legislators. It is "An Act to provide revenue for the Government of the United States; to remove restrictions on the trade, industry, and agriculture of the United States by assessing revenue-producing taxes on the value of land excluding value of improvements thereon or therein, and for other purposes." Miss Siddall has worked in various Governmental departments, and she is well qualified to draw up such a Bill, being fully acquainted with legal provisions and terminology.

Mr. Harry Haase of New York City, convinced that the need for freedom is urgent and immediate, has been circulating mimeographed messages to Americans, and to the youth of the country. He has circulated these messages among newspapers, magazines and youth organizations. He calls upon Americans to act, and act quickly, to save Democracy and Liberty. Mr. Haase is also the author of a forthcoming book, "Freedom Now."

There are several others who write letters and articles for newspapers and magazines, who lecture and circulate literature, who propose the Georgeist reform to legislators, who in a thousand ways help to further the Cause of Economic Freedom. We are always glad to hear of such efforts.

Great Britain

The Henry George Foundation of Great Britain has recently published a fourth edition of Frederick Verinder's book, "My Neighbor's Landmark," which is a study in Biblical land laws, and therefore valuable for circulation among the clergy and religious groups. The Foundation is also circulating the new edition of Bishop Nulty's famous essay, "Back

to the Land," published by the Australian Georgeists. The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union bought 230 copies of this booklet. "My Neighbor's Landmark" and "Back to the Land" may be secured from the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, which will furnish prices upon request.

The July issue of *Land and Liberty* carries an interesting article by Dr. J. J. Pikler, who is one of our foreign correspondents. In his essay, "A New Classification of Social Systems," Dr. Pikler presents four systems in relation to one another—the present system, the Georgeist system, Marxist communism and anarchist individualism. Dr. Pikler points out that the opposite of the present system is not Marxism, but Georgeism, and the opposite of communism is anarchism. Communism would socialize all property, anarchism none. The present system socializes some property (wealth, through taxation) and individualizes some (land). The Georgeist plan would reverse this system. "The Marxist system and the anarchist system," says Dr. Pikler, "both preserve one of the two faults of the present system. The Georgeist system eliminates both of these faults."

Spain

Readers will note on our mast-head the change of our Spanish correspondent from Prof. Matheu Alonso to Baldomero Argente. Not having heard from Prof. Alonso for some time, we became concerned, and wrote to Senor Argente at the Spanish League of Georgeists in Madrid for information. We received a gracious reply from Senor Argente, part of which we reproduce here:

"Unfortunately, our information concerning Prof. Alonso is no better than yours. As we have not heard from him in such a long time, we are led to believe that he is dead. His loss is felt by all of us, as we all held him in high esteem.

"Many Georgeists here have had unfortunate ends. The Secretary of the League, Senor Soria, was assassinated by the Reds. The Vice President, Senor Ayats, managed to escape from the Reds after enduring many hardships. Many others have perished.

"Present conditions in Spain, aggravated by the European war, do not make it propitious for us to renew our Georgeist activities. Nevertheless we are persevering in our ideals, and try constantly to serve the cause of Economic Truth.

"With pleasure I accept the position of correspondent in place of Prof. Alonso, and will do my very best, although you will understand my difficulties.

"The present totalitarian regime in Spain has not yet legislated on the land problem. The conditions are the same as before. Temporary measures are being taken regarding the renting of land—favorable to the lessors."

BOOK REVIEWS

THE TRAGEDY OF BARBADOS

"The Economic Geography of Barbados," by Otis P. Starkey. Columbia University Press, New York. 1940. 228 pp. \$3.00.

The story of Barbados is the story of poverty; cold, stark, unmitigated poverty. It is the story of tragedy; deep, naked, recurring tragedy. It is also the story of nature's fury and man's ignorance; destructive hurricanes, widespread epidemics, deadly pestilences.

A plague in 1647 killed 6,000 inhabitants, or about one-third of the population. In 1663 "strange and unusual caterpillars came upon the land and devoured all things." A fire in 1666 destroyed Bridgetown, the capital. A drought in 1668 was accompanied by an epidemic which lasted until 1670. A new tax, amounting to 10% of profits, "was the final blow to the prosperity of the island." (p. 77) It burdened trade until 1837. A major hurricane in 1675 caused terrible havoc. The Governor reported in 1677 that land was held for higher prices than in England! Due to war and disease the white population steadily declined between 1689 and 1713. The hurricane of October 1780 almost destroyed the island. Deaths exceeded births in every year from 1776 to 1803. The Great Hurricane of 1831 caused 8 million dollars damage and took 1,600 lives. The cholera epidemic of 1854 cost the lives of 20,727. Another terrible hurricane visited the island in September 1898. An epidemic of smallpox occurred in 1902.

The Government of Barbados does little to anticipate the arrival of hurricanes, except to arrange a system of storm warnings, and to appoint a day for "special supplication to Almighty God, for deliverance from storm." (p. 196)

Barbadian history, writes Professor Starkey, has been a series of economic booms and collapses. The World War brought unparalleled prosperity, which ended abruptly with the crash in sugar prices in 1921.

The year 1921-22, he writes, "can be described.....as probably one of the most difficult the colony has experienced in recent times." (p. 133)

The principal crop, sugar, has been marketed at a loss continuously for the past five years, reported the British Official Gazette (August 1935).

Such are the highlights in the melancholy picture.

Barbados, 100 miles north of South America near the Southern end of the Lesser Antilles, is about one-half the area of New York City. It has a population of 170,000, 93% of whom are colored, and has been a British colony since 1625.

The Barbadian environment, writes Professor Starkey, offers a fertile soil, a pleasant oceanic climate, and an excellent position for world trade. The island is rich in natural resources, and exports millions of dollars worth of sugar and molasses. "Nearly half of the acreage of Barbados is occupied with cane fields; fields of waving cane are always a conspicuous feature of the Barbadian landscape." (p. 38)

Two chapters of this book, each 30 pages in length, describe Barbadian economy. One is entitled "Production"; the other "Consumption". *There is no discussion of the distribution of wealth in Barbados; no hint why this island, so rich in natural resources, fails to support its workers.*

Today fully one-third of the population is on relief: "The total would be increased much more if the recipients were given relief adequate to maintain the health of the people. The need is not so much for more medical relief as for more and better foods." (p. 197)

Professor Starkey lists typical diets of Barbadian working class adults. These cost from 42 cents to \$1.05 each per week. "There is little doubt that the high infantile death rate in Barbados is largely

due to malnutrition and to diseases which result from it. The diet of the average Barbadian worker is so close to the minimum necessary for life that any food shortages are likely to have immediate repercussions on the health of the laboring class. Young children seem most susceptible to such food deficiencies." (p. 188)

I was informed that a handful of Englishmen, eight in number owned most of the island. I sought verification, but local authorities for reasons of their own, ignored my request for information.

Only males with an annual income of \$250 or over, may vote. This shuts out 82% of the adult population, including all laborers: "The legislature represents primarily the merchant, planter, and the professional classes."

"The functions of the Government are primarily to protect the interests of the upper classes by protecting property, aiding agriculture and commerce, and *relieving the laboring class sufficiently to prevent disturbances.*" (p. 192)

Petty crimes are common, especially when laborers are jobless and unable to buy food. Larcenies and riots mount in hard years. (p. 194)

It is obvious to a Georgeist that Barbados fails to collect its community-created rent. There can be no other explanation for the appalling poverty in the midst of plenty which everywhere meets the eye. Giving away the people's land rent, the Government must maintain itself by seizures, called taxes. The poor colored woman who daily trudges to town bearing on her head a fifty pound basket of oranges and sweets which she peddles in the torrid alleys of Bridgetown, must pay a fee for the privilege (?). The emaciated boy who rides a cheap bicycle over the rough dirt roads is mulct. The owner of every hut and wooden shack (it would be an insult to call them homes) annually pays a tax equal to one month's rent. Barbadians must pay a heavy duty on food and clothing imported from the United States. The Government reveals no information about income taxes except the total amount paid each year. (p. 184)

Suffering low purchasing power, the natives are poorly housed and shabbily dressed; many eke out an existence on one meal a day. "In poor years the death rate increases rapidly, especially because of the high infantile death rate. Malnutrition seems to be the ultimate cause, although diseases are listed as the immediate cause." (p. 207)

Conditions in recent years have become unbearable, not only in Barbados, but throughout all the British West Indies. Rioting and bloodshed have occurred in Nevis, St. Kitts, and Jamaica, as well as in Barbados.

In 1938 the Government appointed a Royal Commission to study the whole question. Their report has never been published; the disclosures would be too awful. In the debate in the British House of Commons, one member contributed this blasting, but truthful, summary: "It is clear that there is a festering mass of unemployment, a great surplus of unemployed population, wretched housing conditions, inadequate medical services, infinite squalor, illegitimacy and destitution."

A few recommendations of the Commission have been made public. One, that the British tax payer contribute \$100,000,000 over a period of twenty years, to purchase West Indian land for settlement by the natives. Our British contemporary, *Land and Liberty*, commented on this (April 1940). "It is the policy of the British government not to destroy the institution which is responsible for poverty . . . but to buy off and compensate the monopoly . . ."

Britain today is undergoing her ordeal by fire and sword. Georgeists perceive that war stems from economic injustice and inequality, such as persist in Barbados. If a just order such as Henry George envisaged, shall follow, the war will not have been fought in vain; the cruelties inflicted on millions of innocent men, women and children, the terrible loss of life, home and goods, will not have been suffered for nought.

—BENJAMIN W. BURGER

A CHAMPION OF HUMANITY

"The Life of Joseph Fels," by Mary Fels. Doubleday, Doran and Co., New York. 1940. 192 pp. \$1.50.

Written by a devoted wife whose spiritual encouragement played no small part in the career of her illustrious husband, this new and revised work is a welcome addition to Georgeist literature. The author does more than record events in the subject's life—she succeeds in admirably blending the economic and social wisdom of Joseph Fels into a complete philosophy of living. The book is a model for simplicity and beauty of style.

It is related that Joseph Fels was born of Jewish parents in 1854, in the State of Virginia. Moving to North Carolina and then to Maryland, the boy found in his childhood associations a combination of Semitic, Gentile, and Negro influences that were largely responsible for the "cosmopolitanism which was so marked a characteristic of the man."

Like Henry George, Joseph Fels was unorthodox in his attitude toward pedagogical schooling. Early in youth he showed signs of being the "self-made man." At the age of 15 he became a responsible assistant to his father, in the latter's business of toilet soap manufacture. After various hard knocks in the school of experience, we find him, at 22, the founder and head of what later became the world-famous "Fels-Naptha" soap industry. Being an employer of great numbers of workmen, he had every opportunity to be informed on the problems of labor.

It is in the home and social surroundings of the great soap manufacturer that we receive our first intimation of the affection he felt for his fellow man. There is also a delightful account of the courtship and marriage with his biographer. Their union served to give added impetus to his determination to be of service to the world. While of necessity he was a shrewd bargainer when engaged in business dealings, Joseph Fels was nevertheless in his relations with mankind at large a very type of gentleman.

On the economic side, having observed that the unnatural lockout of labor from land was at the bottom of the unemployment everywhere to be seen, and embittered by the resulting degradation of his fellow human beings, Fels turned his attention early in life to the encouragement of garden planting. The success of the undertaking (on city lots) was immediate, and the idea became very popular at home and abroad. While sojourning in England and on the European continent, he became a leader in a "back to the land" movement. A non-Malthusian, and knowing the capacity of Britain's resources for the support of her people, he was strongly opposed to a then current proposal for reducing the "excess" population by shipping stalwart Englishmen abroad for colonization. He deplored the condition of the "landless man in a manless land."

Later, the Single Tax movement provided a medium for the spread of his ideas. The celebrated Joseph Fels Commission was a result of this comradeship with the disciples of Henry George. Impelled by a spirit resembling the zeal of a crusader, he continued the battle against privilege until his death, in 1914. "He was dynamic, out in the open, fighting with every emotion that caught him, but always with a heart tender, true and direct."

Himself a generous giver, "faith without works" was nauseating to this man of justice. Tinkering with poverty brought his quick reproach. His credo can be best stated in his own words—taken from a reply he made to a suppliant for "charity."

"I am using all the money I have as best I know how to abolish the Hell of civilization, which is want and fear of want. I am using it to bring in the will of our Father, to establish the Brotherhood of man by giving each of my brothers an equal opportunity to have and use the gifts of our Father."

A rather sizable following remain who have seen Joseph Fels in action. How the world needs such men today! J. H. N.

Correspondence

DRAMATIZING THE GEORGEIST PHILOSOPHY

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Most of us Georgeists, in attempting to spread our philosophy, ignore the fact that the great majority of people are more impressed by story and dramatic action than by reiteration of bare principles. The phrase, "universal brotherhood of man" has come to be repeated parrot-like by many persons, with no mental attempt whatsoever to analyze its meaning and its possibilities.

I speak from experience when I say that actions speak louder than words, and vivid demonstrations make a more lasting impression on the mind than cold, calculated statements of the truth. Therefore, I wish that the Georgeist movement would encourage our fellow-workers who have a real ability in this line.

It was in recognition of the possibilities of demonstration that I have been working for years on parlor games. I have been amazed at the way children and grown folks who know nothing of Georgeism or economics have taken to the games. But I fear that Georgeists have been slow to appreciate the value of such things as these games. I can well appreciate the sorrow of the great educator, Froebel, when his kindergarten toys were ridiculed by educators as "just silly toys." But now, the value of the ball, the cube, and the cylinder is appreciated by all educators. I hope Georgeists will also recognize the value of other than academic approaches.

2309 N. Custis Rd., Arlington, Va. ELIZABETH MAGIE PHILLIPS.

We, too, would like to see Georgeists make use of the methods mentioned by Mrs. Phillips. Her games, notably "The Landlord's Game," are noteworthy contributions to the Georgeist movement. Mrs. Phillips' address is given above, for those who may be interested in these games.—Ed.

HIGH WAGES OUR AIM

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

A correspondent tells how rents were raised when a bus line was put through a street in his neighborhood. Some tenants had to pay five dollars more a month and some seven. Now, when those rents were raised the tenants' wages were reduced that much, were they not? And the price of everything else, being squeezed upward by capitalization of land values and disuse of land, limits wages accordingly, does it not? No one can deny it.

Why then do our collect-the-rent men and payment-for-service men ignore in their writings and speakings the object of the Georgeist proposition, namely, to raise wages by lowering rent? They must know that wages is a definite proportion in distribution; that high rent makes low wages; that low rent makes high wages.

Ninety-five percent of the people work or are dependent on people who do work. Why then, ignore that in which they are most vitally interested, the returns of labor? Of what significance is "public revenue" compared to doubling or tripling wages? With rightful wages restored, "service" would practically take care of itself.

The rent-and-service men are still twenty leagues below George. Apparently they do not recognize the elements of political economy. Instead of talking as if soaring above George, they should make an effort to catch up with him. If all George men would learn the simple, technical part of what he taught, that labor is defrauded out of about two-thirds of its wages by disuse of land, private capitalization of land values (monopoly and speculative rent), and consequent vicarious taxation; and would consistently spread the news, the "solution" for which contemporary writers are asking would soon become popular.

Waterbury, Conn.

DR. ROYAL E. S. HAYES.

WILLCOX'S RENT

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM :

I must take issue with my friend John R. Nichols on some points in his article, "Concepts of Rent," appearing in your November-December, 1939 issue.

If Nichols will think the question through, he will discover that the most fertile land, finest pasture or richest mine produce no "rent" unless their "natural advantages" have been made accessible to society "by social and governmental contributions." Upon examination and reflection, W. R. B. Willcox's definition of rent, namely, "payment for the advantages of social and governmental contributions to the utility of provisions of Nature," seems to me to be absolutely perfect in its comprehensiveness and completeness, covering every conceivable type of rental value.

I maintain that all previous definitions of rent were faulty and did not cover the facts as observed, and therefore the definition of rent had to be restated correctly. I maintain that Willcox has given the only definition of rent that has proved satisfactory, complete and true in all circumstances.

Nichols' "land value" has been proved by Willcox to be a fraud and a misnomer, as it is not "land value" at all, but the value of the privilege of privately appropriating a publicly produced rental value. Even those who use the term "land value" admit that when you tax it to the full amount of the rent, the selling value of the land disappears, and you are left up in the air with no "land value" left to tax. This creates endless confusion and has alienated and antagonized industrious and thrifty citizens.

Willcox shows that rent is an entirely social product, and he proposes to collect the whole of it into the public treasury as a private payment for a definite public service. Such a payment is no more a tax than paying a grocer's bill for goods and services rendered—to the grocer, not to some one else. This is readily understood by men of various occupations and degrees of education.

Nichols says: "The proposal to collect rent for public uses leaves in doubt (as land value taxation does not) what is to be done with respect to the vacant taxation lot for which no rent is paid or accrues." My answer is that the rent or use value of any lot is always well known, and the public, in its own selfish interest, would see to it that the full rent was collected into the public treasury. But under the present, so-called "land value taxation" system, vacant lots are never assessed or taxed at anywhere near their use value, and insofar as they are taxed, their "land value" disappears proportionately.

Nichols and the rest of us have been beating the air for many years and getting nowhere with our confusing nomenclature and terms and unscientific methods. Why not try in the future the clean-cut, definite and correct nomenclature, terms and definitions of the Science of Economics, as proposed by our Western friends?
Chestnut Hill, Mass. EDMUND J. BURKE.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM :

I learned about the land question from my father, Peter D. Ryan, now deceased. He was very active in spreading knowledge of the doctrines of Henry George. He conducted classes in lumber grading for mill workers in Oregon and Washington, and for forestry students at the Universities of both States. The economic system was discussed at nearly every class, and I am sure that a good many men in those classes now realize that there is a land question.

I am glad to continue the subscription to LAND AND FREEDOM which my father started. This magazine has been most valuable to me since I was in High School, and now I quote passages from it frequently for my papers in Political Economy and History, at the University of Washington where I am a sophomore.

Seattle, Wash.

HELEN MARIE RYAN.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM :

In the May-June issue of *The Square Deal* we make editorial comment upon the point of view that advises America not to become involved in the European maelstrom. We point out that this attitude makes no attempt to evaluate the conflicting ideologies of the Nazis and the Allies, or to assess any war guilt against the aggressor nation which has wantonly overrun so many of the smaller States of Europe since the war began.

In contrast with these views, your "Comment and Reflection" in your May-June issue is much more pertinent, and in the writer's judgment, takes a much more balanced view of the issues at stake.
Toronto, Canada HERBERT T. OWENS.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM :

Since the advent of our nation-wide industrial depression eleven years ago, I have written more than 10,000 letters to leading newspapers in all regions of the United States and Canada, urging the appointment of governmental commissions to investigate the causes responsible for over 11,000,000 unemployed; and to report on suggested practical and practicable remedies. A large percentage of my letters was published, and I was gratified by the numerous letters provoked by my suggestions.

However, since the formation of the American Newspaper Guild, which is affiliated with the C. I. O., and which has evident Socialistic and Communistic sympathies, I have found that many papers that had previously published practically all the letters I sent them were now turning them down—especially the letters contrasting the Georgeist system with the Communist system.

Reading the letters-to-the-editors columns in many large cities of the United States, I find that, whereas a few years ago there were many letters from Georgeists, there are now very few. I don't think this is evidence that Georgeists have grown tired of writing, and can only draw the conclusion that newspaper editors or employees, influenced by the C. I. O., are deliberately excluding letters that contain intelligent criticism of Socialism, Communism, or that mixture of both in the paternalistic notions of the New Deal.

I believe that sending letters to newspapers is one of the best ways of presenting the Georgeist principles to the public. I would like to hear from other Georgeists who have been active in such letter-writing, as to whether they are experiencing the same difficulties.
New York, N. Y. WHIDDEN GRAHAM.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM :

Your issue for March-April was good; your May-June issue is better—due chiefly, in my opinion, to "The Reign of Natural Law" by Henry Ware Allen. The section in this article, entitled "Regeneration," treats of method—the *how*—in a brief, but rational and effective way. Mr. Allen's article is ably seconded in Mr. T. A. McHenry's "Message to Georgeists." These two items lead me to believe that we Georgeists may awake some time.
Aberdeen, S. D. DR. CHARLES J. LAVERY.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM :

Those mothers and fathers who have sons eligible for military conscription might well give heed to the following truth:

As long as the rent of land goes into landlords' pockets, there will be an incentive to war for land; but when the rent of land is collected for all public needs, then the incentive to war for land will cease—because nobody will war for land when nobody can pocket the rent of land.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

GEORGE LLOYD

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

REV. MERVYN J. STEWART, of Bishops Stortford, England, is not only active in the Georgeist movement, but also takes an important part in protecting his parish against air raids. He writes: "I am not only Vicar of a farming parish thirty miles from the North Sea, but am also Clerk of the lay parish Council answerable for our local organizations against air raids. Many planes pass overhead almost every night. Nothing so far has been dropped in this parish, and no one of ours hurt yet. We have our Sunday School prepared for casualties. We have trained nurses, auxiliary firemen, utility men, air wardens, and two special constables. My chief duty is to find volunteers to fill any place which is vacated—very difficult now that the Home Guard are enlisting all available, and even take men from my precious services!"

Rev. Stewart also sends us some cheering words: "I have heard (from *Land & Liberty*) of your brave fight for a free life, and trust you may succeed. A free press is the very breath of freedom, and governments and police are not half the danger . . . Every U. S. A. citizen should be pressed to buy LAND AND FREEDOM to understand the Georgeist position."

DONALD MACDONALD, our old Alaskan friend, has an article in the July 20, 1940, issue of *Liberty Magazine*, on "Defenseless Alaska." Mr. MacDonald makes a plea to the people of the United States to guard more closely one of our most important frontiers.

HOLGER LYNGHOLM (whom readers will remember for his Denmark article in our March-April issue) reports that he has had word from his sister, Mrs. Signe Bjorner, in Denmark. She expressed a hope to see all her friends on this side "when things are straightened out."

HERBERT T. OWENS has resigned as Secretary of the Henry George Society of Canada. He is now an employe of the Federal Government at Ottawa, and will continue to carry on his Georgeist activities whenever he can.

PROF. F. W. ROMAN, noted Georgeist lecturer, has been appointed a Regent of the State University of California by Governor Olson, which high position he will retain for sixteen years.

HENRY GEORGE BURGER, son of Benjamin W. and Terese F. Burger, won the Pulitzer Prize awarded to high school students entering college. This award entitles him to four years tuition and cash allowance at Columbia University. In the Erasmus Hall High School, from which he has graduated, he won the highest award for scholarship, besides numerous others in various fields of service and study.

THE COMMONWEAL, prominent Catholic weekly, has several items of interest in its August 2 issue. There is an editorial entitled "Artificial Land Values," in which urban land speculation is condemned, and the Georgeist position discussed. "The position of Henry George in American history," says this editorial, "is generally much underestimated." And again: "The Georgian analysis deserves much more than shrugging skepticism from the unconverted." In the same issue are two letters from Georgeists; one from Robert C. Ludlow and one from Herman Ellcnoff. The leading article of the issue is by Monsignor L. G. Ligutti, entitled "Cities Kill." Monsignor Ligutti deplores the blighting effect of our city civilization upon the birth rate, especially among Catholics. A back-to-the-land movement is suggested as a remedy. Monsignor Ligutti is deeply interested in the Georgeist philosophy as well as the homestead movement, and it is reported that in a recent audience with Pope Pius XII, he spoke about Henry George to His Holiness.

CHRISTINE ROSS BARKER, our faithful Canadian friend, passed away on June 25 at the age of 75. Mr. Herbert Owens writes of her:

"Although she had not been in good health for about a year past, she still wrote to LAND AND FREEDOM, and took a deep interest in Georgeist matters to the end. I visited her on one occasion at her home in London, Ontario, and was enthralled by her recital of events when Father McGlynn was at his height. The Movement was richer for her espousal of it, and is the poorer because of her departure."

ALBERT FREELAND, of Seattle, Wash., has passed away. George Dana Linn writes of him: "For the past two years he suffered intense pain from an incurable disease, but he was none the less eager to spread the gospel of economic truth. He was a most prolific letter writer. Among his correspondents were Dr. Wm. Lyon Phelps, Dr. Albert Einstein, and many others. He once read me a letter he had received from Dr. Phelps. It was a beautiful letter. Phelps stated that he had been almost persuaded to accept the economic philosophy Mr. Freeland had presented, and in the event that he should finally accept it in its completeness, he would give Mr. Freeland the full credit for the result . . . One of Freeland's earlier ventures was a plan to place the writings of Henry George in the hands of every voter in America. He figured that it could be done with a little over a million dollars, and at one time he fully anticipated accomplishing it. But reverses came . . . Freeland's life and example will ever remain an inspiration to those who labor for economic justice, freedom and true democracy."

OF WESTERN STARR, whose death we noted in our last issue, Mr. George A. Warren writes:

"With voice and pen, Western Starr labored for nearly half a century in the cause of social justice. He campaigned for Altgeld, the elder LaFollette, Bryan and Woodrow Wilson. Convinced that our entry into the World War would not help the cause of democratic government, he wrote and spoke against it although well aware that such action would bring popular disapproval. Failing health and blindness during the closing years of his life compelled him to slacken, but not cease, his efforts on behalf of movements for human betterment, notably the Georgeist cause. He had taken an active part in other reforms, including world peace, electoral reform, civil service reform, a better monetary system, and free trade. But he always maintained that the fundamental need of mankind was access to the earth, and that without this the great majority of the human race was doomed to involuntary servitude."

Legal Note

On advice of counsel and in accordance with Decedents' Estate Law, please take notice that any bequests intended for this journal but made before May 8, 1939, may have lapsed by reason of the death of our predecessor, Joseph Dana Miller, on that date. LAND AND FREEDOM is a proprietary (not a corporate) business, and in order to insure against the lapsing or voiding of any bequest or legacy, which might result if made to other than a "natural person," the bequest should be drawn in the following form.

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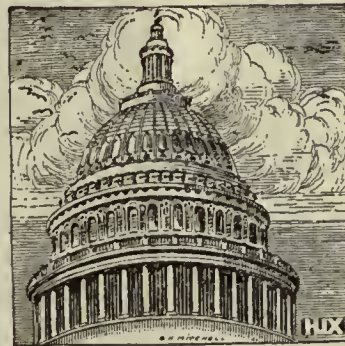
September—October, 1940

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September—October, 1940

Vol. XL, No. 5

WHOLE No. 222

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

ENGLAND: Douglas J. J. Owen.

CANADA: Herbert T. Owens.

BRAZIL: Prof. Fidelino de Figueiredo.

NEW ZEALAND: Hon. P. J. O'Regan, Wellington.
T. E. McMillan, Matamata.

SPAIN: Baldomero Argente, Madrid.

BULGARIA: Lasar Karaivanove, Plovdiv.

HUNGARY: J. J. Pikler, Budapest.

FRANCE: Jng. Pavlos Giannelia.

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

We declare:

That the earth is the birthright of all Mankind and that all have an equal and unalienable right to its use.

That man's need for the land is expressed by the Rent of Land; that this Rent results from the presence and activities of the people; that it arises as the result of Natural Law, and that it therefore should be taken to defray public expenses.

That as a result of permitting land owners to take for private purposes the Rent of Land it becomes necessary to impose the burdens of taxation on the products of labor and industry, which are the rightful property of individuals, and to which the government has no moral right.

That the diversion of the Rent of Land into private pockets and away from public use is a violation of Natural Law, and that the evils arising out of our unjust economic system are the penalties that follow such violation, as effect follows cause.

We therefore demand:

That the full Rent of Land be collected by the government in place of all direct and indirect taxes, and that buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, commerce, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries and incomes, and every product of labor and intellect be entirely exempt from taxation.

That there be no restrictions of any kind imposed upon the exchange of goods within or among nations.

ARGUMENT

Taking the full Rent of Land for public purposes would insure the fullest and best use of all land. Putting land to its fullest and best use would create an unlimited demand for labor. Thus the job would seek the man, not the man the job, and labor would receive its full share of the product.

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Land and Freedom

VOL. XL

SEPTEMBER — OCTOBER, 1940

No. 5

Comment and Reflection

POETS and dreamers have ever beheld the Millenium, the Golden Age. Ages have passed, and the Millenium is still hidden from the view of mankind. The Ideal Society apparently does not come of its own accord. If and when it does, it will come through man's own efforts. It is what we do now that determines the kind of world we shall bequeath. In the present, and in the world as we find it, our feet are set upon a path that leads on to the future. The way is indeed difficult—the forest is dense, there are treacherous pitfalls. Occasionally, there is a height which only the stout of heart may climb. From these heights, how sweet look the pleasant fields ahead! But to reach the fields one must descend again. We must struggle on, penetrate the darkness, and avoid the pitfalls. We must face the problems of the present, with courage and intelligence.

WE who embrace the philosophy of freedom are confident that we have the correct solution to many of the world's ills. The great preponderance of humanity is, however, unaware of our solution. Since we must continue our association with the rest of mankind, we must share the troubles that beset them. We must do something about them, now—not at the expense of impeding our true reform, but in furtherance of it. Ultimately, the seeming digression will better prepare the world for its acceptance. Indeed, if we fail to grapple with immediate problems, we run the risk of allowing the torch to be snatched from our hands by the powers of darkness—who have recently enough demonstrated their aptitude for snuffing out the light of freedom.

ACCCEPTANCE of our philosophy will come about only in a society where the tradition of freedom has been instilled, and where the people, to some extent, realize that Liberty must be forever guarded. It is to our interest that tyranny and oppression be combated, whenever they appear, and whatever their form. Only in the democratic countries has the way been prepared for our reform. And only to the extent that the citizens of democratic nations strive to preserve their freedom is it measurably retained. It is no easy task to conquer a nation like Finland or Denmark, where the roots of freedom go deep—even though it may seem that the powers of darkness have, for the moment, triumphed. On the other hand, it requires little effort to subdue a nation where the enemies of democracy have successfully perverted the precepts of freedom. Witness

the France of Rousseau, Voltaire and Mirabeau, whose present leaders have been so ready to discard Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. How true it is, in more than one sense, that the price of Liberty is Eternal Vigilance!

IT is unhappily true that the disease of landownership and trade restriction is gnawing at the vitals of even our most democratic countries. Were this not so, our work would be unnecessary. But we believe that democracy can be saved, because we know that the disease is curable—and that the cure is in our hands.

LET us not be cynical in these dangerous times. We can admit that the present world crisis is a struggle among rival imperialisms for world domination, and still recognize that in the last analysis it is a struggle between two irreconcilable "ways of life." The appearance of totalitarianism is as much a result of international as of internal injustice. The solution cannot be in crushing the peoples whose governments are now totalitarian. Neither can it be in allowing totalitarianism to triumph. It is a case where the excrescence, although caused by the disease, must be subdued first, and more favorable conditions created for eradicating the disease itself.

EACH new crisis that comes must be handled in a different way and yet in a way that is in accordance with basic principles. Each new crisis puts a new test to our faith and ideals. If our faith is to survive, we must adapt it to such usefulness as may be required for meeting the various situations that arise. It was in this spirit that the Prophets of Israel applied their faith as they were forced to meet new developments. Isaiah was sent at a time of great national crisis, and he met that crisis by laying down precepts for the guidance of his people through that epoch. A century later, Jeremiah arose during another period of anguish, and he likewise offered practical advice to his people for that occasion. The opposition to his counsel came, strangely enough, from the upholders—in the narrow sense—of the Isaiah tradition. Yet it is now clear that Jeremiah was continuing substantially on the same path that Isaiah trod—in the larger, spiritual sense. In this there is a lesson for all of us. We can apply it to the real and immediate issues of today. We will be none the less true to our faith and principles by tackling with intelligence the problems that arise in our time. We will most certainly not be true to them by closing our eyes and dreaming on about the Golden Age.

“THE BEGINNING OF THE WINNING”

Fifteenth Annual Henry George Congress

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE Nation's Capital was the scene this year of the Annual Conference of Georgeists, sponsored by the Henry George Foundation of America. It is the fifteenth consecutive year that followers of Henry George from all parts of the country have gathered together to discuss the principles, policies and problems of their Movement. The slogan adopted for the 1940 Washington Conference was “The Beginning of the Winning.”

The Conference was held in the Mural Room of the famous Hotel Washington, overlooking the U. S. Treasury and the White House. The congenial hostesses of the convening delegates were the members of the Women's Single Tax Club of Washington. About 100 registered delegates attended, besides many unregistered visitors. Beautiful early fall weather helped to make their sojourn a pleasant one.

The three-day meeting, ending with a banquet, was as interesting as it was successful. The Washington press gave the event ample publicity. Accounts of the sessions appeared in the *Washington Post*, *Star*, and *News*. The latter paper, in a feature article, said of the Conference: “Not even barring arguments about Roosevelt-Willkie or the draft act, Washington's most earnest conversation this week was billed on the program of a little convention of Single Taxers at the Washington Hotel.”

Among the highlights of the Conference were: a reception at the White House, where Mrs. Roosevelt greeted the delegates; the unexpected and welcome appearance of former Congressman Charles R. Eckert, Benjamin C. Marsh, and Alice Thacher Post; and the banquet, at which Congressman Robert Crosser of Ohio, Mayor Cornelius D. Scully of Pittsburgh, and Mrs. Anna George de Mille were among the speakers.

Following is an account of the events of the Conference:

First Day—Wednesday, September 25

MORNING SESSION—Delegates from all parts of the country—notably Illinois, Pennsylvania and New York—gathered together at the Hotel. The morning was spent in an informal get-together, in which the various delegates became acquainted with one another.

AFTERNOON SESSION—The first formal meeting of the Conference was held at 2:00 P. M. Mrs. Ernest Humphrey Daniels, President of the District Federation of Women's

Clubs (of which the Women's Single Tax Club is a member), extended a warm welcome to the delegates. Percy R. Williams, of the Henry George Foundation, responded to Mrs. Daniels' welcome. Zenobiah Campbell then took the gavel as temporary Chairman, doing a splendid job in making the members feel at ease. She then relinquished the chair to Dr. Mark Millikin of Ohio. In his remarks as presiding Chairman, Dr. Millikin stressed the importance of free trade, and proposed a resolution extending to Cordell Hull a vote of confidence from Georgeists for his fine work in promoting trade relations. The resolution was unanimously carried.

Dr. Millikin then introduced the speakers. The first was Robert Clancy, Associate Editor of *LAND AND FREEDOM*. Mr. Clancy spoke of the journal as “the voice of the movement,” in which all sides are offered a chance to present their views. The delegates were invited to become “special correspondents” for *LAND AND FREEDOM*.

The next speaker was Charles H. Ingersoll, President of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, who spoke on “Simplifying Economics for Teaching.” Mr. Ingersoll stressed the need for presenting the basic principles of economics in a form that would be understandable and acceptable to the average man. Axiomatic statements are needed, he said. “Argument creates antagonism. Truth backed by proof persuades.”

The last speaker of the afternoon session was Harry J. Haase, author of the new book, “Economic Democracy.” Mr. Haase related his efforts and aims in writing the book and expressed the belief that the single tax could be put across within five years if the proper kind of effort were extended. Mr. Haase proposes to use his work as a textbook, and is starting a new school with that purpose, in collaboration with Mr. Ingersoll.

EVENING SESSION—Mrs. Gertrude MacKenzie acted a temporary Chairman, and then yielded the chair to Carl D. Smith of Pittsburgh. Mr. Smith delivered a short and pithy speech on the position of Georgeists in the present crisis.

The first scheduled speaker of the evening was Hon. George E. Evans of Pittsburgh, who told about that city's housing problem, and the efforts of the present administration to relieve the situation. He outlined a form of public housing now being carried out in Pittsburgh, with model homes replacing the slums. The reaction of the audience

was that public housing is not the solution—to which Mr. Evans agreed, but explained that something had to be done presently to alleviate the living conditions of the poorer classes.

Henry H. Hardinge of Chicago was the next speaker. He presented a vivid picture of world conditions—war, dictatorship, depression—and explained that under our distorted economy, war makes business good and peace makes it bad.

Much lively discussion punctuated the evening session throughout.

Second Day—Thursday, September 26

MORNING SESSION—Mrs. Jennie Knight was the temporary Chairman, and George M. Strachan of Chicago presided. Mr. Strachan delivered a short talk on the Georgeist philosophy.

Unfortunately, none of the scheduled speakers were able to attend the meeting. Instead, Benjamin C. Marsh, Executive Secretary of the People's Lobby, presented a talk on world conditions. Mr. Marsh is well-informed on world affairs. His expose of imperialism was most enlightening. The address stimulated much discussion by the audience. Clayton J. Ewing was also present, and spoke to the group.

FOUNDATION LUNCHEON—A luncheon for the Trustees and Advisory Commission of the Henry George Foundation was given, at which the annual meeting of the Foundation was conducted. Among other business proceedings, elections were held to fill vacancies. John S. Codman of Boston was elected to replace George J. Shaffer of Chicago, deceased; Gilbert M. Tucker, to replace A. Laurence Smith, who resigned; and Charles Jos. Smith of LAND AND FREEDOM was named as second Vice-President, to succeed the late Joseph Dana Miller. All other officers and directors were re-elected.

AFTERNOON SESSION—The temporary Chairman was Mrs. Dora Ogle, who spoke on the need for correct thought. Mrs. Ogle contended that special attention should be paid to our public school system, which at present does not teach students to think correctly.

Mrs. Anna George de Mille presided over the meeting. She introduced Lancaster M. Greene, Trustee of the Henry George School of Social Science. Mr. Greene spoke highly of the Danish Folk Schools, and pointed out the relation between the tradition of these Schools and the teaching method of the Henry George School. The Danes discovered the Henry George School in 1936, and from it they received a new inspiration, and the Folk Schools were given a new stimulus.

Mr. Greene also made an earnest plea to Georgeists to keep a level head in the present world crisis. "Our only foe is ignorance," he said. "When we realize this fact, we can

resist the tendency to hate, for we will know that hate cannot change ideas—in fact, hate may obscure our perception that human nature is essentially sound, that freedom is natural and healthy, and that natural rights are not idle prattle but the very breath and spirit of America." Mr. Greene went on to show how the Henry George School is remaining true to this ideal by spreading correct thought. He urged Georgeists to do all they could to aid in the great work.

WHITE HOUSE RECEPTION—Through the courtesy of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, a reception at the White House was arranged for the convening Georgeists, at 4:00 P. M. The First Lady greeted the delegates cordially. After refreshments had been served, Mrs. Roosevelt listened attentively to the Georgeists who spoke to her. In her daily column, "My Day," which appears in a great number of newspapers throughout the country, Mrs. Roosevelt referred to our visit.

EVENING SESSION—This was termed the Women's Session. Mrs. Lloyd Biddle presided. Dr. Florence Armstrong, District President of the Business and Professional Women's Club (member of the Federation of Women's Clubs), was present and addressed the meeting. Other leaders of Women's Clubs also spoke, and there was much interesting discussion on the subject of economics. This was followed by a social hour, where refreshments were served, and a lighter atmosphere prevailed over the seriousness of the other meetings.

Third Day—Friday, September 27

MORNING SESSION—Miss Alice I. Siddall was temporary Chairman, and Mr. Carroll V. Hill of Pittsburgh presided.

The first speaker was V. G. Peterson, Secretary of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. Miss Peterson gave a very interesting account of the influence of Henry George upon modern writers. She emphasized her point by quoting from new books, published within the last few years, in which the authors acknowledged and evaluated Henry George's position as a great social philosopher. Miss Peterson made a survey of 188 important books on economics published in 1938 and 1939, and found that one-third of them made favorable mention of Henry George and commented at length upon his theories. Many of the authors accepted Henry George's ideas and used them as a basis for their own conclusions. Among the books and authors that Miss Peterson mentioned were the following:

Harry Scherman, president of the Book of the Month Club, who in "The Promises Men Live By," gives Henry George complete credit for exploding the wage-fund theory; Gaetano Mosca, author of "The Ruling Class," which makes constant reference to Henry George, crediting him with originating many ideas which are accepted facts today;

Harry Elmer Barnes, who in his book, "Society in Transition," speaks of "Progress and Poverty" as the "most famous work ever written on the subject of poverty"; Charles and Mary Beard, authors of the important "Rise of American Civilization," who acknowledge the far-reaching effect of Henry George on American thought; Broadus Mitchell, well-known economist, who in "Wealth—Its Use and Abuse," says, "If America were invited to contribute one name to an international economic Hall of Fame, the rest of the world would scarcely understand it if we did not nominate Henry George"; and Dan Beard, who recently wrote an autobiography, in which he says, "I knew Henry George intimately. We would discuss things, principles and people, as friends may, but all the time I was talking or listening to him, I felt that I should be standing—hat in hand—because I realized that back of this little man was an invisible something, big and great, bigger and greater than the generation in which he lived understood, or even George himself realized. It was the soul of the man himself."

Wallace McCauley of Chicago was the next speaker. He concentrated his talk on conditions in Chicago, and the good work Georgeists are carrying on there. Economic conditions are very bad in Chicago, said Mr. McCauley, and the city is a hot-bed of land speculation. But he expressed a belief that this would be counteracted by the work of the Chicago Henry George School, the "We, The Citizens" group, the journal *Cause and Effect*, and many valiant individuals who are carrying on the work of economic enlightenment.

Spencer Heath dropped in on the gathering and delivered a scholarly talk on the metaphysical aspects of the Georgeist philosophy.

AFTERNOON SESSION—Mrs. Barbara Crosser Sweeny served as temporary Chairman, and in the absence of Mr. Erwin Kauffmann, Harry Haase presided.

Hon. Charles R. Eckert spoke, stressing the need of having Georgeists in strategic positions for the purpose of influencing legislatures. Good men, sound in economic principles, are needed in politics, he said. Mr. Eckert also made a plea for the internal reform of the Democratic Party.

After Mr. Eckert's talk, business proceedings were conducted. Resolutions were read and voted upon, and invitations were extended for the 1941 Henry George Congress. Chicago is to be the scene of the Conference next year. Georgeists are urged to keep that in mind, and to strive to be on hand.

The Banquet

The banquet, held on the evening of the third day, closed the nine sessions Conference. After an enjoyable repast, the ceremonies got under way, and were admirably con-

ducted throughout by double Chairmen Helena Mitchell McEvoy and Gertrude Metcalf Mackenzie.

The first speaker was Mr. Walter Swanton, who delivered a brief talk on "Organization for Victory—A Five-Year Plan." This address is printed in this issue.

Hon. Cornelius D. Scully, Mayor of Pittsburgh, delivered an *ex tempore* speech. He attested his belief in the Georgeist philosophy, and defended himself against charges of not "living up to" the cause. Mr. Scully is active in several Georgeist organizations. During his remarks, he presented a plan for spreading the Georgeist philosophy. He believes that Georgeists should feature propaganda advertisements in leading newspapers; and that the legislators in Washington should constantly be "plugged." "If we get things started right," said Mayor Scully, "we need not concern ourselves too greatly over the outcome. We know that results will come in time. But we have to get started right away—there isn't any too much time."

Mrs. Anna George de Mille, beloved daughter of Henry George, spoke to the group on the efforts of British Georgeists. There are fifty Members of Parliament, she said, who comprise the "Parliamentary Land Values Group." They are looking forward to a time when the war ends, and peace-time problems will have to be faced. Mrs. de Mille read part of the plan that this bloc proposes "when the war ends." The plan is set out in seven articles, which show the effect of the taxation of site values on housing, unemployment, the use of land, and revenue to the Government. Mr. R. R. Stokes, M. P., is Secretary of this British Group. In a session of the House of Commons on August 20, when the war situation was being discussed, Mr. Stokes spoke on the problems ahead. In his remarks, he said, "We should show that we are resolved to build a better world than that on which we turned our backs last September. It is surely in the hearts and minds of all right-thinking people that all men have an equal right to live. If they have an equal right to live, they have an equal right to the gifts which the Creator gave them wherewith to maintain that life; namely air, sunshine, land and water. If we could only put forward our declaration built upon that Christian basis, we would have some chance of obtaining three things which we badly need—secure a diplomatic victory, regain the moral leadership of the world, and earn the blessings rather than possibly incur the hatred of all mankind by failing to do so."

After Mrs. de Mille's talk, Mr. George A. Warren spoke to the group on how to avoid being a bore when explaining the Georgeist philosophy. Somewhat humorous, his speech nevertheless contained important suggestions. He urged Georgeists to be timely in their discussions, to be tolerant of other ideas, and to be friendly to other reform groups whose thoughts are harmonious with the Georgeist philosophy.

Hon. Robert Crosser, Congressman from the State of

Ohio, was the next speaker. He is Representative for the same district that Tom L. Johnson once represented in Congress. Mr. Crosser delivered an eloquent and brilliant talk on "Standards of Absolute Justice." He took contemporary statesmen to task for ignoring fundamental principles, and for considering only the expediency of the moment—the standard of justice is in the long run more satisfactory and more expedient than the "expedient" policy of taking from some to give to others. Mr. Crosser made a plea that human beings emulate the example of the Creator, Whose intent is absolute, and Who does not vary His principles. He added that unfortunately for the truth, people are governed more by fuzzy emotions than by correct thought; but that we must learn to get down to categorical statements. "Let principle prevail," said Mr. Crosser, in concluding, "and freedom will come."

Mrs. Elizabeth M. Phillips, in an interlude between the heavier speeches, amused the group with dramatic recitations of humorous poetry. The applause she received was so sustained that she was obliged to render an encore.

Hon. George E. Evans, President of the Henry George Foundation, was unable to stay long enough to speak at length. He yielded to Percy R. Williams, who presented an explanation of Pittsburgh's graded tax plan. There is now a 4% tax on land values and a 3% tax on improvements. The community is being educated to accept the idea, and when there appears to be sufficient popular approval, the tax on lands will be extended and the tax on improvements further reduced.

Francis I. Mooney was then called upon to say a few words, which he did in an enjoyable, spicy style. He showed that the Georgeist philosophy is true religion. After Mr. Mooney's talk, Miss Charlotte Schetter proposed a rising vote of thanks for the fine work of the Women's Single Tax Club in making the Congress a success.

Thus concluded the Fifteenth Annual Henry George Congress. The delegates, departing, carried with them a resolve that this year would mark "the beginning of the winning."

Organization for Victory

A Five-Year Plan

ADDRESS BY WALTER I. SWANTON
AT THE RECENT HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

WE have received a challenge at this Conference from Mr. H. J. Haase, who suggested that the single tax plan can be adopted within five years, if only all of us will get to work for it in every possible way that we can.

The time has come in the Georgeist Movement—with the large number of new younger members drawn in by the

Henry George School of Social Science—to give thought to organizing in a nation-wide way, not in any political or partisan sense, but in the interest of fundamental economics, for putting over the principles of taxation of land values as promulgated by Henry George in "Progress and Poverty."

I would not for a moment think of trying to limit in any way individual initiative or rugged individualism in the many cities and states where good work is going forward; but we should coordinate this work, and organize with a center, or headquarters, where we can learn what is going on, who is doing it, and where the work is most successful in accomplishing the best results.

At the present time we have a large number of active organizations throughout the country. In New York City we have the Henry George School of Social Science, the publication *LAND AND FREEDOM*, the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, the Graded Tax Committee and the Manhattan Single Tax Club. In Chicago we have a number of organizations, among which are the Chicago Single Tax Club, "We, The Citizens," and the Tax Relief Association. Among other organizations are: the Henry George Foundation of America, in Pittsburgh; the Henry George Society of Canada, in Toronto; and here in Washington, the Women's Single Tax Club, the People's Lobby and the National Popular Government League.

Besides these organizations—and the many others that exist—we have a great number of individuals doing active work. Among them are: J. Rupert Mason of San Francisco; John C. Rose of Pittsburgh; Charles H. Ingersoll and Harry J. Haase of New York City; George J. Knapp of Denver, who is campaigning for Governor of Colorado, and many others.

All these efforts should in some way be coordinated. A central headquarters for the Movement is the answer. While I have no special interest in any city or organization, it would seem that the logical place for such a headquarters, at least for the present, would be in the largest city, New York. And the logical place in New York would be the present permanent building owned by the Movement, at 30 East 29 Street, now the offices and headquarters of the Henry George School of Social Science. At the central headquarters should be maintained a master index of all active Georgeists and representatives in all the 48 States and the District of Columbia, and agents in the 3,000 counties throughout the United States, located at the county seats.

With this central headquarters in our largest city, and with the influx of many new and younger persons in the Movement, we can go forward with the assurance that we are all working together for Victory in fundamental tax reform.

Recommendations for The Georgeist Program

By MORTIMER A. LEISTER

INTRODUCTORY

I think that a questionnaire sent out to known Georgeists at the present time asking for recommendations looking toward the promotion of the movement would undoubtedly return some interesting information. This vital step for the coordination of ideas on this subject is therefore my first recommendation.

It may be assumed that such an investigation might show some scattered opinions that would merit intensive study, but I think that there would be such a tremendous number of responses for just two kinds of recommendations that one would be forced to feel the weight of them:—those which range around the respective merits of the Henry George movement as a political organization, or as an educational promoter.

I feel therefore that we must study these two recommendations of political organization and educational promotion.

THE RECOMMENDATION FOR POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Now, let us see what discussions have produced on the question of political organization of the Henry George ideas. Believers in such organization generally rest on the argument that it is practically necessary to persuade all classes of people that they and their posterity have better prospects for orderly, just and happy living under the principles of the Henry George philosophy, than under any other proposed system now offered to them; that such an effort to be successful has to reach great numbers of people; that great numbers of people are now skeptical as they were never before of the progressivism of the great political parties; that the skeptics could be persuaded to join the Henry George movement if their attention could be obtained for its program; that the best plan for such a mass effort for persuasion is the experimentally tested one of political organization; that, as political organization must eventually be adopted for the promotion of the movement, now is the best time to start it.

There is much in these propositions with which no well-wisher of the Henry George movement would want to disagree. But there are dissenters, and they assert in the main that the experience of mankind as a political animal shows that he is unable to rise above his class interests during times of peace; that the development of political parties capable of influencing the laws and morals of the nation must be understood as a process by which each class interest seeks to retain or obtain as many privileges as its cunning or its force of numbers can make the others yield to it in their

common exploitation of the powers vested in government; that in a political organization there is no room for the Henry George philosophy, which rises above class interests to embrace the welfare of all, with particular emphasis on the just treatment of the unorganized and inarticulate elements of the population who are always too late to prevent their exploitation by the organized class interests that govern the political parties.

Studying the arguments of each side, I find that they differ finally over one point. This is whether a political party could be organized, as an influential body in the affairs of a nation, in times of peace, of people who would not seek to retain or obtain privileges that they could grasp in time.

What can we say on that disputed point? Cynics would not hesitate to answer that people will grasp whatever privileges they can get every time, and they might even slyly point to that axiom of Georgeist philosophy about men seeking to gratify their desires with the least exertion. Of course, not even a cynic would challenge the sincerity of Georgeists to resist such tendencies, but he would assert that unless the Georgeists represented at least a majority influence at the outset of the career of the political organization, they would have no chance at all against the self-seeking groups. The cynic would also say that the Georgeists would be able to maintain effective resistance to such groups only by concentrating power in themselves, for once the gates were let down they would become an insignificant minority and lose all ability to withstand the familiar predatory operations of the others.

Is the cynic right? Well, perhaps not, but nobody at present seems able to contradict him successfully. Even our Georgeist who disfavors political organization dislikes that conclusion, for he does not particularly like the cynic's company. Such company suggests a defeatist attitude, and Georgeists are almost anything but defeatists.

THE RECOMMENDATION FOR EDUCATIONAL PROMOTION

Generally, when Georgeists oppose the organization of political efforts for the promotion of their movement, they are prepared to offer the alternative of an expanded educational effort for the same purpose. They say that their alternative is already an actuality, as their records of school attendance, correspondence students, and lecture functions, very clearly show. They also point to a growth of periodicals which stem from the educational branch of the movement. All this is impressive, and indeed very heartening, to every believer in Georgeism.

But there are Georgeists who say that while they will always be willing to give all the aid in their power for the development of the education program required for the promotion of the movement, they feel that, like everything else, it also has definite limitations of usefulness, and that it is

unwise to rely on it solely. Others criticize the shortcomings of the educational effort for its failure to provide adequate library facilities or guidance of any kind for needed research work. Still others confess their disappointment at the little understanding of the Georgeist principles that both classroom and mail students show after completing the prescribed study courses given by the Henry George School of Social Science. Nevertheless, I feel that none of these criticisms are harmful; weighed together, they measure the good and bad features, and try to mark out the road of experimentation to be followed for the improvement of the educational program of the movement as a whole.

It is to be noted that Georgeists do not differ about the need of an educational effort. What they divide upon is the idea that a continuation of the teaching of the principles of Henry George is the only way to bring about the success of the movement.

THE PROBLEM OF PROMOTING THE MOVEMENT

It seems clear to me that the problem of promoting the Georgeist movement successfully cannot be solved by either the political or educational concepts that the followers of the movement now hold.

How then may a solution to the problem be developed? I submit that the first step henceforth should be to let a free play of our consciousness analyze the problem.

Let us see what that may do. First of all we will make an honest statement of the situation, by saying that the Georgeist movement needs the opportunity of experimentation of its theory that the social collection of economic rent and its expenditure for social benefits would free capital and labor in industry and insure the existence of a freedom-loving, cooperative commonwealth capable of advancing all the potentialities of civilized development.

What we ask for the promotion of the movement should thus stand in close relationship with the creation of the opportunity to install the experiment. Most Georgeists feel that the success of the movement is assured once their theory begins to operate. No Georgeist doubts the outcome of the experiment if it is made properly. He wants assurance that the Georgeist principles are to be functionalized, not apotheosized, and given that assurance, he would gladly welcome the suggestions for methods and procedures that would represent the practical development of his principles.

We return therefore to the proposition that, if the promotion of the Georgeist movement is not in doubt once the experiment gets under way, then the best plan to adopt now is that which has the greatest probability of arousing a popular interest favorable toward making the experiment. It is inconceivable that anything less than a general demand for the Georgeist experiment could lead to its peaceful adoption, for this experiment raises many fundamental questions

of social adjustment that privileged groups and ignorant people generally have rarely permitted to be made peacefully. Let it be understood that Georgeists do not desire a revolution by violence, but that they do contemplate as a great necessity a revolution by laws representing the popular will in operation, and that they do not shrink from such a verdict made by a populace informed on the objectives and principles of the Henry George Movement.

—Let us now analyze what could produce such a general demand. But first, what is a general demand of the people? It is generally, I think, an expression of preference between two uncompromising different opinions on a subject which contains contradictions to such an extent as to cause a condition of general confusion and threatening anarchy. It usually takes the mode of expression that is offered to register the election. And it is not only in political conventions that elections are made. Public-spirited citizens are never discouraged from writing letters to newspapers or to politicians, or of expressing their opinions to friends and to whomsoever they find willing to listen. If the issue involves fundamental concepts, the activities of these public-minded people may suddenly be rewarded; an important center of authority, a man or an organization held in high respect throughout the country, may discover vehicular potentialities in that issue more than in any other available at the time. The people thus made acquainted with the issue then measure its good and bad features, and eventually make their decisions understood in the matter. If the issue goes so deep as to cause divisions in towns and villages as well as in states and great cities, then the test may not occur on that issue directly for a long time until other issues involving the loyalties of the particular locality against another set of loyalties elsewhere become settled.

Now, it is clear to me that the issue presented by the Georgeist theory goes deep, very deep indeed. And those men or organizations who seek an issue of the best vehicular potentialities for their purposes, are, like most of us, imbued with the desire of achieving their ends in a not too distant future.

Of course, no reasonable person might expect any easy job for such a problem. After all, for several generations now, many sincere and capable men and women have come or been born into the Georgeist movement, and their utmost has been only to hand the torch of light to us.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR ADVANCING GEORGEISM

As we have said before, Georgeists are not defeatists. They are alert and even anxious. They feel that our present civilization is greater than any past one, for they appreciate the concept that translates material civilization into specialization of labor, and converts provincialism into urbanity, at a speed that the modern tempo of communicating information requires. They feel that progress cannot be halted

permanently by war; but that it is threatened only when substantial parts of the population have their wages reduced to the subsistence level, for at such times there is but little desire for discoveries and inventions to replace labor power. They feel that their program alone is a consistent plan for maintaining progress. But they are at a complete loss for a plan that could bring the light of Georgeism to the people in our life-time.

I think that such a plan might be evolved after a little more study of the situation.

Firstly, we must be willing to cooperate with other movements that contemplate only partial objectives which are comparable with Georgeism. I think that such cooperation should be extended to trade unions that are free of racketeering influences and that are free of practices which obstruct production. I conceive that we could easily cooperate with trade associations that are free of monopolistic influences and that are combating propaganda adverse to the profit system of a free economy. I imagine that it would be relatively easy for us to cooperate with consumers' cooperative organizations that are free of socialistic influences. I cannot attempt to limit here the types of organizations with which we might easily cooperate, but in general I should be ready to advocate cooperation for all types of organization which aim at increasing production and the returns to capital and labor made possible from such increases of production.

Secondly, we must search out the practices that operate to the economic detriment of the people as a whole, and display them in their strong and weak points, so that the problem they represent may be seen in its entirety.

Thirdly, we must construct a position of authority for Georgeism in public relations. To construct such a position soundly, we should conscientiously study each selected problem on its merits, and not on its significance to some obscure point of Georgeist principle. To maintain such a position soundly, we would avoid involvement with exaggerated claims of fanatics, be they Georgeists or not.

The combination of these three methods may not comprise a complete plan, but they would, I think, bring many beams of light to a great many people. With the backing of present Georgeists, it might conceivably be attempted. And it is even conceivable that they could enjoy the reward of their efforts in their own lifetime, for it lies well within the limits of probability of success. Light to the people is never lost.

"IF a man is not a socialist by the time he is twenty, there is something the matter with his heart. If he is still a socialist by thirty, there is something the matter with his head."—Heard at the Henry George Congress.

The Keystone of Our Efforts

By DAVID C. HYDER

WE who embrace the philosophy of Henry George believe that it is conducive to the highest ends of humanity. We believe in the purposiveness of the Universe, and feel that all things in it, as phenomena, are united and brought into harmonious relationship, through Natural Law. In this belief is the basis of our Hope for the success of our efforts.

We carefully study the economics and the philosophy of Henry George, and prepare ourselves to deliver the great message to others. Behind and within our teaching efforts is the element of Hope. There is absolutely no objective criterion for the determination of our future success or failure. Some, looking ahead, will see a gloomy abyss; others, roseate triumph. Neither of them can know.

Minute by minute, economic, political and emotional tension is growing all over the world. While the blind, raging, impulses of man are reducing nations to ruins how many are there who see nothing but futility in the efforts of those who are striving to bring a brighter, freer, more ideal world into existence?

In the face of the terrible world events of today, to what can we turn as our guiding star? *Hope*.

There is in mankind an irresistible belief that Happiness is the attainable purpose of life. Without this belief, and the Hope of achieving it, mankind would have vanished from the face of the earth long ago. This Hope, then, is the keystone of our efforts.

The People

By TOMMASO CAMPANELLA

(1568-1639)

Translated by John Addington Symonds

THE people is a beast of muddy brain
That knows not its own strength, and therefore stands
Loaded with wood and stone; the powerless hands
Of a mere child guide it with bit and rein;
One kick would be enough to break the chain,
But the beast fears, and what the child demands
It does; nor its own terror understands,
Confused and stupefied by bugbears vain.
Most wonderful! With its own hand it ties
And gags itself—gives itself death and war
For pence doled out by kings from its own store.
Its own are all things between earth and heaven;
But this it knows not; and if one arise
To tell this truth, it kills him unforgiven.

The Greatest of These Is Justice

By JOHN HANNA

THE Georgeist movement was distinguished in its early years by the Crusade of the Anti-Poverty Societies under the leadership of Henry George and Father McGlynn. The emphasis was placed on the demands for Justice in the affairs of men. The establishment of Justice would, it was claimed, abolish involuntary poverty and would obtain for all men equal opportunity to work and to achieve. This Crusade kindled a flame in the hearts of many—a flame which may be less brilliant now, but is still steady and strong. However much men may differ in their opinions and methods in advancing the reform, its supporters are impelled by the same noble motive.

There has developed considerable divergence of opinion about the proper method of advancing the movement, as well as much hair-splitting discussion regarding the Law of Rent and the Nature of Interest. Such discussions may be of some value and may afford some intellectual play, but are to be regretted when they absorb energy which might be devoted to the advancement of the primary purpose. The danger is that the whole movement may be divided and its vigor lost in factional adherence to non-essentials, in the same way that the Christian Church has been split and its effectiveness impaired by its division into sects; some emphasizing one interpretation, some another, apparently forgetting, in their doctrinal zeal, that the real purpose of religion is to bring men to "deal justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with their God" that they "may have Life and have it more abundantly." Such divergences are an example of the human tendency to let doctrine overshadow principle. A divided force is a weaker force—which must give comfort to those who are interested in keeping things as they are.

If there is any basis for universal appeal in the effort to abolish the present system of taxation, it is in the direction of establishing Justice in the relations of man to man, and man to society. Most of us will agree that when this is accomplished many of the evils from which humanity is suffering will disappear or be materially lessened and many of the vexing questions in which so many confused and broken threads have been woven will unravel themselves.

Our critics are fond of asking, Pilate-like, "What is Justice?" Without attempting any academic definition, let us abolish the very flagrant *injustice* in the present system of taxation, and Justice will show herself and men will know her as they know the air they breathe without knowing anything about its component parts of oxygen and nitrogen.

We *know* that industry, enterprise and labor are taxed and hampered by the present system. We *know* that

ownership of land confers the privilege of collecting rent for the use of land. We *know* that the presence of population and the services that are consequently supplied by the population are the factors which create the land value or ground rent—whichever term you may prefer. These are facts which to state provoke the question:— Would it not be in the interest of Justice to take this ground rent to pay for the services which the population renders; thus having the community collect its own earnings and leave to capital and labor their own earnings?

Thus it will be seen that Justice is the very core of the whole matter, the supremely vital nerve center from which radiate impulses for good or evil, as Justice is accorded or denied. Sometimes one wishes that we could recapture the fervor of the Anti-Poverty Crusade which was, in great degree, directed not only against poverty in material things but the greater poverty of mind and spirit which is the natural offspring of injustice everywhere; blighting and distorting human life. The appeal was for the abolition of poverty, not by any man-made scheme of pension or welfare relief with all their attendant evils of indolence and loss of self-respect and bureaucratic regulation, but by recognizing man's fundamental natural rights on a basis of Justice to all.

Let us unite in the attack on the injustice of the present system, each in his own way! If we cannot have uniformity of method we can maintain the force which comes of unity. Even some who do not go all the way with us are still doing valuable work in exposing the errors of the present system. To approach the subject by way of Science is good. To approach from the standpoint of Business is good. To approach by way of Ethics is good; so long as the fundamental error is shown and the Justice of the proposed remedy proclaimed. One may search the pages of history and find no great reform accomplished by philosophical or scientific argument, but when mankind has been moved by the plea for justice an irresistible motive force is set into action. Science and Philosophy serve as governor and fly-wheel for emotional force but they do not drive. Many who are left cold by the intricacies of fiscal or scientific argument will warm up to the demands of Justice.

The advocate of Justice may have high regard for scientific deduction and for empirical knowledge, but if he finds primarily that a proposal is just, that its denial results in distortion of the social fabric, in an aristocracy of wealth, in blighted and stunted lives he is content to make his decision on the basis of Justice leaving the subtleties of economic speculation to those who enjoy them; to say with Emerson "Whoever fights, whoever falls, Justice conquers evermore."

To paraphrase St. Paul: *And now abideth Science, Pragmatism, Justice but the greatest of these is Justice.*

Organization of Georgeists Pro and Con

PRO

By GILBERT M. TUCKER

TODAY we have hosts of groups and organizations working to advance our philosophy but we have no broad and comprehensive organization of Georgeists to unite our efforts. The need is imperative; independent groups are doing excellent work in specific fields but, without united support, they are at a great disadvantage and the growth of the movement is seriously retarded, and one can name hardly another comparable endeavor which lacks organized unity. Our present-day organizations fall into two categories; they are purely local or they confine their operations—and wisely—to specific fields. In the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, we have an admirable publishing agency, and in the Henry George School of Social Science, we have the nucleus of systematic education, but we need a bigger and broader program. We must have a national, or better a continental organization, for our brethren in other American countries who are doing such excellent work should not be excluded.

The major features and objectives of such a body might well be as follows:

1. The preparation of a list, and as large a membership enrollment as is possible, of those already committed to our creed or to be won in the future. This is the first requisite if we are to know our strength and where it lies, and unite for a common purpose.

2. To avoid the criticism so often levelled against some of our existing organizations—that they are too closely knit and arbitrary and give rise to factions—it should be essentially democratic in form. Since true democracy is best achieved through representative action and “home rule,” a national organization may well be decentralized, encouraging in every way the formation of local groups, to be represented in the governing board, although active executive management may well be left to a smaller group.

3. To make it broad and catholic, its declaration of principles should be general rather than specific. Qualifications for membership should be so liberal that no true Georgeist will be excluded.

4. It should aim at cooperation with and support of existing organizations, furthering the sale and circulation of literature, the extension of formal education, study and research, and all that goes with “publicity,” both for the movement as a whole and for specific approved programs. A public relations counsel, publicity man, advertising expert—call him what you will—might be employed, when possible, to put our philosophy in a more favorable light with the public and to overcome prejudices based on false conceptions or built up by our own mistakes. This might be the means of

opening to us more generously the pages of the press.

5. An important objective would be to secure more adequate financing of our work in all its aspects—something comparable to the community chests of our cities. Acting as a general soliciting, receiving and disbursing agency, such an organization, on sound lines, would prove a bulwark of strength. This is an urgent need today, for very considerable funds are often lost because there is no strong and stable institution to which funds can be given or devised for the movement as a whole.

6. The great and ultimate aim would, of course, be the extension of our philosophy, bringing in new blood, keeping alive enthusiasm, and directing it into wise channels, and building for the final realization of our hopes. Every Georgeist knows full well the limitless, potential appeal of our creed, in its bearings on practically all the pressing problems of today. We have the answers to unemployment of both men and capital, to the labor question, to housing, and even to the international problems of war and peace. But how do we go about enlisting the aid of the great numbers eagerly seeking a solution to a problem in which their interest is intense and to which they give freely of both time and money? They ask for bread and we give them a stone; they seek definite and specific remedies for evils of which they are bitterly conscious, and are given literature—inconclusive pamphlets or a formidable book—and there it rests. Or they are told to study economics in the class-room. If they do sit at our feet to learn wisdom, or if they give desultory reading to our books, and begin to get a glimmer of light, we offer no program, except perhaps that they aid in putting others through the same mill.

This is no impatient plea for political action, or for ill-judged and half-considered political campaigns prematurely undertaken. But we must shape our policies and have a plan for the future, however long we may wait for its realization. Education is our first need but we must interpret that word in a sense broader than only class-room study, and there must be a vision of the road to which it leads, with a constructive program. Present activities must continue unabated and we would not suggest that those now giving themselves so generously to valuable undertakings, in which they have faith and for which they are fitted, should scatter their ammunition. Let each one do that task which appeals most strongly to him, and for which he is best qualified, but opportunities are legion and many who have “seen the cat” are unable, for one reason or for many, to contribute much to these operations. It is these who must be enrolled, whose enthusiasm must be quickened and whose zeal must be fired, by opening new avenues of service to the cause of truth and justice.

Until we have such an organization, on broad and liberal grounds, we work under a heavy handicap. Only by united, concerted effort can we begin to make real and substantial

progress and only through strong cooperation can the foundation be laid and preparations made for the day that must come.

CON

By FRANK CHODOROV

A discussion on the value of organization as an instrument to advance Henry George's philosophy will be made clear if we define the term organization.

This word, like so many other words, is used in a variety of ways. When we speak of the organization of a business we refer to the departmentalization of the work. For greater productivity the various parts of the one enterprise are assigned to various specialists, each one of whom makes a contribution to the general objective.

But in the field of political or social activity organization has an entirely different meaning. Its central idea is that of grouping together a number of people who have a common interest, for one of two purposes: 1, To enjoy one another's company because of this common interest, or 2, to impose on others their common interest by the strength of their numbers.

There may be some division of labor in a social club or in a political society. These organizations do have officers and committees. But since such specialization is necessarily limited, the vast majority of the members have very little more to do with the group's activities than the paying of dues and the attending of meetings.

Social groups have a tendency to become self-centered. When we have met with a number of people of common interest for a long time the pleasure of such meetings tends to create resistance toward including people with whom we are not acquainted, even if they happen to have the same central interest, and even though we think we want new members. We are not sure that the newcomer will adjust himself to the new environment. The "mutual admiration" atmosphere might be disturbed.

The political organization has for its purpose the election of an individual to public office, or the adoption of some political measure. In so far as it shows signs of succeeding in its purpose it will gain adherents who hope for some advantage as a result of this association. If it does not show signs of success it will not gain adherents, because the political minded person is not anxious to be connected with a failure. The idea which drew together the original organizers of the political society does not spread because the members are not primarily concerned with spreading the idea; they are, rather, interested in imposing the idea through political action. The teaching of a philosophy to others always becomes a secondary consideration with every organization, no matter what its original purpose may be.

The history of the Henry George movement since 1897 is

the history of one organizational attempt after another. Those of us who have been in the movement any number of years remember how few Georgeists there were. When we went to a Single Tax meeting we met the same faces, we listened to the same speeches.

We were not growing. And the reason we were not growing is that we were not making new Georgeists. There may be some other explanation of this decadence, but we cannot escape the fact that fifty years of organization and political work had not prevented it.

Those of us who have devoted years to soap-boxing, lecturing, campaigning, contributing to this or that effort which at the time seemed quite worthy, must now decide whether our remaining years should be spent in the same kind of unproductive work; or whether they should be devoted to the only kind of work which apparently has produced results commensurate with the effort, namely, education.

It is eight years since Oscar Geiger started the Henry George School of Social Science. In those eight years there have probably been more new Georgeists added to the cause than during all of the previous years since Henry George died. A recent commencement exercise in New York City was attended by over 500 people. Several weeks ago Chicago assembled 300 people. And so it goes all over the country, wherever there are classes. Some 20,000 people have taken the course either in these classes or by mail.

All this has been done without organization, save in the sense that organization is the division of labor. In that sense the School is an organization. There is work for everyone to do. Some teach, some address envelopes, some lecture, some do research work, some write articles, some bombard editors with letters. But the objective of the School is to make more and more Georgeists, not to consolidate in social or political groups those who have already subscribed to the philosophy.

The Trustees of the Henry George School of Social Science recognize the danger of crystallization which results from organization and have therefore established it as the policy of the School not to encourage such activity among its graduates, although recognizing the fact that these graduates are at liberty to carry on as they see fit. Obviously an educational institution must be devoid of any political effort, even by implication.

When or how the fiscal reform advocated by Henry George will be put into effect is something none of us can definitely answer now. But it is a certainty that the reform will never come about until it has many more proponents. Therefore, we must recognize the essential importance of spreading our philosophy far and wide through the most effective means at hand. Fifty years of organization have not had this effect. The educational method initiated by Oscar Geiger is accomplishing it.

A Word To The Wise

By ELIZABETH MAGIE PHILLIPS

WHAT is the value of our philosophy if we do not do our utmost to apply it? To simply know a thing is not enough. To merely speak or write of it occasionally among ourselves is not enough. We must do something about it on a large scale if we are to make headway. These are critical times, and drastic action is needed.

To make any worthwhile impression on the multitude, we must go in droves into the sacred precincts of the men we are after. We must not only *tell* them, but *show* them just how and why and where our claims can be proven in some actual situation.

It is true that commendable attempts are being made now on the part of Georgeists to reach "the people". Perhaps letters to the papers are effective, if followed up systematically. Petitions to busy people in high public places, or in large private organizations, are gracefully acknowledged—sometimes—and that is usually the end of it.

But more decisive action is needed. We must pick our men and our business institutions, and those in high public places, and hammer at them constantly and systematically. If possible, we should even challenge them to open debate. We must show them in every way how the adoption of the public collection of land rent will benefit not only their business, but the whole community.

It would require those of us who are thoroughly grounded in the Georgeist philosophy and its application, to undertake such a task. Unfortunately, there are some among us who attempt it without an adequate knowledge of all the problems involved, who do not know when to speak and when not to speak. This can be corrected if we will train ourselves for the task.

My suggestion is that a Committee on Arrangements be formed; and that this Committee be on the lookout for quarry. Opportunities are teeming all around us. There is the radio, for instance, with its political speakers, with Forums and Round Table Talks (which hit everything but the Bull's Eye). There are periodicals, such as the *Readers' Digest*. There are lecturers, legislative bodies, authors of social commentary best sellers. Some influential writer, speaker, columnist or public figure should be selected—and the Committee get to work on him. Systematically, one letter after another week after week, should be sent by members of the Committee. In our letters, we might ask our correspondent some direct question in such a way that will be likely to get a response of some kind. We will learn by experience what to say and what not to say.

I am sure that actual, personal and continued contact with influential public figures would be effective. Such a course is bound to bag some prizes in time.

Addendum

By WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB

I heartily agree with the view expressed by Mrs. Phillips. Any one who has gone through the copious files of Mrs. Phillips' bibliography on Georgeist action, as I have, would realize that she speaks with a ripe knowledge of the efforts that have been expended within the last fifty years of Georgeist activity. I should like to add a few words, expanding on her suggestion.

At the Henry George School in 1936, the Henry George Fellowship had an active letter-writing Committee under the direction of Edward Bell. It was the time of the Ralston campaign in California, and this Committee relentlessly bombarded editors and prominent men with letters. Among the victims was Raymond Moley, who in his magazine, *Today*, referred to the Georgeist reform as "crackpotism." The Committee refused to let Mr. Moley rest, and after inadequate excuses on the part of Mr. Moley—which refused to pacify the Committee—his secretary finally had to inform the Committee that Mr. Moley had gone to Florida for a vacation.

The workers in this Committee, with rapier thrusts that only a solid grounding in Fundamental Economics provides, demolished the fallacies of editors and columnists to such an extent as to demoralize their swivel-chair pronouncements. If a small, determined group could make their influence felt, it can be done much more effectively on a larger scale. Let our strength be unified in its direction and persistent in its efforts. Let us not only upset the serene placidity of the editorial sanctum; let us select prominent writers whose pronouncements are authoritative with great numbers of people. There are many whose thought comes close to Georgeist thought, and they should be won over to committing themselves more specifically. There are, for instance, Hendrik Willem Van Loon, Walter Lippmann, Dorothy Thompson, Kathleen and Frank Norris, Johannes Steel, and many others.

Who shall it be first? All right, let us select Van Loon. For the month of November let 5000 letters be sent to him, requesting that he write an honest appraisal of the world in the light of the Georgeist philosophy. For the month of December, we might follow the same procedure in urging Walter Lippmann to give generously of the space in his newspaper column to an evaluation of current events according to Georgeism. And so on—each month we would select a prominent personage, and "let 'er go." Sit down now and write that first letter. Mr. Van Loon's address is Red Book Magazine, 230 Park Avenue, New York.

Such a Committee should certainly be organized. It would go a long way in making the Georgeist influence felt by the public.

The Price of Freedom

By SANFORD J. BENJAMIN

THERE is a dangerous growth of false optimism among Georgeists at present which bodes ill for the success of the movement. I refer specifically to those Georgeists who visualize a free society in the space of five or ten years, and who speak glibly about the time when the people, tired of governmental control or interference in their lives, will turn away from Stateism and build a real *laissez-faire* community. To achieve this end, these idealists would educate enough of the population until they will be strong enough to force the politicians to push through the necessary reforms. The emphasis, it should be noted, is placed on the peaceful solution of our problems—the ballot—a worthy means to gain happiness but in my opinion a naive appraisal of the chances of success, as well as an incorrect interpretation of the meaning of Georgeism. I base this contention on three reasons.

First, no special privilege is as time-honored by rich and poor alike as land ownership. In fact the privilege of owning land is considered a successful goal. One does not have to be a Georgeist in order to predict that land owners would fight land reform. The Spanish civil war was essentially an uprising of landlords when the government attempted to break up their estates; and far from acknowledging the right of the people to cultivate the land, the so-called democratic nations backed the insurrectionists. It should not be overlooked that, in order to hold on to their privileges, the land owners called in foreign soldiers—a lesson Georgeists should ponder when they think of achieving their reform in any one country.

It is not unlikely that the British government would have sent an expeditionary force to Mexico over the oil land issue had it not been for the growing menace in Europe and the disfavor it would have held in the American mind. As it was, economic pressure forced a partial settlement—compensation—thereby completely nullifying the issue of justice in common property in land. But first an attempted rebellion was created in the northern section of Mexico, which failed only because the Mexican people would not support it; yet it might have succeeded if foreign soldiers had been landed.

The concern in England over the Russo-Finnish war was directed more toward the nickel mines than freedom for the Finns. The present war itself is fundamentally a conflict for mines and oil wells, although the well-organized press has befuddled the populace into supposing that it is a war of ideologies rather than one of economic issues. Therefore, if armed conflict over the possession of land arises among non-Georgeists, how can we expect that Georgeists, after their ideas have spread to engulf the majority of men in this country, will not have to take up arms to free the land? In

fact, we may not even reach the stage of enlightening mankind to a degree of actual physical threat to the landlords. The chances are that we would be outlawed, as other groups against the propertied class are outlawed in Europe.

The second reason why the peaceful method of education alone will not suffice, is the fact that education is a slow and tedious process and more than likely to be resented by the vast majority of the people. This sounds like an unwarranted assumption, but it is not; for education, based on principles of logic, aims to break down certain cherished and fixed traditions which are the foundations of man's unstable position. Yet the very traditions we are endeavoring to break down are entrenching themselves in the minds of the people. Look around. What are people saying? Are they not crying for security—security guaranteed by the State? Are they not asking for the antithesis of George's concept of a free society? Are not the present wailings of the population the product of the tradition that only the State has the power to house, feed and clothe mankind? An empty stomach has no time for education. It is time we Georgeists awoke to the meaning of the times and frankly admitted that the trend toward complete Stateism is too far advanced at present to be checked by the advocacy of the single tax. What Georgeists overlook here is the fact that understanding the free society and achieving it are two distinct steps, not one; nor is it possible to achieve the single tax without understanding it first. If this were not so then Georgeists would be able to organize a political party now, and ballyhoo it to success.

We take pride in being able to point out the fallacies of Marxism but we neglect to give his followers credit for being realists. It is not a coincidence that Marxists head most labor unions. Georges Sorel, the syndicalist, advocated complete domination of trade unions by militant individuals who would be ready to call a general strike and paralyze industry. Marxists adhere to this principle, and I have no doubt that they will use it when the nation is in a chaotic state—as was Russia after the war. The ballot is to the Marxist only a means of solidifying his position during peace time. He knows that the transfer to actual power, however, can only be accomplished through force—at the proper time. It is in this respect that Georgeists fail when they speak about the peaceful solution of the world's evil through the ballot, the very process they—ironically enough—condemn when they say “you can't legislate prosperity.”

The third reason why education alone will be ineffective in achieving the free society, is the very nature of the reform. George advocated a revolutionary change which can only come about during a revolutionary period. Great reforms throughout history have come about only after great struggles and periods of unrest. The conditions of a privileged economy do not permit peaceful reform. And, when there is “peace”, reforms are not demanded vociferously.

Certainly the single tax could never take hold during periods like the 1920's, when unrest is not vocal. Man's struggles for freedom spring mainly from economic causes; hence we cannot acknowledge the efficacy of the ballot for much else than pacifying the populace with palliatives.

If proof is required to amplify this contention we need only point to the classic example of appeasement, a policy essentially synonymous with the palliative method, which was to prevent the present war. Now actually there is no difference in nations fighting for the possession of monopolistic privileges, and groups inside a nation contesting for local privileges. The English, desiring to cling to their world monopoly of mines, markets and oil wells—obtained through the self-same methods Hitler is employing—realized that only by maintaining peace could they hold on to their possessions, since the disillusionment which settles in after the war is the greatest changer of traditions and the most potent force to let loose the forces of dissatisfaction. That they have finally resorted to war proves only that economic questions cannot be solved by bargaining, as in legislative forums, since bargaining is essentially the way of the compromiser—and Georgeists know no compromise.

However, if we are in the midst of a revolutionary change, it is the streamlined version of the absolute State. For obvious reasons, I do not relish the thought of being enslaved under the approaching collectivist society; but it must be understood that, whereas the founding fathers escaped to America to safeguard their freedom (what a chance they had to establish the single tax!), we have no free land on which to go. Indeed, we may rightly say that the free American land, acting as a haven for the more vociferous dissidents of the Old World, lessened the tension again past absolute rulers and thus preserved their battered systems for the reckoning they now face—hence the trend to alter the system of government in all the major powers of the world within a comparatively short time.

The fate of Georgeism under a rigid collectivist state—whether Left or Right—will not necessarily be one of complete doom. The Henry George School may be closed, "Progress and Poverty" may be burned as contradicting the ideas of the master of the land. But the one thing that no government can destroy is the unyielding will on the part of some of the people to question the existing State, if only in whispers and if only in their minds. This, together with the fallacy inherent in Stateism, must in time overthrow even the most absolute of dictatorial systems. To understand this recurring fight for freedom throughout history is to comprehend where our real strength lies; for only when, with each succeeding swing toward freedom, certain traditions are left behind, do we approach the free society.

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Trade in The Hitlerian Empire

By PAVLOS GIANNELIA

"INTERNATIONAL Commerce cannot prosper if its current is held up by barriers of excessive tariffs."

So stated the memorandum Mr. Sumner Welles handed to Mr. Reynaud, during his visit to Europe this past Spring. Our esteemed British contemporary, *Land and Liberty*, thereupon wrote: "Neither France nor Great Britain, even between themselves, has shown the least intention meanwhile of reducing the tariffs and the trade obstruction."

Not only has this been the case, but much worse; neither the British nor the French Empires have applied the free trade principle among their own territories! Besides the internal customs duties (*octrois*), Greater France had tariff restrictions between European France and all parts of the French Empire.

Great Britain still has tariffs between England and the Dominions, between England and the Crown Colonies, and between all parts of the Empire.

What is the status of trade in the new Hitlerian Empire? German economists have consulted past German policies. In German history, the customs union of the Northern German States (*Deutscher Zollverein*) was the forerunner of the political union of the German Empire. The Third Reich has remained trustworthy to the customs union principle, and has made a certain application of it in the new Hitlerian Empire. Tariffs have indeed been introduced in the newly conquered territories, but they are employed in the opposite of the usual sense of "protection." Immediately after the conquest of every territory, a free flow of trade was allowed for goods imported from the new territories into the Altreich; and "protective" tariffs were maintained in the opposite direction—that is, tariffs were imposed on goods going from the Altreich into every other part of the Hitlerian Empire.

This policy shows that the German economists, notwithstanding their opposition to free trade, realize that tariffs are more efficacious in handicapping the importing rather than the exporting country.

This "protection" was imposed immediately upon the conquest or annexation of Austria, Sudetenland, Bohemia-Moravia, Poland, probably Denmark and Norway, and probably also France. It was expected to be maintained for about a period of one year after every annexation, but will probably be continued as long as it is advantageous to the Reich.

A mutual benefit, and a strengthening of position, would have resulted from a complete free trade between France and Great Britain. It is to be hoped that Britain will yet learn the lesson. If she persists in maintaining the pernicious "protective" system, she will sooner or later learn that tariffs are not protection, but economic suicide.

County Versus Country

By DOUGLAS J. J. OWEN

THE English Counties are said by Winston Churchill, writing before he became Premier, to be the "fosterers and guardians of that tradition" by which England ruled. True it is, that the "County" influence in the social life of provincial England is paramount. It is the big county estates, with their residences of the peerage lords, barons, baronets, knights—that form the basis of the English social structure. The Hall, castle or mansion, surrounded by its park, invariably uncultivated, is surrounded in turn by a wider circle of tenant farmers—of whom there are 300,000 or more in all—regularly paying their rents to the great hall. Such a county seat may have 20, 30 or more such tenants, and these in their turn employ their agricultural laborers, numbering 700,000 or more at a war-time minimum wage of 48 shillings per week. Notwithstanding the Marxian presentation of the industrial machine aspects of modern life, it is the largest "industry" of all—the extraction of rent by the county families from the most numerous of all classes of workers that dominates English politics, even in the present time of war. Our "capitalists," the partners and directors of our great manufacturing concerns, fulfill their ambitions when they can buy a place in the country, become amateur farmers, and be introduced into those county circles where political influence is most potent. Sheriffs, county councilors and county magnates exercise this influence as they give their patronage to the Church, to the arts, to education. The county hunt, and the county ball have not been interrupted by the war, though the county families find an additional social activity in various auxiliary adjuncts to their military efforts, whilst their young men furnish the ranks with officers.

Attention is being diverted from the landed interest and its influence on the nation's destiny by a concerted attack on high wages. There is a shortage of agricultural workers at present now, not to be wondered at when their wages are compared with those of workers in munition and allied industries. War wages are so high as to give concern to those who have to solve the country's war finance problems, and letters are written to *The Times* urging some method of controlling wages. Engineers' wages are indeed nominally high, but they can hardly be said to be unduly high as regards spending value in view of rising costs of living. None the less, there is this persistent demand for a check on wages. Once again, it is said to be the workers' voracious appetite for high wages that is spelling ruin, by undermining the export trade, raising war costs, and causing inflation. And rent is not mentioned at all.

Beyond supplying the personnel for the higher ranks in

the civil and other services, what does the "county" do for the country? Let us see. There have been three War Budgets so far; in September 1939, and April and July of this year. Last September an additional £107 millions had to be raised by taxation and £895 millions by borrowing. The same month a telegram was sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on behalf of 50 Members of Parliament, drawing attention to the Land Values fund in these words:

Five hundred million pounds just waiting to be collected from values all communally created and which should go to the community, not to landowners. The effect will be that land will be forced into the best use, compared with the present position—Ipswich as an example, where 50 per cent of rateable area is idle and unrated, though of immense value. Alternatively, urge permission be granted to local authorities to levy rates on site value.

No notice was taken of this by the Government—quite naturally perhaps, in a Parliament in which the ruling force is the landed class. In vain Mr. R. R. Stokes, M. P., the author of the telegram, pointed out that the Air Ministry had paid £2,000,000 for 40,000 acres, or £50 per acre for land which as agricultural land was considered valueless for rating and taxing purposes.

In April 1940, a further £1,234 millions was to be raised by taxation, and £1,400 millions by borrowing, or inflation, as it is called by Col. Josiah Wedgwood, who warned the House of Commons that in every country in the world where inflation had taken place, as currency depreciates the saleable value of land rises. Again, no step towards land value taxation was even contemplated.

In July 1940, provision was made for further taxation to the amount of £239 millions, and still the land value fund remained the only subject of taxation left untaxed, notwithstanding that the danger of inflation was far from being staved off. Amendments to the Budget advocating land value taxation are not even given time for discussion. High spending power is still considered the source of weakness, and the attack on wages proceeds.

It is obvious that labor in the munition factories has become so vitally necessary, and the conscripting of 4,000,000 men for the forces has so intensified the value of labor, that wages are rising by economic law and may some day even reach the level where they represent the full value of the workers' contribution to production. Undoubtedly the nation's wage bill, though still below the just wage level, is a serious item in Great Britain's financial problem.

But Parliament has not been allowed to ignore entirely the rising cost of that other necessary factor in peace-time and war-time production—the land. With great persistence a number of members have drawn attention to the exorbitant prices demanded for land required for national defence purposes. As far back as 1935 the prices paid for

aerodrome sites constituted a scandal. In February 1936, a Conservative Member asked the Minister for Air "whether he is aware of the grave menace to British aviation by speculators of a certain type who are hindering and obstructing plans for airport construction by buying up useless adjoining land when airport plans become known, and demanding exorbitant prices?"

In 1936, land at Ringway, Manchester, for example, belonging to a county family, was offered at £24,000 for 128 acres; and another estate near by, of 203 acres, which had been bought in 1930 for £8,000 was offered to the Manchester Corporation for an aerodrome, and £92,000 demanded as the price. This process has continued up to and during the war period. The pages of *Land and Liberty*, the organ of our International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, regularly supply copious instances of the British land ramp. The July number carries quotations from the Fifth Report of the Select Committee on Public Expenditure exposing the waste of public money on the high cost of land for aerodromes and other public works.

In the various Budget debates these matters have been ventilated, one Member referring to the fact that as a result of the Government going into the country districts looking for sites for camps for evacuated children, the value of land had increased in those parts. When land in the city of Leicester was required for an Air Raid Shelter for infant pupils, £338 had to be paid for 427 square yards, which is at the rate of £3,831 per acre. Thus the nation's extremity is the county and city landowners' opportunity. Men like Mr. A. V. Alexander, M. P., when in opposition, have denounced these conditions and demanded land value taxation, but the Cabinet of which he is now a member turns a blind eye to the whole matter.

There are many aspects of county agricultural life that might be dwelt on:—the huge amounts taken for many years in agricultural subsidies; the large areas of rich land remaining undeveloped or underdeveloped, at a time when food production from our own land is so terribly urgent. But the outstanding fact that passes all understanding in a time of unprecedented peril for the country, is the continued immunity of land from a fair measure of taxation upon its value. All the talk about Fifth Column activities and other newspaper topics, even discussions concerning the rival blockades at sea, serve as a smoke-screen obscuring the silent, hidden blockade of the countryside instituted by the county interest against the interest of the country as a whole, a blockade that not even this emergency is permitted to modify.

It was this same county influence through its nominees in Parliament that secured the overthrow of the Labor government in 1931, and with it the repeal of the Land

Value Tax, with the consequence that the Chamberlain high tariff system was substituted in its place. Whilst these customs duties still further embittered European relationship and precipitated the rise of Hitlerism, they at the same time constituted a self-imposed blockade against ourselves which for nearly ten years has borne as heavily on the people of this country as the air and naval blockade now attempted by our German enemies.

We have submitted to the county interests for generations, but that they should prevail through ten months of desperate war and through three War Budgets is easy proof that the power of land monopoly is only equalled by its lack of patriotism. What a change there would be in the scene if Churchill, the scion of one of the greatest county families, became again the radical Churchill, brilliant advocate of the Taxation of Land Values!

The Unemployed

By HENRY A. COIT

MIDNIGHT dwells within the heart of those whose leaden feet
 Drag wearily from dawn 'till dark along an endless street—
 The heart from which all hope has fled and left despair complete.
 Pallor sits upon the cheek and dullness haunts the eye,
 The shoulders stoop, the muscles droop of those sad men who try
 To find some work for idle hands lest something in them die.
 'Tis sad to see a willing man who hungers for the soil
 Wear out his life on city streets in search of honest toil
 While, serpent like, both want and crime around about him coil.
 'Tis sad to see a man whose gaze is always downward cast—
 Who never looks at Heaven's sun—whose countenance seems masked
 A man who has no forward look—whose dreams are in the past.
 'Tis sad to see a beaten man whose hair is turning grey—
 Who seeks for honest work to do, and asks but honest pay—
 Whose brain and brawn are in their prime, and yet is turned away.
 'Tis sad to see that such a man must seek and ask in vain—
 To know those willing, eager hands may never work again.
 In such a man Ambition dies while Hope's already slain.
 'Tis sad to see such men as these dependent on a dole.
 Cold charity exacts from such a devastating toll,
 And while the heart lies dead in each, there's terror in each soul.
 Eleven million idle men and acres yet untilled;
 And thirty million underfed with hearts and bodies chilled;
 Is this the great Democracy for which our blood was spilled?
 With idle men on waiting lands—their feet upon the sod;
 With useful tools in willing hands to serve as staff and rod—
 Their heavy hearts would fill with song, and faces lift to God.

WE must learn to distinguish between natural and unnatural conditions, between health and disease. We must learn to seek causes and not take the apparent for the real. Our social evils are due to violations of natural law; they are as pathological as the acts of a mind deranged and as unreliable in determining conditions.—OSCAR H. GEIGER.

Freedom Versus Monopoly

By BENJAMIN C. MARSH

Executive Secretary, People's Lobby, Washington, D. C.

A TIME of stress always brings the failures of an economic system to the fore. A decade ago America entered such a period of stress—the culmination of three-quarters of a century of looting and special privilege.

During the past decade America has been treated to the interesting, but withal disgusting, spectacle of so-called intelligent governments beating the tom-toms, and of brain-trust indulging in economic hair-pulling, to revive prosperity without ending the conditions which make prosperity for all the people impossible. It should have been an education.

Hitler has been accused of creating world chaos. He is an absolute dictator, but not powerful enough to do that. He capitalized on the world chaos due to the dictatorship of special privileges and monopolies. He seized the opportunity presented by the general corruption due to this monopoly control.

Pre-Hitler Germany put through a land increment tax, and controlled the use of land, particularly through her city planning, as no other nation had done. But she failed to face the necessity for ending land monopoly and other monopolies. And then post-Versailles rancor and rivalry with Britain's imperialism, enabled Hitler's genius to harness the tremendous mechanical and administrative capacities of the German people into a drive to equal or surpass British control in the world.

The invasion of Poland by Germany last September started another time of stress in America. We are not prepared to meet it, for the simple reason that neither peace stress nor war stress can be met by the United States, with private monopoly of land, and other private monopolies and privileges.

A recent issue of the *United States News* outlines the prospective four great economic Empires:—the American, taking in all the Western Hemisphere, out to Hawaii and including Greenland; the Russian, including her present territory and Turkey; the German, including the Scandinavian countries and the rest of Europe, and all of Africa to the Union of South Africa; and the Japanese, taking in part of China, the Philippines, French Indo-China, and the Dutch East Indies. Britain and Australia with the Union of South Africa, and a few Islands, seem to be destined for a smaller geographical control, but Threadneedle Street and British finance would doubtlessly play a large part in determining world affairs and internal policies of the four great economic Empires of the world of tomorrow. Approximately this distribution is made by Mr. Lawrence Dennis in his recent book, "The Dynamics of War and Revolution".

Over a year and a half ago, the present writer wrote an article entitled, "Americans Must Win War on Poverty Or Be Kiddled Into Foreign Wars" which was read into the Congressional Record by Senator Frazier, and some quarter of a million reprints sent into every State of the Union. That forecast threatens today.

With an intelligent economic system, with an economy of freedom, the United States would not need an economic Empire. But under our present system, with two per cent of our people owning about three-fifths of the national wealth, and two and one-half per cent of our families getting about \$5 billions of property income, plus nearly \$4 billions of earned income—in all over an eighth of the national income—and with 18,000,000 of our population a "surplus" (as far as the present economic system is concerned), America most desperately needs an imperialistic policy for two reasons:—to pay part of the overhead of our top-heavy system, and to help keep the people's minds off what has happened to them.

The writer did not need to prove the charge he made nearly two years ago, that Roosevelt needed a Franco victory, so he could wave the bogey of Hitler and Mussolini over Central and South America before the American people and make them forget what was happening to them. If Willkie is elected, this bogey will be just as helpful to him.

An army of 9,000,000 employables unemployed, and an army of one and a half million surplus farm families (under our economic system) opens the door to conscription of men and may keep a large standing army busy subduing domestic commotions. Of course, if two or three million of these unemployed are conscripted into the army, they will reduce the pressure for jobs.

The President's suggestion that it is the patriotic duty of students to attend to their studies, and not volunteer for the army, shows his knowledge that there is little danger that they will be faught anything opposed to the economic status quo.

America probably has less than three years, and almost certainly less than five years in which to make the essential changes in America peacefully. Failure to do that will probably result in America's having a hard-boiled dictator with a heart for the special privileges.

For seven and a half years, America has gone on the theory of raising the standard of living by curtailing the production of the essentials to raise that standard of living, through subsidy out of the Federal Treasury. We have spent over \$62 billions, about half of it borrowed, to buy off a revolution, and to prime the pump for private ownership. Some 20,000 people get approximately one third of all dividends paid, amounting to about twelve and a quarter billion dollars for the three years—'37, '38, and '39.

We are heading into a World War with the same semi-

criminal privilege classes in control as were in control under Presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, though none of those three had President Roosevelt's gift of bamboozling the American people. Apparently, only a British defeat, or scare over South America created in the hearts of millions of Americans, can re-elect the present occupant of the White House, who has done infinitely more for monopolists and the special privilege classes than any predecessor, though he has handed out more slops and sops to the disinherited than any other of his less astute predecessors in Washington.

Every reactionary interest in America, clerical, financial, pseudo-educational and landed, favors the conscription of men for an army, including an industrial army. They first tried to get them at \$5.00 a month, throwing in religious services, though they have raised the ante, under severe pressure, to \$30.00.

The Congress of the United States favors more consumption taxes to pay for the billions of dollars allegedly for defense and, as the writer told the House Committee on Ways and Means, the defense tax bill should be called a bill to "give free plants to profiteers, and protect them from taxes".

The big financial and industrial interests of America, whose products are needed for defense, are on a sit-down strike. This is so serious that the President of the American Farm Bureau Federation, a highly conservative organization largely dominated by Southern planters, told the House Ways and Means Committee: "The American people will not tolerate, at a time of such grave emergency, any group, in effect, pointing a pistol at the government and saying they will not produce guns or airplanes or other supplies needed for national defense in this hour of grave emergency unless they are given this guarantee or that guarantee and unless the restrictions are kept off their profits."

Readers may think I have painted a rather dark picture. I hope events may prove me wrong, but I doubt it.

No essential economic changes have been made yet in any major nation, except through totalitarian methods. America has gone a long way toward that goal in the efforts of the Old Deal and the New Deal, to maintain special privileges. America has a chance to do the essential things by democratic procedure, but they cannot be postponed for any term of years. It is not Hitler at our gates which menaces America; it is the big and little Hitlers of special privilege in America who constitute the real danger to our country. Running away from depression at home to disaster abroad, is not the American way.

THE final arbiter of all intellectual truth is the mind; of all moral truth the conscience. These are the real authorities, and the duty of subjecting all things to the test of reason and conscience a man owes to his fellowmen, and to God.— JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

A Legislative Plan of Action

IN these days, when so many signs indicate the necessity of a reorientation of our revenue system, the question arises: What concrete plan have Georgeists to offer the various legislative bodies, who in the last analysis are charged with the responsibility of effecting the application of any reform. With this in mind, Messrs. Walter Fairchild and Harry C. Maguire, of the American Association for Scientific Taxation, New York City, have prepared what they consider a model draft of a Constitutional Amendment and Concurrent Bill, for introduction in the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York. LAND AND FREEDOM is pleased to offer to its readers the ideas suggested in this plan to legislate the fiscal requirements of the Georgeist philosophy.

In the proposed Constitutional Amendment which follows, the italicized portion represents new matter to be added to the present Section 10 of Article 1 of the New York State Constitution:

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

The people of the state, in their right of sovereignty, possess the original and ultimate property in and to all lands within the jurisdiction of the state. All lands shall forever remain allodial* so that the entire and absolute property is vested in the owners, according to the nature of their respective estates. *The term property, however, shall not be construed to permit any person to appropriate the rent of land; it is hereby recognized and declared that all ground rent, actual or potential, belongs to the people of the state as a common asset, and the legislature shall pass appropriate laws to recover the full annual value of all lands exclusive of improvements within the jurisdiction of the state for the use of the state and its subdivisions.* All lands the title of which shall fail, from a defect of heirs, shall revert, or escheat to the people.

* * *

It will be noted in the foregoing draft that it is proposed to delimit, in the basic law, the commonly accepted, though erroneous, meaning of the word *property*. At present, the layman's and lawyer's concept of *property* admits the "right" of land owners to appropriate that which under the natural law and justice cannot be the subject of private property, viz., ground rent.

To carry out the Constitutional Amendment, enabling legislation is of course required. To that end a concurrent bill is proposed, from which we quote the preamble and a few sections.

*"Allodial" is opposed to "feudal." The latter tenure requires the rendering of services to the overlord or sovereign, in return for the feudal estate granted. Allodial tenure is complete and absolute, with no such restrictions.—Ed.

PROPOSED ACT

To promote the general welfare, by taking the value of land and special privileges in taxation, and repealing taxes on labor and industry.

SECTION 1. *Policy of state and purpose of chapter.* It is hereby declared that a serious public condition exists in this state affecting and threatening the welfare, comfort, and safety of the people of the state, resulting in abnormal disruption in economic and industrial processes, and the curtailment of incomes by unemployment and business depression. To raise wages, increase the earnings of productive capital, abolish unemployment, and promote the free flow of capital goods, require a shifting of the burden of taxation from values created by the combination of labor and industry to the values created by the community. The abolition of all taxation save that upon the value of land and special privileges will remove the burden upon production and industry, bear equally upon all men, and fall only upon those who receive from society a peculiar and valuable unearned benefit, and upon them in proportion to the benefit they receive. The shift of the burden of taxation from production and exchange to the value or rent of land and special privileges will result in disposing the lands of the state to their best possible use, thereby permitting prosperity to all. With nature's opportunities thus free to labor, with capital and improvements exempt from tax, and productive industry released from restrictions, wages of labor and earnings of productive capital will be increased, unemployment eliminated, and poverty abolished. Therefore, in the public interest, the necessity for legislative intervention by the enactment of the provisions hereinafter prescribed is hereby declared as a matter of legislative determination.

SECTION 2. *Assessment of land.* Beginning in the year next succeeding the passage of this act and thereafter, land shall be assessed at its full value as though unimproved and free from tax, and the taxing authorities of counties, cities, towns, villages and school districts shall annually fix such tax rates on the assessed valuations of land so as to cause, as nearly as possible, the full annual gross value or rent of land to be taken by taxation.*

SECTION 4. *Assessment of intangible franchise rights.* Beginning in the year next succeeding the passage of this act, the state tax commission shall annually fix and determine the full and actual value of the intangible franchise right of each special franchise under the jurisdiction of the public service commission and of the transit commission as though free from tax and exclusive of the value of tangible property included in such special franchise.

The commission shall also determine the full value of the same and file a written statement of such value with the clerk of the city, town, or village in which such special franchise is subject to assessment, as set forth in section 45-c of article 2 of the tax law. The taxing authority of each taxing district shall annually fix such tax rates on such full value of the intangible franchise right as to cause as nearly as possible the annual value of such intangible franchise right to be taken by taxation.

SECTION 5. *Equalization of assessment and apportionment of tax.* The state tax commission shall make such reasonable rules and regulations not inconsistent with law as may be necessary to require the local taxing authorities of the state to assess land at its full value as though unimproved and untaxed. The state tax commission shall ascertain the amount of the budget reasonably adopted by any county, city, town, village or school district and in the case of any overlapping taxing districts it shall calculate the ratio of the amount of such budgets with respect to the land values within such taxing districts. The state tax commission shall also ascertain the amount of the total assessment for land in any tax district and the total amount to be raised by taxation, and shall apportion this amount in accordance with the respective local budgets. Any excess of taxes above the reasonable budgets of the local taxing authorities shall be collected by the county treasurer and paid over to the state tax commission for the use of the state.

SECTION 6. *Repeal of taxes on industry and labor products.* All taxes on industry and labor products are to be abolished as hereinafter provided to wit:

The following taxes shall be abolished and the laws providing for them repealed to take effect on the last day of the second year following the passage of this act:

Tax on gasoline and similar motor fuel (article 12A of tax law), tax on milk (article 19 of tax law), cigarette tax (article 20 of tax law), taxes on alcoholic beverages (article 18 of tax law), excise taxes on business transactions, occupancy, tickets of admission to places of public exhibits, patent medicine, tobacco, vending machines, possession of telephone connections, and all other excise taxes and taxes on sales of merchandise whether under a state law or under any local law.

The following taxes shall be abolished and the laws providing for them repealed to take effect on the last day of the third year following the passage of this act:

Tax on mortgages (article 11 of tax law), tax on transfers of stock and other corporate certificates (article 12 of tax law), corporation tax (article 9 of tax law), franchise tax on business corporations (article 9a of tax law), franchise tax on state banks, trust companies and financial corporations (article 9b of tax law), tax on national banking associations (article 9c of tax law).

*The method herein proposed seems for the present more practical, while no less effective, than the alternative method of directly collecting the annual gross economic rent as such, since it conforms more nearly to existing tax procedure.

The following taxes shall be abolished and the laws providing for them repealed whenever the revenue from the sources mentioned in Sections 2 and 4 above is found sufficient to meet all budgetary requirements herein and shall not at any time be levied in a larger amount than may be necessary to meet, pro-ratably, the needs of the budget aforesaid:

Taxes upon personal incomes (article 16 of tax law), taxes on inheritance (articles 10, 10a and 10b of tax law).

* * *

Accompanying the proposed legislative resolutions aforesaid, an interesting "Explanation," will also be placed in the hands of the legislators. Extracts of it follow:

EXPLANATION OF LAND VALUE TAX LAW

As the title of the bill points out, the primary purpose is to eliminate business depressions and end unemployment and restore to all men equal rights to the use of the earth. To accomplish this the bill amends the present tax law by repealing taxes on labor products and industry and substituting generally therefor one main tax upon the value of land.

The chief requirement of the bill is that the full annual value of land exclusive of improvements shall be taken in taxation by the state and its subdivisions for public use.

The complementary requirement is to repeal taxes on labor products and industry.

The annual value of any piece of land exclusive of improvements, usually called "ground rent", is a value directly due to the presence and activities of the state's population and to the manner and amount of its expenditures public and private. It therefore constitutes the natural source of revenue for the government and should be exhausted before any resort to the taxation of individual wealth.

Relief from taxation of improvements would result in a tremendous stimulus to building construction and improvement in the number and character of buildings.

The abolition of sales taxes would increase purchasing power, stimulate trade, decrease unemployment, increase ground rent and hence still further increase public revenue.

TAXATION IN PROPORTION TO BENEFITS RECEIVED

The bill applies the principle that taxation should be in proportion to benefits conferred. Taxation in proportion to benefits received has long been the keystone of our tax policy, as the Court of Appeals pointed out in *People v. Ronner*, 1906, 185 N. Y. 285; 77 N. E. 106:

"There can be no doubt of the correctness of the general proposition that the principle upon which taxation is founded is that the taxpayer is supposed to receive just compensation in the benefits conferred by

government, and in the proper application of the tax; and that in the exercise of the taxing power the legislature ought as nearly as practicable, to apportion the tax according to the benefit which each taxpayer is supposed to receive from the object upon which the tax is expended."

ASSESSMENT OF LAND AT FULL VALUE

Assessment of land at its full value "as though unimproved and free from tax" covers the economic fact that increasing the land value tax increases the proportion of land value into the public treasury and correspondingly decreases the amount left in private hands and reduces the "selling price" or market value of land although the actual full value or annual gross rental of land will not be reduced, and as prosperity rises the full value of land will also tend to rise. Full economic or annual gross rental value, and not market value, is made the base of assessment value on which the rate is calculated.

REPEAL OF OTHER TAXES

Repeal of taxes on industry and labor products is staggered over 2, 3 and 4 years. It will take a year or more to make necessary adjustments. The bill divides the taxes to be repealed into three classes. First, consumption taxes like sales taxes are to be repealed at the end of the second year after the law takes effect; second, taxes on industry generally such as business corporation franchise taxes are to be repealed at the end of the third year; third, income taxes and inheritance taxes which are direct taxes are to be repealed and/or reduced as soon as feasible.

LICENSE FEES

There are many so-called license fees which are really taxes in disguise, that is, for automobile registration plate taxes, liquor dealers' licenses, etc. The liquor dealer's license is in addition to the tax on liquor which is in the bill for repeal. We think that this item must be handled separately and the correct rule should be that the state tax commission should determine the cost of regulating any profession or trade for which a license is required and the license fee should be in proportion to the cost of regulating the profession or trade. This bill does not touch the unemployment insurance taxes and if it is desired to repeal the unemployment insurance law we think it should be handled in a separate bill.

* * *

At present the State of New York has embodied in its constitution, in Section 10 of Article 8, a 2% limitation on the amount of revenue to be raised by real estate taxes for local purposes. This section must of course be repealed, to give proper effect to the scheme of land value taxation set forth above.

The sponsors of the foregoing plan of proposed legislation for the State of New York have also worked out an amendment to the United States Constitution, so as to apply the same idea to our Federal needs.

PROPOSED U.S. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

The 2nd, 3rd and 4th words (*and direct taxes*) shall be deleted from the 3rd paragraph of Article 1, Section 2.*

Paragraph 4 of Article 1, Section 9 (Beginning with the words, "No capitation or other direct tax") shall be deleted and in its stead shall be substituted the following: "The Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes on the value of any and all land in the United States, its territories, possessions, and District of Columbia, excluding the value of improvements."

Anyone interested in the complete draft and explanation of the proposed legislation, or in the program for putting it into effect, in the State of New York or elsewhere, should write to the American Association for Scientific Taxation, care of LAND AND FREEDOM.

Frederic Cyrus Leubuscher

FREDERIC CYRUS LEUBUSCHER passed away August 18, at his home in Essex Fells, New Jersey. While prominent in many walks of civic and political life, his greatest reputation was as a life-long advocate of the Georgeist philosophy. We can think of no better way of paying tribute to his memory than to present the accounts of him which follow, each of which shows a different side of his life and work. One account is from a featured obituary of Mr. Leubuscher in a local newspaper. The other two are by close friends of the man—Charles H. Ingersoll and Joseph H. Fink.

The Life of Leubuscher

(From the *Caldwell and Verona News*)

Mr. Leubuscher was born (in 1858) in New York. He was the son of Louis Mortimer Leubuscher and Catherine Horner. His father, while a student at the University of Berlin, took part in the Revolution of 1848-49. He was taken a prisoner, but later escaped and came to New York.

Frederic was a graduate of the New York public schools, College of the City of New York and of Columbia University. He started the practice of law in 1884 and continued active in that profession until two months before he died. For many years he was chairman of the Municipal Court Committee of the New York County Lawyers Association and was a member of the Judiciary Committee of that

body. In 1909 he was chairman of the Municipal Democracy that nominated Judge Gaynor for the mayoralty.

When Henry George ran for mayor in 1886, Mr. Leubuscher supported him, and at the close of the campaign, wrote a history of it in collaboration with Louis F. Post, who later became assistant Secretary of Labor under Wilson.

He had been connected with Single Tax activities for over fifty years, and was for many years president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club and head of the Society to Lower Rents and Reduce Taxes on Homes, a Single Tax affiliate.

Shortly after moving to Essex Fells, he ran for the Borough Council and was elected on the Democratic ticket in 1920. Mayor Sylvester H. Williams named him as chairman of the finance and law committee. In 1925, he was elected president of the Council, and reelected in 1926.

Mr. Leubuscher was also a member at one time of the New York Free Trade Club, having served on the executive board with Theodore Roosevelt.

The Religion of Leubuscher

By CHARLES H. INGERSOLL

Our friend Frederic C. Leubuscher, was a personal acquaintance and ardent admirer of my namesake and relative—the agnostic, Robert G. Ingersoll. And one of the lifelong ties that have bound Fred Leubuscher and myself, and our families, has been a heterodox religious faith. I use the words "religious faith" advisedly; by that I mean that we *have* religion and that we *have* faith.

I think my thoughts now may be considered that of Leubuscher and Ingersoll—as well as many friends here assembled—when I assert a belief that is different from the common concept—in a God of Order and a God of Nature, whose Divine Purpose comprehends all of his two billion children on Earth, as distinguished from a special interest in individuals and sects, in their affairs and their creeds.

My earliest memory of Fred Leubuscher—back in the early 1880's—was on the platform of the Masonic Temple at 23rd Street and Sixth Avenue, New York, at one of the meetings of the Reverend Hugh O. Pentecost, a *Preacher of the Gospel*—of a Gospel also immortalized by Father Edward McGlynn, in whose career Mr. Leubuscher was vitally interested. I refer to the Gospel of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

This Gospel changes a narrow orthodoxy which panders to human peccadilloes and denials, by implication at least, that a Creator could have but one design in creation, to that of the possession, by all of his children, of an earth, with its usufruct, as Jefferson called it, stored with an abundance for all peoples' sustension.

And this religion goes further—it includes the optimistic—because it is better grounded—faith and hope. A faith and hope supported by history, authority and reason, that one day, when so-called Christian Civilization has run its tragic course of economic illiteracy and destruction, this usufruct—or rent—of the earth will be recovered to all the people, and thus realize, in its highest terms, Jeffersonian Democracy. This was the religious faith of Fred Leubuscher.

Fred Leubuscher's life has been long and faithful; wonderfully balanced between the practical and the ideal; between the truly spiritual and that which is scientifically applied; between the hard grind of the work of today and a vision of the morrow that may still be a hundred years from realization.

His philosophy was not the kind that demanded either plaudits or continuous support; he was schooled in that rare reserve expressed

*As thus amended, the paragraph would read, "Representatives (deleted portion) shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, etc."

by Tom Johnson, who warned his co-workers against expecting encouragement during their generation.

What actuates a life such as Fred Leibuscher's? To the unobservant it may be a variety of human characteristics. But we who have known him for these decades know that a man who for three score years and more, literally lived with an ideal, must have possessed a democratic and catholic love of humanity, an accurate sense of justice, and a keen discernment between nature's way and the way of men. And finally, a practical determination to put dreams into practice.

The Practicality of Leibuscher

By JOSEPH H. FINK

About forty years ago, I undertook to act as chairman of the committee on outdoor meetings of the Manhattan Single Tax Club. Shortly thereafter, the question of a new president for the club came up. Mr. Leibuscher agreed to accept the presidency if I would take on the duties of secretary. To this I agreed. Leibuscher then asked me what his duties were to be. I told him that the duties of the President would be to preside at all the meetings and pay the expenses when there was no money in the treasury. "I accept," said he.

The political parties in Harlem, realizing that the Single Tax meetings were educating the public, made every effort to stop these street-corner meetings. Through their influence, the Chief Inspector of the Police Department gave orders that the meetings must cease. We appealed to him on several occasions but he insisted that they could only be conducted if a permit were issued, and that no permits would be granted. He made all sorts of statements to the effect that it was a violation of law to carry on street corner meetings.

Mr. Leibuscher and myself called on the Chief Inspector at his office at Police Headquarters for a show-down. Mr. Leibuscher insisted that the Inspector point out to him what sections of the law he referred to. After much discussion to and fro, the Inspector said that street corner meetings were a nuisance and they were stopped because of complaints. Mr. Leibuscher then told me to discontinue the meetings, and at the same time told the Inspector that when the political campaigns opened, he would have persons attend the meetings and make complaint to the police that they were a nuisance. Looking the Chief in the eyes, he said, "And if you don't stop these meetings, I will prefer charges against you to the Police Commissioner." Mr. Leibuscher was about five feet four and the Inspector six feet two. He looked down at Mr. Leibuscher with his jaw stuck out and said in a bombastic voice, "Do you mean that?" "Yes," replied Leibuscher. The Inspector changed his attitude and said "All right, go ahead and run your meetings, but keep away from 34th Street and Broadway." (These corners were perhaps the busiest in the entire city, and it would be impractical for anyone to attempt to hold meetings there.)

During his long and useful career, Leibuscher always stood for principle first and never was a compromisor.

* * *

No account of Fred Leibuscher would be complete without mention of the frequent contributions during his lifetime to the various Georgeist activities, including LAND AND FREEDOM. He was exceptionally generous to the Henry George School of Social Science, of which he was a Trustee, having left the School a bequest of \$3,000, in addition to large amounts bestowed upon that organization before his death.

Thus Spake the Prophets

By JACOB SCHWARTZMAN

MILLENIUMS before Henry George appeared in the world, the little world of the Hebrews, huddled on the Asiatic Mediterranean, produced those early rebels against tyranny and injustice, known as the Prophets. Starting with Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and continuing with the twelve "minor" Prophets, this scorned and persecuted minority boldly cried out against the corruption and unbridled luxury of the judges, kings, priests and landlords on the one hand, and the stark poverty engulfing the masses of the Hebrew people on the other. Throughout the land misery and war prevailed, blood ran like water, factions opposed one another—and neighboring countries, sensing "kill," warred incessantly against the "chosen children of God," who, led by their corrupt leaders, gave more appearance of descent from the devil.

The great Isaiah—who may be considered a predecessor of Henry George—seeing the chaos, and witnessing the relentless pressure of the insatiate landlords, cried out in despair:

Woe unto those that cause house to join on house, and field near to field, till there is no more room, so that they may be left alone as the inhabitants in the midst of the land!

Therefore are my people led into exile, for want of knowledge; and their honorable men suffer of famine, and their multitudes are panting with thirst.

Lamenting the poverty-stricken condition of the poor, as did Henry George, Isaiah bitterly denounces their oppressors:

O my people! thy leaders cause thee to err, and in the direction of thy paths they corrupt.

The Lord is stepped forth to plead, and standeth up to judge the people.

The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of this people and their princes; but ye—ye have eaten up the vineyard; the plunder of the poor is in your house.

What mean ye that ye crush my people, and grind down the faces of the poor? saith the Lord the Eternal of hosts.

What liberal newspaper of today would dare to accuse the entrenched power of the possessors of the land with such vehemence? What prophet of today denounces with the same lofty motive the ill-gotten gains of the few?

Speaking with a voice of thunder, the majestic Prophet continues:

Woe unto those that decree decrees of unrighteousness and the writers who write down wrongful things;

Who turn aside from judgment the needy and who rob the just due of the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may plunder the fatherless.

The worthless person shall be no more called liberal, and the avaricious man shall not be said to be bountiful.

For the worthless person ever speaketh villainy, and his heart will work injustice, to practice hypocrisy, and to speak error against the Lord; to leave empty the soul of the hungry and the drink of the thirsty will he take away.

The instruments also of the avaricious man are evil; he deviseth wicked resolves to destroy the poor with words of falsehood, even when the needy speaketh what is right.

But the liberal deviseth liberal things; and he ever persisteth by liberal things.

Looking forward into the dim future, scanning the unborn centuries, the Seer of Israel envisions a society in which Justice prevails:

And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat their fruit.

They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat; for, as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and the work of their hands shall my elect wear out.

They shall not toil in vain, nor bring forth unto an early death.

Jeremiah, his heart torn by the prevailing unrighteousness, continues the struggle. With a determined courage, rare to find anywhere in the field of social thought, and all the more startling at a time when tyrants passed as staunch upholders of justice, this brilliant Prophet blasts the rulers of his day:

Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by injustice; that maketh his neighbor work without wages, and giveth him not the reward for his labor;

That saith, I will build me a roomy house, and ample chambers, and cutteth himself out windows, and ceileth it with cedar, and painteth it with colors. . . .

But thy eyes and thy heart are directed on nothing but upon thy own gain, and upon innocent blood to shed it, and upon oppression, and upon extortion, to practise them.

With a sadness that permeates his prophecy, the vigorous dreamer, Amos, describes the wretchedness enveloping the nation which he loved so much. In a sudden fit of anger, he cries against those who are responsible for the condition of the poor:

Ye who change justice into wormwood, and cast down

righteousness! . . . Ye tread down upon the poor, and ye take from him onerous contributions of corn!

For I know your manifold transgressions and your numerous sins; ye are those that are the adversaries of the just, that take a ransom, and that wrest the needy in the gate.

Remove thou from around me the noise of thy songs; and the playing of thy psalteries I will not hear.

But let justice roll along like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream.

His mood changes, and with a breadth of vision and a love of humanity, which alone should preserve him for posterity, gently he utters:

Are ye not like the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord. Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt? and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?

Perhaps the most social-minded of all the minor Prophets is Micah, who condemns the landlords with a violence tinged with hatred:

Woe to those that devise wickedness, and resolve on evil upon their couches! By the first light of the morning they execute it, if they have it in the power of their hand.

And they covet fields, and rob them; and houses, and take them away; so they defraud the master and his house, and the man and his heritage. . . .

Thus hath said the Lord concerning the Prophets that mislead my people, who when they have something to bite with their teeth, cry, Peace; but who prepare war against him who putteth nothing in their mouth.

Micah paints an enchanting picture of a society of brotherly love, where all nations shall be free and equal, all resting on the principle of liberty and justice. I should like to commend these passages to those who are intent upon destroying the little civilization still left this unfortunate earth:

And many nations shall come, and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us of his ways, and we may walk in his paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem.

And he shall judge between many people, and decide for strong nations even afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-knives; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, and they shall not learn any more war.

But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, with none to make them afraid; for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it.

Signs of Progress

GEORGEIST ACTIVITIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Henry George School of Social Science HEADQUARTERS

ENLARGED QUARTERS—After a summer of intense work the fourth and fifth floors of 30 East 29 Street, New York City, are completed and in use. There are eight new class-rooms, as well as an auditorium with a seating capacity of 150. With the latest type lighting fixtures and complete modernization, the School building now makes an impressive sight.

Three series of lectures to be held in the new auditorium have been planned. One series is a lecture forum, conducted every Sunday, to attract the general public. There is also a series conducted on Friday evenings, entitled "Fundamental Conditions for a Lasting Peace." On Tuesday evenings, Albert Jay Nock will speak on individualism versus collectivism. An admission fee of \$3.00 is being charged for this latter series. The others are free.

FALL TERM—Classes in Fundamental Economics and advanced courses opened the week of September 23. The enrollment in the "Progress and Poverty" course is about 1300, and about 300 have registered for advanced courses. This term has seen a high percentage of book sales, about 60% of the students having purchased books.

An imposing series of advanced courses have been prepared which bid fair to gain for the School an academic reputation. Among these courses are: Basic Course in Sociology of Economic Institutions; Principles and Problems of Tax Policy; Public Speaking; Basic Principles of Composition; and Formal Logic.

Extension courses are again opening all over the country. Among the places where classes have already started are: San Diego, Calif.; Hartford, Conn.; Boston, Mass.; Newark, N. J.; Philadelphia, Pa.; points in Westchester, N. Y.; and points in Long Island, N. Y.

About 400 students have enrolled for the correspondence course in "Progress and Poverty." A new course in "Protection or Free Trade" has been prepared for correspondence students who have completed the first course. Already 100 have enrolled for this advanced course.

CHICAGO, ILL.

REPORT OF JOHN L. MONROE, SECRETARY

FALL TERM—After a tremendous amount of work on the part of a volunteer crew, which distributed thousands of

announcements, the Fall term opened the week of September 16, with a total enrollment of over 500. The Speakers Bureau of the Chicago School is now under way, and has already made several speaking engagements, to be held at rotary clubs, churches, young people's clubs, etc.

MASTER'S DEGREE EXAM—The examination for the Master's degree in the English Department at the University of Chicago included a quiz on Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." There were three questions. The first asked to explain George's reasoning processes. The second referred to George's environment as influencing his ideas. And the third asked for the Georgeist reply to typical criticisms.

P & P To LINDBERGH—When Col. Charles A. Lindbergh spoke at the Soldiers Field peace rally, a graduate of the Henry George School, Clyde Bassler, was present. He had with him a copy of "Progress and Poverty" to present to Lindbergh. Mr. Bassler gave it to a guard, who gave it to one of the rally sponsors, Capt. Grace, who gave it to Lindbergh. The book was seen tucked under Lindbergh's arm as he left the Field.

Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

REPORT OF V. G. PETERSON, SECRETARY

Ten thousand copies of "Progress and Poverty" were printed by the Foundation in September. This is the Foundation's thirteenth printing of that masterpiece, and it brings the total number of copies to 68,000. Fresh printings of "Protection or Free Trade" and "Social Problems" were made during the Summer.

Special attention is called to a new edition of Henry George's neglected "A Perplexed Philosopher," advertised on the back page of this issue. This is the first American edition since 1904. It has been printed in the same style and format as the other works by George, completing the set of his books published by the Foundation.

In all, the Foundation has now published and distributed a grand total of 100,000 volumes. In the distributing of these books, the splendid work of the Henry George School of Social Science has been of tremendous assistance. The two organizations are in close cooperation, working harmoniously, each helping the other when that help is needed.

Manhattan Single Tax Club

The Club has embarked upon a course of action to do all in its power to spread knowledge of the Georgeist philosophy while there is yet time. In this program—as outlined in a circular recently sent out—are the following points:

1. Revitalizing the Club to bring it up to its standing under Henry George, and make its influence felt throughout the country.
2. Publishing its paper, *democracy*, weekly to spread sound economic teachings.
3. Cooperating with other Georgeist organizations.
4. Interesting the public through radio talks, lectures and the dissemination of literature.

Arden Celebration

The annual Henry George Day celebration was held in Arden, Delaware, on Sunday, September 8. Arden is an "enclave of economic rent" administered under the single tax principle, on the outskirts of Wilmington. The attendance at the meeting was good, and the speeches were well-received.

The principal speaker was Harry Weinberger, who delivered an address on "Liberty in a Dark World." Dr. Henry George III (grandson of Henry George), spoke of the pioneer spirit as being an important factor in the greatness of men like Henry George and Mahatma Gandhi. Julian Hickok and Harold Sudell of Philadelphia spoke. Mrs. Katherine F. Ross, former Trustee of Arden, spoke on the Arden Deed of Trust, and paid tribute to Frank Stephens, founder and guiding spirit of that little community. In her talk, Mrs. Ross said:

"To be able to grant basic justice and freedom, involved in the equitable Use of the Earth, upon which, together with Free Trade, depends the just distribution of wealth, requires an instrument, such as a Constitution, or, as in the case of Arden, a Deed of Trust, to keep it inviolate. And that is what the Deed in Arden has been designed to do for Arden. Should the Trustees perform a dereliction of duty in respect to this underlying intent, they can be forced to resign, but no Court of Law, I am told on authority, can dissolve this Trust.

"This instrument, that prevents basic aggression on the part of individuals, groups of individuals, or a majority, in its preservation of Equal Rights in the Use of the Earth in Arden, although other adverse unnatural conditions may overshadow its effects, is the highest, the simplest and most fundamental social guide that has ever been devised, and Georgeists have the privilege to pay it honor."

Dr. Henry George was drafted by the Trustees of Arden to fill a vacancy on their three-member board. The position is a life-long one. Dr. George is president of the Delaware State Osteopathic Society.

The School of Democracy

Within a year at least, two new schools teaching Georgeist principles have been started! One is the We, The Citizens School (reported in the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM); and now we have the School of Democracy. This new School is being started by Mr. Harry J. Haase, in collaboration with Mr. Charles H. Ingersoll. The present headquarters are at the Manhattan Single Tax Club, 1165 Broadway, New York City, in Room 203.

Classes are being held daily at 5:30 and at 8:00 P. M., and on Saturdays at 2:00 P. M. Several Georgeists have become interested in the idea, and some are starting extension classes, among them Mr. Byron T. Conrad, of Bellerose, Long Island.

Mr. Haase has circulated a number of Georgeists urging them to cooperate. The prime purpose of the School is to "convince the layman that the only workable basis for democracy is equality secured through the collection of economic rent." Cooperation is invited, in the form of "physical, mental, moral or financial assistance."

Great Britain

Our commendations go to our British colleagues who are carrying on so bravely amidst air-raids and the general disorder in the present crisis. Mr. W. E. Fox, Henry George School leader, continues his classes, which opened October 2, at the Battersea Central Library. The United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values sent Georgeist literature to the Annual Conference of the Association of Municipal Authorities of Ireland, held September 12. Altogether, 1,190 copies of each piece of literature were sent, and a number of Town Clerks responded, saying they were giving the matter their attention.

A Georgeist working in Ireland reports that the spreading of economic truth is impeded by the political division of that country. "The Six Counties is the last Tory fortress," he writes to *Land & Liberty*. "The partition keeps the political issue before the Irish people to the exclusion of the economic problem and serves the same purpose that Home Rule served in England. I don't expect much progress in our lines till the partition is removed; but it is well to spread the light amongst the more far-seeing people, which I am trying to do as opportunity offers."

Mr. F. C. R. Douglas, the new Georgeist M. P. from North Battersea, is losing no time in speaking for sound economic principles in Parliament. In a debate on the Finance Bill, August 6, Mr. Douglas condemned the Purchase Tax as being both unjust and unsound. In concluding, he said: "Reference has been made today—and very properly, I think—to the circumstances which we shall

have to face after the war, because our troubles will not then be ended. One of the problems with which we shall then have to deal, no doubt, will be the question of putting into employment those who are taken off the production of munitions and implements of war, and the tax on land values, which the Chancellor has rejected, would be a valuable instrument in securing that the idle resources of this country were put into use in order that its idle people should be employed. I hope that question will yet be pressed to an issue, that the Purchase Tax will be repealed, and that better taxation will be placed in its stead."

We should like to call our readers' attention to our new British correspondent, Douglas J. J. Owen. Mr. Owen has kindly volunteered his services in this capacity, and hopes to keep us informed on economic conditions as well as Georgeist activities in Great Britain. An article by Mr. Owen appears in this issue. Our thanks are due to Mr. Arthur W. Madsen of *Land & Liberty* for securing the services of Mr. Owen.

L & F Again Goes to Washington

IN our last issue we announced that 50 copies of the May-June number of this journal had been personally distributed among as many Congressmen at the nation's capital. The idea was extended for July-August so as to place the Pan-American issue of *LAND AND FREEDOM* in the hands of *every* member of the Senate and House of Representatives, over 500 copies having been mailed. Each was accompanied by a letter, appealing for land value taxation as a means of financing the national defense program.

Of course, all such activities entail expense. The printing and delivery of 500 copies, with enclosed letter, by 3rd class mail, costs around \$50. However, we believe this kind of work justifies the effort, and we are only too glad to do it whenever the necessary additional funds can be obtained.

BOOK REVIEWS

LAND ACCORDING TO ELY AND WEHRWEIN

"Land Economics," by Richard T. Ely & George S. Wehrwein
The Macmillan Company, New York. 1940. 512 pp.

Any book that considers the economic issue of the land question is of interest to Georgeists whether or not its author understands that "the ownership of land is the great fundamental fact which ultimately determines the social, the political, and consequently the intellectual and moral condition of a people." It is with this thought that "Land Economics" is here reviewed.

In the preface we find that "Land Economics may be defined as the utilization of the earth's surface, or space, as conditioned by property and other institutions, and which includes the use of natural

forces and productive powers above or below that space over which the owner has property rights." The index notes four references to George. The bibliography has placed "Progress and Poverty" under "Conservation of Natural Resources."

Students who have read "Progress and Poverty" do not all become Georgeists, but they usually agree that the Malthusian theory, which attributes want to the decrease of the productive power of land, is completely answered in the second Book. But the noted professors insist that Henry George "failed to overthrow the law itself."

Private property is justified "only on the social theory of property, namely, that it is established and maintained for social purposes. Under this theory, agricultural land is retained as private property because it is believed that the nation enjoys the greatest well-being under private ownership. Whenever social welfare is better served by shifting from private to public land, the state has the power to make this change. It has the power to make the right of the individual to the land less absolute."

The reviewer wonders what Ely and Wehrwein would say if this "social theory of property" were at some future date used to defend a Georgeist society.

The authors illustrate their lack of understanding of Henry George's concept of private property in land. He was not interested, as claimed by these economists, in "excluding land from the realm of legal private property." Georgeists are only interested in the public collection of the economic rent. Perhaps the noted professors merely overlooked mentioning this difference. Or perhaps the confiscation of the milk and honey of vested interests would not permit them to note any difference in consequences.

"Competition for the land has driven the price up to the full capitalized value of its income. In fact, many times above this value, through speculation and other factors." How has this admission slipped in?

Two mentions are made of why Henry George wrote "Progress and Poverty."

"Henry George acquired his philosophy of the taxation of land in the atmosphere of land-frauds and wild speculation in urban and agricultural lands of California where both Mexican and American land policies had favored concentration of ownership, and the bona fide settler found great difficulty in acquiring land."

The second mention also deals with the environmental factor that influenced George. It is an apparent attempt to belittle his contribution to economic theory. "He lived during the post-Civil War period when speculation, 'land-grabbing', corruption, and fraud were rife, but he over-simplified the remedy for the ills of society by attacking 'the unearned increment' in the land only."

Is it possible that a good word about George is permitted to enter the book? The authors quote from Lewis Mumford's "The Brown Decade":

"But George's awareness of the political importance of the land, his clear perception in 1879 of dangers that were to be fully demonstrated by 1890, and the stir that he made in the torpid political and economic thought of his day by introducing into it a vital idea—all this cannot be discounted. Henry George challenged the complacencies of bourgeois economics in the terms that the bourgeois economist could partly understand. Less than fifteen years after George's 'Progress and Poverty' was published, Professor Fredrick Turner pointed out some of the social and economic implications of the passing of the frontier. From this point on, any one who ignored the role of the land, either in American history or in our current institutional life, was guilty of convenient forgetfulness: the fact was established."

Nowhere in this book did the reviewer find any suggestion of a constructive land policy for lessening poverty amid advancing wealth. But all phases of the science which deals with the earth's surface are discussed and amply illustrated. The size of families, immigration, birth and death rates, and other factors of the study of the population statistics are pursued. "Temperature and Sunshine"; "Rain-fall and Evaporation"; "Topography"; Agricultural, conservational, arid, forest, urban, recreational lands and water, mineral and power resources—these are only a few of the items that would interest even a Georgeist in this book.

"Land Economics" tells you how it is possible to satisfy men's needs, but never mentions why they are not properly housed, clothed and fed. The noted professors would find the solution in "Progress and Poverty" if they would reexamine this book without any prejudices.

—LOUIS P. TAYLOR

NOTES ON DENMARK

"Notes on Denmark—Before and After the German Invasion," American Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. August, 1940.

The organization known as American Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy was organized shortly after the German invasion of Denmark. The purpose is to perpetuate the Danish culture and freedom-loving tradition, and to work to the end "that Denmark may continue to live on."

This compilation of "Notes on Denmark" presents a picture of Denmark's contribution to the world. The Folk Schools, the co-operative system and the land and fiscal systems are described. "The Danish people prize independence above everything else," and this is exemplified in their legislation.

One could wish that these notes might direct more attention to the influence of the land value tax on the prosperity and well-being of the nation. However, we do find notes on "Subsistence Homesteads and Resettlement."

"In Denmark," say these notes, "rural resettlement and subsistence homesteads have ended landlordism, sharecropping and tenancy. In 1850 as many as 42% of Danish farmers were tenants. Today only 4% of Danish farmers are tenants; 96% work for themselves. The United States had about the same percentage of tenant-farmers in 1935 as Denmark had 85 years previously.

"Since 1899 an Act of Parliament has placed land at the disposal of Danish farm laborers . . . A total of 17,190 new farms were created under that Act. Under a later Act of 1919 5,000 additional new farms have been established. Their owners pay interest to the government on the value of the land according to periodical re-appraisals.

"All these new farms have become available not only through the reclaiming of land but also through a resettlement on land surrendered by large entailed estates. These became free estates by (1), giving up 25-30% of their capital and (2), by surrendering—against compensation—one third of their land. The money obtained, 89 million Kroner (\$20,000,000), was placed in a 'Land Fund' the interest from which is used right along for government purchase of land to establish small holdings."

In many other ways, Denmark has enacted progressive legislation. The condition of the Danish people after the invasion is also described in these notes. The contrast leaves one with the fervent hope that the ante bellum status may be speedily restored.

R. C.

CORRESPONDENCE

EDUCATING THE SCHOOLS

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

I believe that in our efforts to spread the doctrine of Henry George we are now engaged in the work of sweeping back the tides. The huge amounts collected from us in taxes for the educational system are used for the teaching of a meaningless political economy, and the comparatively insignificant outlays we can make are pitted against the false ideas spread by those huge outlays. Before we can begin to instill real political economy we must wipe out the false teaching on which the people have been reared—a colossal undertaking.

If we could introduce into the schools a textbook on political economy in accordance with George's doctrine, there are teachers ready to select it for their classes, and it would soon force out the unscientific and meaningless textbooks which have made economics the "dismal science."

But such a textbook can not be approved for purchase by boards of education nor ordered by teachers until it has been published, and publishers simply will not publish books which teach the public collection of rent. They will not take the risk, because there is no market for them. A writer who should succeed in producing such a textbook, even supposing it to be a perfect text, must either finance its publication, with small chance of sales, or keep the manuscript for handing out to his friends. It is small wonder that the youth of the nation are brought up with ideas of political economy which render the spread of Georgeism very difficult.

The best service which Georgeists could render to the cause would be to call for the submission of textbooks, select the best or have a better one written, and concentrate their funds on its publication; then have it sanctioned by boards of education, and solicit individual teachers to order it for their classes. One textbook taught in the high schools and colleges, *at the expense of boards of education*, would do more to advance the cause than the mountains of Henry George literature which have said what Henry George has already said in better language, and which are read by few except dyed-in-the-wool Georgeists.

Jamaica, N. Y.

HENRY J. FOLEY.

REPLY TO MR. HAXO'S "THEORY OF INTEREST"

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

This letter is for the purpose of taking issue with the theory of interest as expressed in Mr. Gaston Haxo's article in the July-August issue of LAND AND FREEDOM, and to present what we believe to be the natural law of economic interest. The fundamental argument on which Mr. Haxo's theory is based is the statement that capital is not a separate factor of production and that interest is therefore not an economic fact but is a social institution that exists only as a result of borrowing, and has no place in distribution.

Mr. Haxo has tried to prove that capital is not a factor of production by contending that it is a factor of labor. Let us look at the argument in favor of this assertion. He states that capital alone produces nothing, and can produce nothing without labor, that labor hardly ever produces anything without capital and that therefore capital is a factor of labor. If this reasoning is sound, can we not use exactly the same process to prove that land is a factor of labor? Land alone cannot become wealth, it is transformed into wealth only by the application of labor, and labor cannot produce wealth without land on which to operate.

Since we cannot prove that capital is a factor of labor without also proving that land is a factor of labor, we had better reconsider

land, labor and capital as separate factors of production. The efficiency of production depends on the quality and quantity of the land used, the labor employed and the capital used. When any of these three items is increased in either quality or quantity, more production of wealth results; when any of these items is decreased, less wealth is produced. Since a change in any one of the three affects the output in the same manner as a similar change in any other one, it follows that if any one is a factor of production, then all three must be factors.

Ricardo has given us the law of rent. If we can also discover the law of interest we will have a complete answer to the problem of distribution, since wages must be that which is left after rent and interest are paid. The natural law of economic interest must be that law which requires labor to pay for the advantage which it derives from the capital it employs. It is easy to jump to the conclusion that in the case of manufacturing this advantage is measured by the difference between what can be produced with tools as compared with what can be produced without tools. Let us find out how much the advantage of tools really is.

Suppose that a man is producing wealth with the aid of a tool.⁴ Each time the tool wears out, he makes a new one. If it requires T days to make the tool and if the tool wears out in W days then in a cycle of T plus W days the man spends W days in producing wealth and T days in making the tool. The tool is also wealth but this need not confuse us, since it is not of itself useful to the ultimate consumer and has exchange value only because of its usefulness to labor. Now suppose that just as a tool wears out, the man requires a new one from someone else and therefore does not have to stop to make a new one, and suppose also that in the future he is able to spend all his time in producing wealth since he is not obliged to stop to make a tool when one wears out. Therefore the advantage of acquiring the tool is measured by the amount of wealth that could be produced with the tool during the time required to replace the tool—in other words, the advantage represented by possession of the tool.

Most of the difficulty we have had in understanding the law of interest has resulted from the false assumption that interest is payment for the advantage resulting from the *use* of capital. We have shown, however, that in the case of tools, the only advantage to labor is that which results from the *possession* of capital. Since use is predicated on possession, the error is easy to make. However, we all recognize that rent arises from the possession of land regardless of how much wealth is produced from it, and it should not be difficult to apply the same reasoning to interest and capital. Payment for possession of land and capital rather than payment for use is the basis for the natural laws of rent and interest because payment for use implies by definition that the amount paid will be in proportion to what is produced and would therefore be a tax on production, which of course, has no place in distribution.

Let us now determine the law of interest by finding out how much labor must pay for the possession of its capital. It is obvious that no one needs to pay more for any tool which he desires to possess than the exchange value of that tool. He will pay that much in the value of his own labor whether he produces the tool himself or acquires it through exchange. When the tool has worn out, he must again pay that same exchange value if he wishes to continue to possess a tool, and subsequently, each time the tool wears out, he must again pay the exchange value of a tool if he wishes to continue to use it. This routine is nothing more nor less than what we are accustomed to call "amortization." Since economic interest is wealth paid for permission to use capital, in excess of the repayment of the capital, it is now evident that economic interest is zero.

We agree with Mr. Haxo's refutation of George's contention that

the forces of nature give an increase to capital which justifies interest. There can be no doubt that the cooperation of nature which gives more produce for the same amount of labor and capital does not increase the return to the producer but does tend to lower the exchange value of his product.

Commercial interest is what the creditor receives in addition to the return of his capital. Without attempting a complete analysis of commercial interest, let us point out that under our present system, the owner of wealth may purchase a monopoly (exchange wealth for the title to land). So long as this opportunity exists, the owner of wealth will not use it as capital unless commercial interest rates are as high as the return he can get from the monopoly. Therefore, the artificially high commercial interest rates in existence today are the result of our land policy. Commercial interest rates are generally thought to contain an insurance factor, but this would tend to disappear in a free economy due to the pressure of loanable funds. Since individuals desiring to preserve wealth for use in old age or for other purposes would have no choice but to loan it for use as capital, and since labor would find it much easier to produce wealth, it might be that those desiring to loan might find it necessary to pay a service charge to the borrower who contracts to preserve the original value of the wealth borrowed.

We agree with Mr. Haxo that the type of loan made by loan shark companies to distressed individuals is a social phenomenon. Wealth loaned for such purposes is not used as capital in production and is outside the field of political economy. Therefore, the rate charged for such loans does not need to agree with the prevailing commercial interest rate. That this business would decrease if the number of distressed individuals were reduced, is another argument for the removal of monopoly privileges and restrictions.

Towaco, N. J.

E. L. ERWIN
H. M. THOMSON
P. WINSOR, JR.

(The "Theory of Interest" article by Gaston Haxo, appearing in our previous issue, resulted in a not unwelcome avalanche of letters to the editors. The letters were preponderantly in favor of the views expressed by Mr. Haxo, though several took strong exception. The one above has been set up as typical of the "dissents."—ED.)

THE "ISLAND" CONTROVERSY

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Regarding the island illustration, Beckwith is drawing largely on a fertile imagination for his "facts." He calmly assumes that the product of the island is more than Brown and Jones can consume. How does he know that? He did not get it out of the 56-word paragraph I wrote. I was challenged to show "a single instance" where land had a value, and I am entitled to set up any hypotheses I choose, provided the conditions are not impossible. If Beckwith will read the paragraph again he will not find anything to indicate what is the total product of the island. He will, however, find that Jones is using all the land that "is available to him". Ignoring these facts, Beckwith has set up a "straw man" and knocked him down. He is like a chess player who being checkmated, calmly gets out of his difficulties by moving his opponent's pieces! The hypotheses I set up were made very brief for the purpose of forestalling attempts to bring in irrelevant matter, but even so, Beckwith's versatile imagination was not to be denied. Now to elaborate, let us suppose that Jones makes a living worth 1 X, and Brown 10 X. The question is, is the difference of 9 X wages, interest or rent? We may rule out interest as it is merely a subdivision of wages. This leaves only wages or rent. Now it is obvious that Jones will be willing to pay Brown anything up to 9 X—let us say 8 X for

convenience—for the mere permission to use Brown's land. In this case Jones' standard of living will be doubled while Brown gets 8 X for nothing. This 8 X, therefore, cannot be wages since Brown (now) does no work. Jones supports both himself and Brown by his "labor applied to land". If this 8 X (or 9 X) is not rent, then all theories of rent must be scrapped. The truth is that the hypotheses I have set up are "fool proof" and there is no escape for Beckwith unless he can show that conditions such as I postulate cannot exist. Brown is simply using land that is ten times more productive than any Jones can obtain. That is not an impossible condition and must be accepted. Of course, it is almost needless to say, that this island merely serves as an illustration. I am prepared, when the proper time comes, to show that the value which is inherent in Brown's holding applies generally to all farm lands. Where social services are supplied they will cause a value to "attach" to the land, but over and above this, there will be an added value in respect of exceptional natural advantages, where such exist. I think I can prove this with the same Euclidian precision as I have used in the island example.

(I note Beckwith does not refer to my contention that rent may be taken in instalments as effectively as by the one-step method. Has he been educated?)

Auckland, New Zealand.

C. H. NIGHTINGALE.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

In his original premise, Mr. Nightingale stipulated that there is no social service on his suppositional island, which is occupied by these two men and no others. This means that they had no commerce, or communication, with other human beings, and that means that, except insofar as they themselves consumed their product, that product went to waste. Any surplus over this consumption could not be sold.

Therefore, the only way that the man on the better end of the island could make a better living than the other would be by being a better worker or hunter, or better cook, or by being able to eat more, or by having more leisure. If, therefore, they exchanged ends, and the man who at first had the poor end paid the other something to compensate him for surrendering the good end of the island, this exchange would not make the poor worker, the poor hunter, and the poor cook good at these callings. The only way this man could get a better living as a result of that exchange and that payment would be by being able then to lie abed longer in the morning and spending more hours lying in the shade on hot days. But, if this resulted, the payment should be fair; which means that it would equal the advantage thus gained. This would mean that it would compensate the other man for the disadvantages thus incurred and this would mean that it would pay the man who then went to the poor end of the island for the increased effort required to make a living there.

That would mean that the man of leisure were paying the other to work that he himself might rest. That payment would be, not rent, but wages. It would be an exchange between two men, with no third parties involved. Such a payment cannot be rent; for rent is paid because of surrounding conditions, and necessarily involves other persons beside the payer and payee. Where only two are involved, the payment must be either wages or interest.

Mr. Nightingale mentioned no improvements; and it may be assumed that none are involved. But if they were involved, the corresponding payment would be interest. In this case the wages due the man who works that the other may rest and the interest (if any) accounts for the entire payment; there is nothing left of the payment that could, even in imagination, be termed rent.

Stockton, Calif.

L. D. BECKWITH.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

FREDERIC C. HOWE, noted liberal reformer, and a devoted Georgeist, died August 3 at the age of 72. His ardent work in many progressive movements gained for him a reputation as an aggressive champion of the "average man." He was the author of many books containing Georgeist principles, such as "The Confessions of a Reformer," "The Confessions of a Monopolist," "Denmark—a Co-operative Commonwealth," and many other works. All his life he had fought monopolies, and for six months before he died had been working with the Federal Monopoly Committee. Previous to that he held many official positions, among them U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, adviser to Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, and member of the Ohio State Senate. Dr. Howe was one of Tom L. Johnson's enthusiastic supporters during the latter's fight for municipal government reforms in Cleveland.

We have recently secured a new special correspondent for Brazil—Prof. Fidelino de Figueiredo. Formerly a resident of Portugal, Prof. de Figueiredo is now teaching at the Faculties of Philosophy of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, at the invitation of the Brazilian government.

It has been difficult to communicate with our French correspondent, Pavlos Giannelia, but recently we have received word from him. He continues to supply us with articles, and tells us that we may now communicate with him. At present he is residing at Neuilly-le-Real, France.

DR. J. J. PIKLER, our Hungarian correspondent, recently celebrated his 76th birthday. It is still difficult to contact Hungary, but we are glad to know that he is alive and well. An article by Dr. Pikler recently appeared in *Land & Liberty*.

OUR new British correspondent, Douglas J. J. Owen, is a member of the Society of Friends. Apparently, the Society is aware of basic principles, for they have been circulating a poster which reads:

REMOVE A BASIC CAUSE OF WAR

Provide Access for All Nations
to the

World's Resources and Markets
Will You Pay This Price
For Peace?

HARRY C. MAGUIRE has written to the Federal Unionists urging them to consider the proposition that the democracies declare world free trade and free movement of peoples among the civilized nations immediately. "After that," says Mr. Maguire, "Federal Union is inevitable. With no such action, the war will end with another treaty of revenge, and the whole dreary, bloody business will start over again in 1960."

SOME copies of the Pan-American number of LAND AND FREEDOM were distributed at the Inter-American House at the New York World's Fair, and some were sent to the Pan-American Union in Washington, D. C. In both cases, the magazine was well received. Dr. Rowe, Director General of the Pan-American Union, expressed his interest in the issue.

THE Tax Policy League, 907 Broadway, New York City, is an organization devoted to tax research. Its members conduct researches into existing tax conditions, and compile valuable statistics. Harold S. Buttenheim is president of the League. Among the publications of the League are periodic popular releases, known as "Taxes for Democracy." These include, in digested form, the findings of the League. They occasionally contain illustrations by Robert Clancy. The subscription rate of "Taxes for Democracy" is \$1.00 per year.

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George J. Knapp

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A Prisoner At Tarragona

A Plea For A Revitalized Georgeist Movement In America

Philip Rubin

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November—December, 1940

Vol. XL, No. 6

WHOLE No. 223

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

ENGLAND: Douglas J. J. Owen.

CANADA: Herbert T. Owens.

BRAZIL: Prof. Fidelino de Figueiredo.

NEW ZEALAND: Hon. P. J. O'Regan, Wellington.
T. E. McMillan, Matamata.

SPAIN: Baldomero Argente, Madrid.

BULGARIA: Lasar Karaivanove, Plovdiv.

HUNGARY: J. J. Pikler, Budapest.

FRANCE: Jng. Pavlos Giannelia.

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

We declare:

That the earth is the birthright of all Mankind and that all have an equal and unalienable right to its use.

That man's need for the land is expressed by the Rent of Land; that this Rent results from the presence and activities of the people; that it arises as the result of Natural Law, and that it therefore should be taken to defray public expenses.

That as a result of permitting land owners to take for private purposes the Rent of Land it becomes necessary to impose the burdens of taxation on the products of labor and industry, which are the rightful property of individuals, and to which the government has no moral right.

That the diversion of the Rent of Land into private pockets and away from public use is a violation of Natural Law, and that the evils arising out of our unjust economic system are the penalties that follow such violation, as effect follows cause.

We therefore demand:

That the full Rent of Land be collected by the government in place of all direct and indirect taxes, and that buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, commerce, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries and incomes, and every product of labor and intellect be entirely exempt from taxation.

That there be no restrictions of any kind imposed upon the exchange of goods within or among nations.

ARGUMENT

Taking the full Rent of Land for public purposes would insure the fullest and best use of all land. Putting land to its fullest and best use would create an unlimited demand for labor. Thus the job would seek the man, not the man the job, and labor would receive its full share of the product.

The freeing from taxation of every product of labor, including commerce and exchange, would encourage men to build and to produce. It would put an end to legalized robbery by the government.

The public collection of the Rent of Land, by putting and keeping all land forever in use to the full extent of the people's needs, would insure real and permanent prosperity for all.

"It would require less than the fingers of the two hands to enumerate those who, from Plato down, rank with Henry George among the world's social philosophers . . . No man, no graduate of a higher educational institution, has a right to regard himself as an educated man in social thought unless he has some first-hand acquaintance with the theoretic contribution of this great American thinker."—JOHN DEWEY.

Land and Freedom

VOL. XL

NOVEMBER — DECEMBER, 1940

No. 6

Comment and Reflection

LET us state it clearly. We want to see the defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism. Our lot is cast with democracy, albeit over and over again its processes have disappointed us. We assert that the Georgeist reform is possible of application only in a society where free speech, freedom of assembly and popular government prevail. It is therefore vital that the measure of Freedom we now enjoy be preserved, and defended against encroachment. Nothing can be more dangerous than the smug assumption that Freedom will, somehow, take care of itself. Like all abstractions, Liberty and Justice simply won't work by mere wishful thinking. Rather must they be translated into a behavior of living. There must be realistic effort—risk, if need be—to keep and enjoy the qualities that alone make life worth living.

NEVERTHELESS, let us recognize that Hitler has offered a challenge—one which not to meet is to succumb to Hitlerism, in one form or another. The issue is this:—The old order has changed. The world is interdependent. We can no longer presume to enjoy a comfortable isolation from the misfortunes of other lands. The day of isolation—political as well as economic—is past. The onslaught of the dictators has jarred us into a realization that the boundary lines of the world are not eternal.

TYRANTS, says Henry George, employ current trends for their own purpose, and he adds, "We who would free men should heed the same truth." We already have ample testimony of the manner in which the tyrants are dealing with the current trend of world interdependence. Does not Hitler boast that he will reduce the entire world to the Nazi sway? What plan has democracy athwart this totalitarian threat?

WHAT of internal reconstruction? Hitler has here made another challenge. After the lightning war is to come the lightning peace, swiftly organized. Hitler has a plan, and the weary masses are eager for some way—almost any way—out of the hell of economic insecurity. Against this, what plan can the democracies hold out as an incentive for carrying on the struggle? Typical of the programs proposed for the post-war period is that of Sir Richard Acland, M. P., in his book, *Unser Kampf*, an answer to Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Sir Richard asserts

that a goal worth striving for is the common ownership of the means of production. Yet he senses the danger in this, for he says: "This leaves now only the biggest problem of all, namely that of political and individual liberty under common ownership. The problem is a very real one. Notwithstanding the amount of democratic control over working conditions which will exist through the many different forms of workers' meetings, the whole of the economic work will go forward under one central guiding plan, one organization . . . Over this organization one man will in the last resort preside. Human nature being what it is, we must consider how we can make sure that the political and cultural life of the nation does not fall under the control of this organization or of its chairman." The author goes on to deal with this problem, but in a most unsatisfactory way. He asserts that 100% liberty is impossible, and consoles us with a counter-assertion that 100% denial of liberty is also impossible. An international armed police, incapable of being bribed, is apparently his solution to this "biggest problem of all."

UNFORTUNATELY, this is the sort of idea that is stealing upon the democracies. But is this the thing that democracy is fighting for—an imitation of totalitarianism? Were it not just as well to yield to the enemy? It seems clear to us that any such concentration of power is a broad down-hill road to tyrannical dictatorship. Democracy's answer to Hitler must be something more than, "See, we ourselves are adopting your plan."

ADVOCATES of the collection of the rent of land by government and the abolition of all restrictions on the exchange of goods, have the only workable plan—an economic as well as a political democracy. This is the only *real* answer to Adolf Hitler. On the other hand, we must recognize that the idea of common ownership and centralized power—because of its easy acceptance—is widespread. Yet, this is not to despair. We must learn to do our work in the world as we find it. Social reform cannot be expected to triumph until it becomes instilled in the minds of the people. The same means and opportunities to effect such triumph are at our disposal as are available to all other reform groups. We must not be afraid to face the test of survival of our principles under a democratic order. While from time to time we may be disappointed, we shall refuse to be discouraged. We shall always retain our faith in the Power—and final Victory—of Truth.

The Campaign In Colorado

By GEORGE J. KNAPP

WHEN I ran for Governor of Colorado in 1938, I polled 44,000 votes, although I spent only \$310 in that campaign. This year I spent \$785, and I am credited with only about 10,000 votes in the September primary election.

My failure to land the Democratic nomination for Governor is attributable to two causes:—(1) Election frauds; and (2) a sample ballot published by the *Denver Post* the day before the election and distributed all over the State, which deliberately gave the impression that I was forced out of the race by some legal disqualification. Thus, tens of thousands of voters were fooled into thinking they would be wasting their votes if they voted for me.

Both these causes hinge on one major cause:—My whole campaign was based on single-tax plans, and the political machine and the *Denver Post* were fully aware of the whole situation. They had every reason to fight me.

As for the first item—election frauds—the recent primary was the most corrupt this State has had in many years. This was shown by a court recount in the case of a contest over the Democratic nomination for District Attorney in Denver. In the course of this contest, 23 ballot boxes were opened in court, and it was found that as many as 40 votes were stolen from one candidate and counted for another in a single voting precinct. Two election officials have been made the subject of criminal complaints in connection with these frauds.

As for myself, I have not sufficient money to contest my own votes in court; but in the case that *was* contested the recount showed the losing candidate to be the winner.

The extent of the frauds may be judged from these facts:—Two years ago, when I almost succeeded in obtaining the Democratic nomination, I carried election districts X and Y by large majorities. This time I am supposed to have received but two or three votes in each of the 73 precincts, plus districts D and T. In addition, two years ago, I carried Arapahoe County handsomely. Arapahoe County adjoins Denver on the South. Upwards of 1000 voters had signed my petitions in Arapahoe County. They are all personal friends of mine, and enthusiastic for the things I stand for. Yet, on the face of the returns, I am credited with only 350 votes in that County.

Two years ago, after I had almost defeated Tellor Ammons, then Governor, for the nomination, some of the "machine" crowd told me, "We will be ready for you next



time, if you run again." Well, they *were ready* for me this time, as they have full control of the election machinery.

Corrupt as were these election frauds, the thing that did me the most harm was the *Denver Post* sample ballot, which was intended to give the impression—and succeeded in doing so—that I was out of the race; the impression that for some unstated legal reason I had been disqualified at the last moment. A section of the *Post's* sample primary ballot (published Monday, September 9, the day before the election) is reproduced herewith.

The specific point that gave the impression that I was disqualified was the use of the words "Not Qualified" after my name on the sample ballot.

In addition, the following headline and preface appeared above the sample ballot (*italics are mine*):

BE SURE TO VOTE TUESDAY—HERE ARE MARKED BALLOTS TO HELP YOU

These marked ballots are published for the convenience of the voters in Tuesday's primary election. Cut out the ballot of your party and take it to the polls with you. It will help you in *eliminating the worst* and in selecting the best candidates. In publishing these marked ballots, the DENVER POST is not trying to tell anybody how to vote. It is merely passing on to the voters *the results of its investigation of the merits of the various candidates*. Few voters know personally all the candidates. Few have an opportunity to check up for themselves on all the candidates. As a public service, the Post has investigated carefully the candidates on both Democratic and Republican tickets. For the convenience of the voting public, the Post's conclusions are presented in the form of these marked ballots.

The Colorado State Constitution prescribes the qualifications for a candidate for Governor. I am fully qualified, according to these provisions, to occupy the office of Governor of Colorado. I am a native born citizen of the United States, am fifty-five years of age, and have lived in the State of Colorado a total of sixteen years, nine of which were immediately preceding the election.

Yet the *Post* singled me out as the one man among all the dozens of candidates for various offices on that sample ballot as being "not qualified." That fact, taken in connection with the use of the word "worst" in the heading of

the article, held me out to the world as being utterly degraded and contemptible, and as worthy of naught but scorn and ridicule. The *Post* was guilty of a false and malicious statement of fact. When they used the words "Not Qualified," without explanation of what impression they intended to convey, they perpetrated what is known in law as a *libel per se*.

The *Denver Post* has for forty years been the most notorious sheet in Colorado, and yet it has the largest circulation of any paper in the State. The paper was at one time described by the late Rev. F. O'Ryan as "a newspaper with the instincts of a hyena, the manners of a barroom, and the morals of Market Street." (At that time Market Street was the Denver red-light district.)

I was en route to Pueblo when this sample ballot was published, and knew nothing of it until I arrived at Pueblo about 9 P. M., the night before the election. It was then too late to do anything, even by radio, to counteract the mischief.

The effects of this trick can be imagined from the fact that, after the *Post* appeared with the sample ballot in it, my headquarters in Denver and Pueblo were besieged with telephone calls for hours from voters wanting to know "why Knapp has been disqualified." Tens of thousands of votes were probably lost because of this fraud.

However, aside from a libel suit against the *Post*—which I intend to undertake—there is nothing to be done about it. The *Post's* trick has affected my reputation to such an extent that it is imperative that I file an action. The prestige gained two years ago, when I lacked only a few votes of beating the "machine" in a single-handed campaign, was a valuable asset stolen from me on the eve of the last election.

Past Supreme Court decisions indicate that I have an A-1 basis for a libel action. After weeks of research, I have found a case that is admirably suited for the point I wish to make—that the *Post* publication was a libel per se. It is the case of *MacInnis v. The National Herald*, 140 Minn. 171; 167 NW 1, where the Supreme Court of Minnesota held: "A false written charge that a candidate . . . is not a citizen, when citizenship is a requisite of eligibility, is

libelous per se." The Court stated in its decision (italics mine): "No case holding this precise point is cited, *but there is no need of one. The article assailed the legal right of the plaintiff to be a candidate.*" The Court further held that no matter how vague or ambiguous the charge might be, it is a libel per se.

But the campaign is over now, and "what's done cannot be undone." We must look forward to the future. It is of the utmost importance and I am greatly concerned about it. We must either achieve single-tax legislation in Colorado in 1942, or forget all about it, and count it as a lost cause, as far as this State is concerned.

Here is the reason for that:—Last summer, the ex-service men started to circulate a petition for an amendment to exempt property owned by ex-service men from taxation to the extent of \$2000 each. The exemption they proposed applied to land as well as improvements. I succeeded in dissuading them. Their proposed amendment was dropped. I told them that I would, in 1942, try to initiate a real amendment for tax exemptions which would give them what they want, and also give the same exemptions to the people of the State generally. As stated, the ex-service men dropped their proposed amendment, and it was not on the ballot this Fall.

However, unless I submit an amendment in 1942, there is no doubt that these ex-service men will revive their amendment and have it on the ballot in 1942. If so, the exemptions they will provide for will be as stated, on land as well as improvements. You

can see what effect that will have on any later attempt by us to submit an amendment along our lines.

I am anxious during the next two years to organize the home-owners in all the larger cities of the State for an amendment to exempt *improvements*. I also want to organize the merchants for an exemption on stocks of merchandise.

The campaigns of 1938 and 1940 have left me very low in funds. I hope I will receive enough support from those who are interested in this plan to put it across. I want to impress all our friends with the fact stated above—that unless we submit an amendment in 1942, we may as well forget about the single-tax in Colorado for a long time.

Sample Direct Primary Election Ballot
DEMOCRATIC PARTY

To vote for a person mark a cross (X) in the first square at the right of the name of the person for whom you desire to vote.
To vote for another person whose name is not printed on the ballot, write name of such person in the blank space immediately following the printed names of candidates for such office. In no case shall name be written of candidates appearing on any other party ballot.

<p>FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN EIGHTH CONGRESS 1ST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT (Vote for One)</p> <p>LAWRENCE LEWIS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>FOR STATE SENATOR 1ST SENATORIAL DISTRICT (Vote for Four)</p> <p>A. B. MIRSCHFIELD <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>H. R. LATIMER <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>JOSEPH F. CONANTIME <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>ELFRED H. WALK <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>SUDORNA BELL SMITH <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>VAL HIGGINS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>CHARLES D. STONG <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>FOR DISTRICT JUDGE, 2ND JUDICIAL DISTRICT (in full term) (Vote for One)</p> <p>FLOYD F. WILES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>FOR JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT (Vote for One)</p> <p>BENJAMIN C. HILLJARD <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN THE 3RD GENERAL ASSEMBLY, CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER (Vote for Fifteen)</p> <p>DOMINIC A. COLAROSSO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>IRVING GRIBER <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>MICHAEL D. McDONALD <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>CLEM CROWLEY <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>GEORGE J. BAKAR <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>WILLIAM <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>FOR DISTRICT ATTORNEY, 2ND JUDICIAL DISTRICT (Vote for One)</p> <p>RAULF B. SUMRINE <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>O. OTTO MOORE <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p> <p>DON B. BONMAN <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>FOR GOVERNOR (Vote for One)</p> <p>GEORGE E. BAUNOER BOTH QUALIFIED</p> <p>JOHN A. CARROLL QUALIFIED</p> <p>GEORGE J. KNAPP NOT QUALIFIED ←</p>	<p>FOR COUNTY JUDGE, CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER (Vote for One)</p> <p>CHARLES EDGAR BETHARD <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>FOR JUDGE OF THE JUVENILE COURT, CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER (Vote for One)</p> <p>PHILIP B. SILLIAM <input checked="" type="checkbox"/></p>

SECRETARY OF STATE

FROM THE DENVER POST
MONDAY, SEPT. 9, 1940

Professor Alonso Alive!

A Prisoner At Tarragona

OUR dear colleague, Prof. Antonio F. Matheu Alonso, a leader of the Georgeist Cause in Spain, had been given up as dead by Georgeists on both sides of the Atlantic. How elated we were, therefore, to receive a letter from him recently, from Tarragona, in which he explained the reason for his long silence!

* * *

Prof. Matheu Alonso was an instructor of economics and French at the University of Salamanca in Spain. In both subjects he used Henry George's works as text-books. In his courses in French, he used a French translation of "Progress and Poverty" for the students to translate into Spanish.

In 1934, the Professor paid a brief visit to the United States in order to study the American Georgeist movement. A warm friendship was formed between him and Joseph Dana Miller. "He radiates friendship and sincerity," Mr. Miller wrote of the man. Prof. Alonso was profoundly impressed by the Henry George School of Social Science, which had been founded only two years before by Oscar Geiger. He resolved to create a similar institution in his native country. When he returned to Spain, he wrote to Mr. Miller: "I am trying to found a Henry George School here like that of the late Oscar Geiger. The director will be Mr. Argente." (Baldomero Argente is President of the Liga Georgista Espanola.)

Prof. Alonso accepted the position of Spanish correspondent of LAND AND FREEDOM, and we received regular communications from him. In 1936, however, when the Spanish Civil War broke out, his communications became less frequent. The last word we received from him was in January 1939. He explained that his country was in a very bad economic condition, and that it was difficult to trade or communicate with the outside world. However, he expressed hope in the future of the Georgeist Cause. Shortly afterwards, the Fascists won the struggle and gained political control of Spain. And then no more communications from Prof. Alonso. Our letters and magazines were returned by the Military Censor.

In June 1940, resigned to the fact that we could not reach personally Prof. Alonso, we wrote to Sr. Baldomero Argente in Madrid for information. Readers will recall Sr. Argente's letter in our July-August 1940 number. He reported he, too, had no news of Prof. Alonso and had given him up as lost. Sr. Argente accepted our proposal to take the position of Spanish correspondent in place of Prof. Alonso.

And then—a few days ago—we received an unexpected letter from Prof. Alonso himself! We present it herewith, translated through the courtesy of Mr. E. Vadillo Ruiz:

"My Dear Georgeist Friends:

"I am writing in Spanish to facilitate the work of the Censors. Don Baldomero Argente has informed me of all your worries about myself, for which I thank you very sincerely.

"Since September 1936—that is, within the Period of the Revolution—I was here at Tarragona, working as professor at the Instituto y Escuela Normal del Magisterio, and also working at my profession of Law. I used Henry George's books in my classes, both for comment and translation.

"When General Franco's troops entered Tarragona, accusations and indictments of the citizens who remained here began. Many had fled to France, and so escaped.

"I was the victim of the jealousy of a lawyer, who charged me with accusing my Fascist clients instead of defending them. This charge was so false that I was able to clear myself by presenting a certificate which vindicated me completely. This certificate refers to the first five death sentences which were demanded before the Special Court of the Guard of Tarragona by the previous Loyalist Government, and which I opposed. Two of the cases I saved in Tarragona, and the other three I was also able to save at the Court in Barcelona. After these cases had been decided, no further death penalties were imposed, due to the fact that the Special Court used the decisions on these first cases whenever the death penalty was demanded. Thus no one else was sentenced to death.

"Though I was completely cleared of the charge against myself, nevertheless there were other charges. The Fascists discovered that I had been an outstanding republican, and that a political party had nominated me as candidate for Deputy in 1936. They found that in my teachings I propagated the Georgeist doctrine, which the judge of the Court qualified as 'anarchistic and anti-patriotic.'

"In my defense, I showed them that the Georgeist doctrine is not anarchistic, and that our doctrine is approved by the Holy See; and I related the story of Dr. Edward McGlynn, Pastor of St. Stephen's in New York. I also pointed out that General Fanjul, collaborator of General Franco, had been Vice President of the Liga Georgista Espanola, and that our Secretary, Don Arturo Soria, was assassinated by the Communists.

"The Tribunal was very much impressed by the case of Dr. McGlynn, but it took them forty-five days to ascertain whether or not Georgeism was a revolutionary doctrine. Since I held no high political position, and since I have never been involved in a crime, I was not sentenced to death, but was given a life sentence. During the forty-five days, however, I was in prison among those sentenced to death. Each night I saw my companions taken out to die, and one night I thought they were going to take me, too. You see, I was on the brink of being the first Georgeist martyr!

"After my sentence was confirmed, I was transferred to the Prison of San Miguel de los Reyes in Valencia, where I remained completely *incommunicado* until August 26, when I was liberated. Due to a reviewing of sentences, mine has been reduced to six years.

"My present status is that of prisoner in my own home, and of course I will not be reinstated in the University to continue my teachings. My immediate problem is to be able to live, since the authorities have confiscated my home and everything I possessed, including my clothing, and even my professional diplomas. I am living now through the kindness of my sister. I hope that the authorities will at least allow me to work as an attorney. If not, I will be compelled to request help from you to approach the Spanish Embassy in Washington to give me a passport to the United States, so that I might establish myself in your country as Professor of Spanish and Economic Philosophy. For two years I was lecturer in Spanish at the University of Liverpool, England.

"Since the middle of 1938, I have not received any word from you, and I have been out of touch with the movement in America. I trust that the Henry George School is still growing. We have to recognize that Oscar Geiger had a great idea, and thanks to him, our Cause has entered a new period of efficacy. If we had continued with the old methods, we could never have reached our ends.

"We have to accept the fact that Henry George's words are the most efficient means for converting people. To us, his pupils, it remains only to propagate his works and succeed in making the people read his books directly. To this end, the best means is to offer students the opportunity to study collectively the works of Henry George; and this is the method of the School, the great vision of Oscar Geiger.

"I wish to renew my acquaintance with all my Georgeist friends in America, and request that you supply me with Georgeist literature. Cordial regards to all the Georgeists, and affectionate greetings to you, my dear friends."

* * *

(We have already communicated with Washington, and hope to assist Prof. Alonso to come to this country, should the occasion warrant. We will keep our readers informed of developments.—Ed.)

I Rest Awhile

But I Shall Awake To Strive Again

FROM Mrs. Bessie Beach Truelhart we have received an obituary of Laurie J. Quinby, who died November 17th at the age of 71. Mr. Quinby was elected to the Nebraska State Senate in 1915. With other work there he accomplished the consolidation of Omaha and suburbs. He was one of the active promoters of the new State Capitol and the New Constitution for the State providing for Unicameral Legislation. He was the author of several books and pamphlets, among them, "Three Paths," "The American Republic of States and Democracy of Citizens," and "The Natural Basis of Morals and Ethics."

Mr. Quinby's funeral was unique in that he had written his own obituary, with the request that it be read at his funeral. We present it herewith.—Ed.

* * *

GENTLE FRIENDS, HAIL AND FAREWELL.

For me, this act of the play is ended. In Life's Drama I played but a minor part. Into this part I put the best that was in me. Not always did I confine myself to the written lines, but wherever I felt that revision of them might be made by me, I did not hesitate so to revise them. Whether such was for good and betterment of all, Time alone will tell. Yet, looking back, I feel that much more I might have done. Many actors in this Drama I have loved. To them I am indebted for the contributions they made to my faith in mankind. However dark each day's shadows were, I found that at heart mankind is divine.

The everlasting play shall go on. Its players, day after day, shall step aside, only that greater artists may appear upon the stage to play their parts. That, through some divine law, I was given a part in this Drama is to me of infinite satisfaction. "I thank whatever gods may be" for Life's glorious experiences.

In the Drama of Life, from childhood to this day, I was in and felt the tragedies of its many scenes, but into my heart came joy and gratitude for the struggle. Though, at times, I felt quite alone, yet I was not alone. Back of me was a parentage that did not cramp my forming years. Into my life came friends devoted and true. For the affection and love of splendid women and the strong support and assistance of noble men, I render to Life the gratitude of a devoted heart.

I experienced want and poverty. I knew the weight of Privilege, for I strove beneath its feet. In the darkest days of it all, I mustered all the elements of my patience—even to the point of reducing that "patience" to mustard, whose pungent tang at times quite o'erwhelmed me. Yet, upon reflection, knowing my own weaknesses, this knowledge impelled me to overlook the foibles of others. Though, occasionally, I did not hesitate to criticize, deep within me there was no feeling of resentment. I did not wish to make of myself a section of "the day of judgment." I caught glimmerings of Natural Law under which, through his inadequate knowledge, man had struggled and fallen, but rose again to fight and to carry on. Yes, to carry on forever in unity and harmony with and under the Natural Law of Justice. Truly, the trend of the universe is good.

For the inspiring beauty of his poetic concepts and expressions of Life, more than speech may ever tell, I am beholden to the master, Shakespeare. "What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving, how express and ad-

mirable! in action, how like an angel! in apprehension, how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals!"

For what visions of Infinite Love I caught, I shall forever pay my homage to the Prophets of all religions, at the head of whom I place the gentle Gautama and the tender-hearted Nazarene. To Emerson and to Henry George I pay my heart-felt tribute for the concepts of Natural Law that must forever guide us. The Sage of Concord instructed me in the knowledge that "We are begirt by laws which execute themselves," and he addressed to all men the question, "If one could, in the least particular, alter the course of Nature, who would accept the gift of Life?"

The Prophet and the Seer of civilized society and social progress, Henry George, gave me insight into the truth that all the sufferings of men are due to man's violation of Natural Law, obedience to which he proved would advance personal and social peace among the brotherhood of men. He admonished me and all men to —

"Look around today.

"Lo, here and now, in our civilized society, the old allegories yet have a meaning, the old myths are still true. Into the valley of the Shadow of Death yet often leads the path of duty, through the streets of Vanity Fair walk Christian and Faithful, and on Great-heart's armor ring the clanging blows. Ormuzd still fights with Ahriman—the Prince of Light with the Powers of Darkness. He who will hear, to him the clarions of the battle call.

"How they call, and call, and call, till the heart swells that hears them! Strong soul and high endeavor, the world needs them now. Beauty still lies imprisoned, and iron wheels go over the good and true and beautiful that might spring from human lives.

"And they who fight with Ormuzd, though they may not know each other, somewhere, sometime, will the muster roll be called."

Yes, Strong Soul, I was mustered into that host that caught the gleams of Natural Justice. That host whose eyes saw the dawning of a better day, where want and misery among mankind should be no more. That host whose mind grasped the truth that before the Primal Pioneer placed him upon this planet He made full provision for man, that from Whose Storehouse—the land—man might secure every element for his nourishment and good, without let or hindrance. That host whose understanding saw that Privilege had entered in and through unjust enactments by governments, had preempted Nature's bounties and levied tribute upon men who sought the blessings their Father had provided for them. Now, to these hosts—

All hail, strong champions of a noble cause!
Defenders of Eternal Justice, hail!
True heralds of the time when, from the heights
Of mankind's rich attainment of the goal
(Whereto the seers of every age have urged)
Majestic Liberty shall loud proclaim
The winners of her Diadems of Peace—
Above the ranks of kings and potentates,
Shall stand Apostles of our Henry George.
When scoffers jeered and Truth was in eclipse,
He stood for common Justice and the right
Of every man to freedom of the land.

To hold aloft the emblem of this cause,
Where eye of man may everywhere behold,
In acts heroic when the lords of earth
Would from this storehouse of our world withhold
The hand of Toil and brain of Enterprise.
For such they do when these they blight and check
With taxes levied on the needs of man.

When all have plenty, then the bitter strife
(Dark foe to onward, upward march of man)
Shall end, and in its place the Song of Peace
(To which the lyres of Ancient Bards were strung)
Shall sound along the highways of the world.
For plenty is the fruit of Toil alone,
Applied to Nature's bounties which our God
For all mankind, has lovingly ordained.

'Tis not God's will that pomp and glory shine
Through shutting from His land the race of men.
And, by His Law, eternal and supreme,
Who close the land against the right of Toil,
Shall, by that act, deprive themselves of good;
For naught that is unjust shall here remain,
While God is Love and Justice is His Law.

For the vision of a glorified humanity, under the glow of Liberty and Justice through obedience to Natural Law, I owe a debt of gratitude to the immortal Henry George. When in early life, first I caught that vision, I resolved that gratitude for it demanded of me the gift of my heart's devotion. I kept that pledge. I fought the fight. Yet still the vision gleams before me and lures me on to greater effort. Toward it, still may I strive on in larger spheres of influence, until upon this earth no child shall go to bed ahungered; not one mother fear for the safety of her brood; nor one father among men strive against his brother for Liberty and Justice and the Peace of the World. You, all of us shall move forward until these blessings shall flow into the lives of men, filling and surrounding them with the happiness of Life, as the golden orb of day illumines our universe with light.

Fervently I rest serene in the thought that, as I bid the world farewell, leaving my beloved ones to the kindness of mankind, shall be greeted by those to whom I gave my heart's devotion there upon the other Shore of Life. Toward that shore, upon a widening channel, I float into and over the Infinite Sea.

LAURIE J. QUINBY

Postscript—

Since nothing in its complete essence ever is begun, neither is anything ever finished. (Not even this posthumous letter, as will be noted.) Whatever is, had a heretofore and shall have a hercafter. It is inconceivable that anything can spring from nothing. It is equally inconceivable that annihilation can result for anything that now exists. If this be true of the atom, can it be less true of the mind—or whatever that may be which we denominate the soul. Then, as every atom is essential to the universe, not one soul can be spared from the Unity of life. The same Thought which, before time, called me into individual mortal life, shall call me back again when It shall have need of me here. Just for a while—

Farewell.

LAURIE J. QUINBY

THE liberty of the press, trial by jury, the Habeas Corpus Writ, even Magna Charta itself, although justly deemed the palladia of freedom, are all inferior considerations, when compared with the general distribution of real property among every class of people. Let the people have property and they will have power—a power that will forever be exerted to prevent the restriction of the press, and abolition of trial by jury, or the abridgment of any other privilege.

—NOAH WEBSTER

A Plea For A Revitalized Georgeist Movement In America

By PHILIP RUBIN

IN Australia and New Zealand, a municipal single tax exists in many cities; Denmark imposes a national tax on land values; in Great Britain there is a parliamentary land-value taxation bloc of fifty members, influential and powerful enough to pass a national land-value taxation bill the moment a Labor government comes into being when this war is over.

But what progress has been made in the United States of America, birth-place and home of Henry George? Only the irrigation districts of central California and a handful of tiny "single-tax" colonies. There is not a single city here—not even a small city—which exempts improvements entirely from taxation. Georgeists have no considerable strength in a single state legislature, no influence upon Congress or the national administration. This, after more than half a century of earnest, devoted, self-sacrificing agitation.

What is to blame? What is the trouble? After nearly a decade of study of the Georgeist movement in this country, I have come to the conclusion that the blame lies partly with American Georgeists themselves. In order not to be misunderstood, let me emphasize the word "partly". It is true that to a large extent the lack of progress of American Georgeism in practical politics and practical *accomplishment* is due to objective conditions in America which Georgeists alone can hardly change—a materialistic and "ruggedly-individualistic" psychology which has not been interested in a social order based on justice, but only in satisfying its own immediate selfish needs; a speculator and gambler psychology which has given rise to the most corrupt political life of any country in the world.

The fault of American Georgeists is that, in revolting against the corrupt American political life of the half-century and more before 1933, they have allowed themselves to swing to the other extreme—that of idealism, which, lacking contact with ordinary, every-day human problems and human beings, tends to become fanatical dogma, the cult of a priestly elite, educated to mouth certain phrases without being expected to attempt to put these ideas into practice. Thus, what was once a vigorous reform movement, becomes the property of intellectual snobs who look down with contempt upon stupid hoi-polloi. American Georgeism today is too respectful of the aristocratic individualism expressed by such as Mr. Albert Jay Nock, among whose disciples, unfortunately, is to be found Mr. Frank Chodorov, Director of the Henry George School of Social Science.

Because American Georgeists have allowed themselves to be pushed out of American practical politics—a thing they should not have allowed to happen—it is possible for us to be told (as Mr. Chodorov did tell us in the last issue of *LAND AND FREEDOM*) that politics and organization are not for such angelic beings as Georgeists, that education alone—education of more Olympians who will be willing to sit with us on our lofty mountains and help us while our time away in vain quibblings over obscure doctrinal points—is all that is necessary. One may laugh at this point of view if one doesn't take the Georgeist movement too seriously, if one hasn't made it a part of his or her life. But Henry George at least, who died while in the midst of a campaign for the mayoralty of New York, who knew and felt that political action and education could only be separated from each other at grave peril to the movement, wouldn't have laughed, for he would have realized its serious implications for the further progress of the fight to return the soil to the people.

So today, nearly eight years after the advent of New Deal Liberalism, which might have given us the chance for many practical accomplishments in the field of land value taxation in this country had we gone about it in the right way, we still remain immaculate idealists and dogmatists, untouched and unharmed by worldly politicians, proud—oh, how proud!—of our virginity. How long will this spinster attitude of American Georgeism prevail? I have no way of telling. But I do know it's about time to shake off our apathy. There is too much work to be done in these United States for us to sit idly by, prating about education versus organization. People are eager to hear our message, *providing* we will relate it to their daily needs—*providing* we will display more humanity towards the remote ideal of the confiscation of land rent and the abolition of all taxes. For example, there is an immediate need to exempt buildings (I don't like the word "improvements" — it's too technical and the man in the street doesn't "get" it), and put a much higher tax on vacant and semi-vacant lots than is now the case in our cities, so that cheap, but decent, homes may be erected for millions of American slum dwellers.

The Federal government, now embarked on its huge defense program, is worried about finding proper housing in the future for millions of workers. Can't we Georgeists show the Federal, as well as local, governments that our way—a high tax on vacant lots and concurrent exemption of buildings—is the only way to prevent land owners from

holding up large-scale housing for defense workers, that such a method of taxation is therefore the patriotic method? Are we willing to do this, or would we prefer to continue our unconstructive attacks upon the Administration for its failure to become one hundred per cent Georgeist?

If Georgeism in the United States is to begin to show practical achievements in the direction of the ideal of justice and freedom as Henry George formulated it, I am convinced Georgeists will have to reconstruct their views on human nature, human aspirations and the possibilities for persuading people by utilizing the faculties that lie within the human make-up. They will have to learn to maintain a balance between idealism and life's realities: they will have to learn to become politicians, if not in the derogatory American, then in the more complimentary British sense. If Georgeists fail to impress themselves upon the psychology of average Americans, believing with the Marxians that only economic interests dictate people's thinking, they will remain just where they are today.

Certain steps which American Georgeism ought to take immediately, to get back into the main stream of American daily life, here suggest themselves. Some of them have already been mentioned by Mr. Mortimer A. Leister in the last issue of LAND AND FREEDOM. I shall try to give a bare summary of them in what follows:

1. *Organization.* An American Association for Land Value Taxation, similar in aim and scope to the British association, should be formed, and divided into state associations. These groups should never forget that while land value taxation and the pure Georgeist ideal are related to each other as an immediate means is related to a remoter end, they are not identical, and that though a great number of people will go along with us part of the way, only a few will be willing to follow us all the way. All, therefore, that it can and should advocate is *greater* land value taxation concurrently with the exemption from taxation of certain things, such as buildings, necessary consumers' articles, etc.

The headquarters of the national organization should be either in Washington, Pittsburgh or Chicago, *not* in New York City, whose life and mode of thinking is not characteristic of that of the rest of the country, and which is too much the paradise of esoteric quibblers. Either of the three cities I have mentioned has its advantages as national headquarters—Washington, because it is the seat of government; Pittsburgh, because we have accomplished a little and have an opportunity to still further demonstrate, practically, our principles in that city; Chicago, because of its central location. Which of these three is best suited as a national headquarters, would accomplish most for Georgeism if an American Association for Land Value Taxation were located there I am not quite certain, though I would perhaps vote for Washington. But I am convinced that New York is unsuited for this purpose.

2. *Our relation to Socialism.* Georgeism has, with justice I think, been called moderate socialism, practical socialism, sane socialism. We *do* advocate the socialization of rent and of necessary monopolies, and some are also in favor of the socialization of finance and credit. True, our theoretical differences with the Marxian Socialists and Communists are wide and profound, opposing as we do the socialization of productive capital and the destruction by the State of competitive, private-profit industry. But today the more moderate Socialists, or Social-Democrats, realizing what the destruction of competitive, private-profit industry has done to Russia, are inclined to be less enthusiastic about this phase of their program and to put more emphasis on the idea of socializing monopolies—that is, non-competitive industry—which Georgeists also advocate. Why shouldn't Georgeists enter the moderately-socialistic Labor Party of New York and similar parties in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Washington State, etc., there to advocate their views and through these parties advance their cause practically, as has been done in Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain? Either we should do this or be prepared to form a political party of our own, as our Danish friends have done, a thing I personally would not advocate for this country.

I presume that individual Georgeists who work in certain trades are as active trade unionists as are workers of other convictions. But it would, I believe, help the Georgeist cause in this country if Georgeists as a group kept up an active interest in American labor unions and their problems, particularly the problem of keeping them free from corrupt leaders.

I know several active Georgeists who also take an active interest in the consumer cooperative movement and are even among the leaders. Here Georgeist groups might participate more directly than in labor unions, might become influential and serve the cause by more group participation in the movement for cooperative stores, still a young and growing movement in this country. In their necessity to combine idealism with a realistic view of things, the cooperative and Georgeist movements have much in common.

In the smaller cities and towns of this country, I find that the more liberal churches are among the best groups in which Georgeists might work. In my own town—a small New England city of some 30,000 people—I find the Social Justice League of the Unitarian Church the most receptive group in the community. Other Georgeists in small cities of similar size have probably found a similar situation.

In states like my own, where the Democratic party represents progressivism and readiness to listen to new ideas we can and should work with and through that party. In such cases—but in such only—it might be good policy on our part to emphasize our differences with the Socialists rather than our similarities.

3. *Working on local government.* Getting people to sign petitions to city councils for building exemption would, I believe, be an excellent way of educating masses of people who never heard of Henry George to the importance of land value taxation for their own immediate welfare. Such petitions would compel newspapers to give us a good deal more publicity than they ordinarily would, besides bringing the question vividly home to large numbers of peoples and causing a healthy discussion. However, I would advocate this procedure only for smaller cities and towns, not for places of more than 100,000 population.

4. *Correct philosophy of life.* Henry George wanted society to be based on both justice and freedom, but of the two he realized that justice was the more important, because more fundamental. We deprive a criminal of his freedom, because we believe it just that society should do so, because one man's freedom may endanger the freedom of thousands. We believe then that freedom *in society* is conditioned by the principle of social equity, is dependent on justice, and not vice versa, and that when justice prevails freedom will automatically follow, but that when freedom is granted the individual, justice among men does not automatically result. We believe in social justice *and* in the individual freedom which it alone can establish and guarantee.

But many American Georgeists talk today as if individual liberty, not social justice, were fundamental. And so, average Americans, listening to us, ask, "What is the difference between your beliefs and Mr. Hoover's rugged individualism?" Of course there is a vast difference, but by emphasizing individualism at the expense of Collectivism or Socialism (a point I thought Henry George made clear when he showed the necessity of each *in its proper place*), we invite misunderstanding of our position by otherwise progressive-minded people, a misunderstanding for which only we ourselves are to blame.

5. *More warmth of friendship among American Georgeists.* This is a delicate subject, which at first glance might not seem so important for the practical progress of the movement in America, but if we are to accomplish anything here, we must be united by deeper and warmer bonds of friendship than we have hitherto shown toward one another. Socialists and Communists address their fellow workers as "Comrade," and what is even more significant, I believe, is the fact that when Socialists or Communists meet, their conversation shows that the range of interests which they have in common is far wider than the interests shared by Georgeists.

American Georgeists, unlike British Georgeists I met in London, are too apt to regard one another only as economic thinking machines, sharing no other common interests, such as sports, sex, art, music or literature. In our conversations we give each other the impression of monomaniacs, which

we really are not. We are, at bottom, as warmly human, as alive and as imaginative—perhaps even more so—as people of other radical beliefs. Let us then relate our philosophy to the richness and fullness of human life, instead of narrowing our common interest to a condemnation of the present economic system.

To return to the point where I started in this article, I would say that our excessive idealism has led to both fanatical zeal and dogmatic coldbloodedness. America today is undergoing a psychologic change from its excessive materialism and rugged individualism. Because of this change American Georgeism must change its attitude. At long last, we have an opportunity to meet and mingle with the American mind and heart. But we must be willing not only to teach, but to be taught as well, if we are to accomplish anything worthwhile in this country in the direction of Henry George's ideal of social justice.

Let us stop talking nonsense about developing an intellectual elite. Let us forsake our ivory towers and relate our ideal to the throbbing life that surrounds us. Let us learn that only friendships and brotherhood among human beings can usher in an era of social justice and individual freedom. When we have done that, the satisfaction and joy of accomplishment, of achievement, will be ours.

ONE in a series of documentary short films released by M.G.M., known as "The Passing Parade," deals with a very interesting account of the fight against the disease pellagra. This film, entitled "A Way In The Wilderness," is the story of the discoveries of Dr. Joseph Goldberger in his investigations of the disease. Contrary to general belief, Dr. Goldberger proved that pellagra is not caused by a germ, but is the result of malnutrition. When his theories were substantiated, the Government proceeded to send the proper food supplies to the stricken areas. But then came the depression—general low wages—the migrant workers, the Okies . . . and more pellagra. It became evident that the root of the disease is now beyond medical science. The cause is poverty. Science, says the commentator in this film, has done all it can—it has contributed its share. The rest—the solution to the problem of poverty—is in the hands of 130 million citizens.

A SAD commentary on the effects of our city civilization upon the health of the citizens is the fact that over 20% of the men called in the first New York City draft failed to pass the Army medical examination. Raised in an artificial and repressive environment, and divorced from healthy contact with the good earth, this is not too surprising. The officials who are now worrying over the high percentage of unfit men would do well to ponder the inequitable holding of the land they are preparing to defend.

Liechtenstein—"Land Without Army Or Taxes"

By PAVLOS GIANNELIA

IT is not certain that the little state of Liechtenstein will always exist, although it has maintained its sovereignty since 1719. Indeed, I am not sure what will be its fate by the time these lines are published.

This tiny principality has an area of 60 square miles and a population of 12,000. It lies on the right of the river Rhine, below Lake Constance, between Austria and Switzerland. Liechtenstein is famed as "the land without army and without taxes." The first averment is true, but not the second. In 1937 the State collected 1,500,000 Swiss francs in taxes, and its eleven Communes totalled a collection of 700,000. But notwithstanding, the legislation of Liechtenstein has singular points of interest to Georgians.

"The dorsal spine of the direct taxes is the property tax and the income tax," states the special report of Liechtenstein on the Land Tax, and further explains: "Real property, being immovable, is easily assessed, and much more difficult to escape taxation than income." But receipts from the direct taxes were only 150,000 Swiss francs. The indirect taxes, which the people pay unconsciously—believing (as do the people of other countries) that the little rates, fees and stamps have no importance—exceeded many times the revenue from direct taxes; they amounted to 1,100,000 Swiss francs.

What is interesting in Liechtenstein's land tax is the method of calculating the tax rate. This rate is $1\frac{1}{2}$ per mill of the property, and 2 per cent of the income. Every year, the Parliament decides whether the whole tax rate must be collected, or a part of it, or a multiple of it. In recent years, the prosperity of the country has caused Parliament to decide to collect only half the tax rate, that is, $\frac{3}{4}$ per mill of the property and one per cent of the income.

Georgians can appreciate this method of calculation insofar as it taxes land owners more heavily and exempts the landless who are occupied in agriculture. Georgians, however, would prefer to see the property tax reduced to land and water power only, without any taxation of improvements or manufactured products, and without any income tax.

As regards Liechtenstein's corporation tax, it must be understood that this country is an Eldorado of holding companies. The number of such companies is not published; but there are many. (If it is true that there are



12,000 holding companies, there would be one for every inhabitant!) The receipts from taxes on these companies was, in 1937, 305,200 Sw. fr. (The State collected 202,600 and the Communes 102,600.) This tax does not burden the home population but only foreign companies which come to Liechtenstein to sanction

their holding titles. These companies appreciate the very liberal, and not at all punitive, tax legislation of this microscopic yet sovereign State.

Another interesting feature of the legislation is the customs-union with Switzerland. This latter country has assumed the customs service for Liechtenstein, and pays its government annually the round sum of 450,000 Sw. fr. The annual customs receipts are about 325,000,000 Sw. fr., or 80 Sw. fr. for each inhabitant of both Switzerland and Liechtenstein. The share of the latter country, then, should be nearly one million francs; but the reason it only receives half this amount is that Switzerland also assumes other expenses for Liechtenstein, such as diplomatic and consular services.

Many calculations have proven that the customs duties impose a burden on the economy of Liechtenstein that amounts to *three times* the revenue collected by the government. Thus each inhabitant of Switzerland and Liechtenstein is obliged to pay 240 Sw. fr. in the process of paying customs duties instead of only 80, which is all the government collects. This sum is more than the state and local taxes take from them—which amounts to about 180 or 200 francs. This burden compels the people of Liechtenstein to pay more for all the goods that are imported, such as fuel, automobiles, sugar, metals, and many other products which cannot be domestically produced.

The receipts from this fining of the people go largely to "protect" the chief industries of Liechtenstein—wine and textiles. By the free importation of the goods mentioned above, Liechtenstein would have more to gain than by this imaginary protection of wine and textiles. Certainly the unemployed could more easily get work by free trade than by the present system of subsidizing.

Unfortunately, as can be seen, this little State is far from Georgian principles. The chief local gazette has urged the citizens not to spend in foreign countries the money gained in Liechtenstein, but to spend holidays, weekends and currency within the boundary of Liechtenstein!

However, it would be a pity to see this flourishing little land sacrificed to New-European restrictionism.

The Critics Criticized

By JACOB SCHWARTZMAN

"SO I object—" said Ko-Ko, in the famous operetta by Gilbert and Sullivan, "The Mikado." And to emphasize his point, he repeated this twice more.

Looking through the ponderous tomes which have been written by serious-minded "economists"—men who ostensibly are social scientists—I have been struck by the great quantity of nonsense which has passed under the guise of political economy. Especially ridiculous are the objections leveled against Henry George and his "single tax" proposal. A number of the critics, shouting denunciations, seem to think they prove their point, like Ko-Ko, in merely repeating their cavils.

It is my purpose here to criticize the various critics of Henry George, and to answer their objections. But since their name is legion, and a number of them parrot what the standard "authorities" have already professed, I shall pick out only the best-known of these and, after classifying their objections, proceed to refute them. My refutations will be presented in a series of articles, of which this is the first. After individual economists have been answered, I will then summarize the objections which appear most often, arrange them in as few groups as practicable, and answer them collectively.

F. W. Taussig

(Frank William Taussig was born in 1859. He died this year (1940). Among the high positions held by this famous American economist were those of editor-in-chief of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* and Chairman of the U. S. Tariff Commission (1917-19). He was a professor of Economics at Harvard from 1882 to 1935, and the author of many books on economics—ED.)

I follow no set order in presenting these authorities. I shall do that only when summarizing at the end of the series. I begin with the first prosecutor, F. W. Taussig (recently deceased). He states his objections to the single tax in his "Principles of Economics," Volume II (third edition, Macmillan, 1936), on pp. 80-82. This noted economist criticizes George's remedy by interposing the following so-called obstacles:

1—There is the difficulty of measuring the investment made in the soil, and the normal return on it. In other words, rent is inextricably intermixed with the complex process of tilling the soil, and of maintaining its fertility. If rent is to be carved out of the final produce, how can you be sure that it doesn't cut into the amount due to labor for its work?

2—The single tax will have the tendency to discourage the tenant to cultivate the soil, for the more he produces,

the more will the government take from him in the tax; while, at present, the owner of the soil receives the best stimulus to the best use of the land from the knowledge that all he tills will go to him.

3—It is admitted that if the nation at its birth had started owning land, it might be all right. But once private ownership arises, as it has arisen all over the world with the birth of each country, it would be socialistic to change such private ownership, especially since it has acted as a spur for the advance of agricultural arts.

4—The author does not object, however, to the collection by society of all the rent that will arise hereafter. In fact, he feels it might be all right, except that it would call for high intelligence and scrupulous honesty among public officials. A dull or corrupt administration would work great harm, and would probably lead to the abandonment of the whole program.

And so, while the writer admits a certain injustice in permitting private ownership of land, he feels a greater injustice would be worked upon the people if land were owned socially, and therefore picks, as it seems to him, the lesser of the two evils.

Looking upon the four obstacles as a whole, I would say that there is really only one objection presented, the rest being but detailed subdivisions. However, we shall accept Taussig's classifications, and attempt to attack each of them.

(1)

Beginning with the first, we might observe that this objection is the one most commonly used by the standard economists, and one which Henry George himself foresaw. We shall therefore allow him to answer it:

". . . For admitting that it is impossible invariably to separate the value of land from the value of improvements, is this necessity of continuing to tax *some* improvements any reason why we should continue to tax *all* improvements? If it discourage production to tax values which labor and capital have intimately combined with that of land, how much greater discouragement is involved in taxing not only these, but all the clearly distinguishable values which labor and capital create?

"But, as a matter of fact, the value of land can always be readily distinguished from the value of improvements. In countries like the United States there is much valuable land that has never been improved; and in many of the States the value of the land and the value of improvements are habitually estimated separately by the assessors, though afterward reunited under the term real estate. Nor where

ground has been occupied from immemorial times, is there any difficulty in getting at the value of the bare land, for frequently the land is owned by one person and the buildings by another, and when a fire occurs and improvements are destroyed, a clear and definite value remains in the land. In the oldest country in the world no difficulty whatever can attend the separation, if all that be attempted is to separate the value of the clearly distinguishable improvements, made within a moderate period, from the value of the land, should they be destroyed." ("Progress and Poverty", Fiftieth Anniversary Edition, pp. 425-6.)

George goes on to explain that this is all that justice requires. Absolute accuracy would be impossible. Each generation builds for itself, and is not concerned whether the improvements of today will pass into the value of the land tomorrow. Each new generation inherits the work of the previous generations.

I might add, in further refutation, that if there are two practically identical parcels of land side by side in a community, and one is developed, while the other is not, both would have to pay an identical rent to the government, under the single tax plan, such rent being based upon the extent of the demand for land, and not upon the improvements on it. Whatever is produced by labor (on marginal land) would not be taxed.

(2)

The second objection could be taken to mean two different things, and we shall therefore reply to both of them. If Taussig means that the reason the people will discontinue cultivating the soil is because it is hard to distinguish between the value of the land and the value of their own production, and that they might therefore be taxed on what they produced, then I will reply by pointing out that this is really the first objection, and that we have already answered it. If he means that they will be discouraged from production because of the uncertainty of tenure, then I will reply: (a) that in a rent-collecting state, tenure will never be disturbed, so long as rent is paid; and (b) that even today, lease tenants, and in many cases, tenants without leases, have worked improvements upon the land. Far from being discouraged from cultivating land under the single tax, the tenant will be encouraged to improve the land, knowing of a certainty that the result of his increased efforts will truly belong to him, whereas under the system which now prevails he as certainly knows that "all he tills will go to him" (Taussig), *after the various tax-gatherers have taken their shares*.

Also, in the second objection, I wish to take issue with the assertion that the owner of the soil receives a stimulus to put the land to the best use. On the contrary, it has been our sad experience to observe that the *owner* often keeps his land untilled and uncultivated, because of the

speculative gains he anticipates without the necessity of any toil on his part. Under common ownership of land, he will be forced to use the land, or forego it from the consequent inability to pay rent. It should be emphasized that Taussig refers throughout to agricultural land only. Our remedy would apply to all land, rural and urban alike.

(3)

The third objection is plain nonsense. The author's opinion that public ownership of the land at the beginning of a nation's life might be well and good, but should not now be practiced, is ridiculous. Why, if it would be all right at the beginning, should it not be all right now? Does the economist mean to imply that a mere status quo should be relied upon to "justify" a wrong?

Taussig also justifies private ownership of land on historic grounds. If it arose all over the world, for him it must be valid. In making an estimate of this kind, he is guilty of serious acts of omission. History also shows that there have been wars without end, depressions, misery, poverty, religious strife, plagues, epidemics, and ruthless persecutions. Must these also be accepted because history discloses they have existed since time immemorial? As a matter of fact, at the beginning of each country, common ownership of land is least needed, since there is still enough free land to limit the advantages which accrue from the appropriation of superior land. I am not now justifying that private land-ownership in new countries is harmless, but merely exposing the illogic of Taussig's assertion.

By calling the proposed change "socialism," Taussig evidently supposes that he has forever silenced the believers of Henry George. Name-calling means nothing. The *function* of the definition is the important thing. Nor is it now necessary to dispute in detail the contention that Georgeism is socialism. I will take that up in a subsequent article. Suffice to say for the moment that it is not.

(4)

The fourth objection is farcical. Here Taussig is in favor of the idea of permitting the state to collect future rents. Therefore, he believes (summarizing the third and the fourth objections) that "single tax" is good when applied to ancient times; and is also good when applied to any future increment. But if it is good for both extremes, why should it not be good throughout and for all time, and for all rents? Why, if private ownership is wrong, must we appropriate only future unearned increments? That would leave the basic wrong unremedied, and allow to remain the injustice which is admitted.

Besides—and here he squarely contradicts himself—if it is so difficult to determine what portion of tilled land is personal property, how would it be possible to determine what part of future "rent" might or might not include

personal property, in addition to the increment in the value of land itself?

Our noted economist seems to believe that the single tax is good in the respect embraced in his last two paragraphs, but feels that it would be difficult to attain honesty and intelligence from public officials, and therefore, the plan would fail. However, if that were so, we could use the same argument in advising against the use of electricity, because a great injustice is being inflicted by the people selling it to us. If that were so, we should refuse to take any more cancer treatments because the specialist we employed was inefficient. And yet, ridiculous as these examples must appear, they are equally applicable to the notion that even though a theory might be correct, it would fail because those who administered it *might be* dishonest.

In truth, under a system where wealth would tend to be equalized, the reasons for dishonesty, and even lack of intelligence, in public officials would tend to disappear. And if the officials did prove to be incapable, in a community where every one understood his civic relations this would merely result in a change of administrators. And a just plan, as advocated by George, where all will have a stake in the government, must presuppose the development of such an intelligent and wide-awake community.

I trust I have dispatched the contentions of Taussig. In future issues I shall examine other luminaries who share with him the spotlight of economic "knowledge."

The Land Question In Roumania and Hungary

ILLUMINATING as to the causes of misery and therefore of strife and war is the article on the leading article page of the *Glasgow Herald*, September 4. At the time of writing the author spoke of the extraordinary wave of feeling which was sweeping over Transylvania. It had its roots in something deeper than national patriotism. It is the land hunger of the peasant who, hardly more than a serf before the last war, was first granted land of his own and an independent existence under the Roumanian Government, and who sees this independence threatened by union with a country where semi-feudal conditions still exist.

For obvious reasons politicians on neither side have cared to dwell upon this problem. But Dr. Maniu, who started life himself as a landless peasant under the old Hungarian regime, understands it very well. His personal character and his well-known love for his native Province have gained him a powerful following, not only among the Roumanians of the north, but quite possibly among the younger Hungarian peasants who are loath to return, for purely sentimental reasons, to the state of landless dependence which will almost certainly be their lot under Hungarian rule.

Thanks to the Agrarian Reform brought in by Roumania after the last war, each Transylvanian peasant could own his own small croft, and was not obliged to work for a return in kind from his Hungarian overlord. It is safe to assume that this condition of affairs will not long remain once most of Transylvania is in Hungarian hands again. The Magyar-Transylvania noble families, which include those of Count Teleki, Count Bethlen, and other leaders of Hungarian Nationalism, have long felt exceedingly bitter at Roumanian partition of their once-great estates among the peasants after the last war.

For 20 years now those families have looked across the frontier and seen their relatives in Hungary proper enjoying the privileges long superseded in the modern world. Now, however, the new frontiers will enclose them safely in Greater Hungary, and it will probably be only a question of time before the antique Hungarian system of land tenure will once more restore their estates to them in full—at the expense of Roumanian and Hungarian peasant alike.

The land problem, too, was at the root of Hungary's indignant refusal of Roumania's first offer of an exchange of populations. Probably the fulfilment of this offer was dreaded by the Transylvanians themselves as much as any frontier changes, however drastic. The mere transference of the Magyar minority across the border would have taken no account of the estates and small holdings left behind them, land which in the aggregate came to a handsome proportion of Hungarian-Transylvania nobles' old property. The peasants themselves could have been under no delusion that Hungary would treat them any better than she has treated her own landless population; while their influx into the already over-populated rural villages, where it is sometimes a problem to devise labor for all, would merely have brought hardship to the districts concerned, as well as dire poverty to the transplanted. Exchange of populations only works where there is nothing to lose. (*Land & Liberty*)

FROM J. Rupert Mason we have just received the following: "Oklahoma voted November 5th on a graduated land tax law, and the vote was 408,559 yes to 196,711 no. But, because this got on the ballot as an initiative measure, it needed a majority of *all* votes cast that day, which it missed by just a few hundred. Tom Cheek led the fight as president of the Oklahoma Farmers' Union. I am told that nearly all the Oklahoma papers viciously opposed it, so the vote result is all the more significant. This may be a tonic for some Georgeists who are suffering from a what's-the-use complex. I am told that a similar measure was voted the same day in North and South Dakota, but haven't the vote totals."

A FREE COPY of LAND AND FREEDOM is an invitation to become a subscriber.

Honoré Daumier

HONORE DAUMIER was a remarkable French artist of the nineteenth century who drew political cartoons for various liberal periodicals. Though regarded as simply a clever caricaturist in his day, he is now recognized to be one of the world's great artists, with a brilliant gift of deep insight into humanity. His keen pictorial comments on the issues of his day have a universal quality—they are also comments on our own day. He seems to have touched eternal verities.

Daumier was deeply concerned with the welfare of the people. He was angered over their oppression, and lashed out against their oppressors. Because he championed the cause of the "common man," he is claimed by the Marxists as an artistic champion of the "class struggle." In truth, however, Daumier comes nearer to Georgeism than to Marxist thought. Were he alive today, it is not unlikely that he would embrace the Georgeist cause. The shortcoming in the Marxist claim is evidenced by his cartoons depicting Commerce as champion of the right of initiative and enterprise in industry. What Daumier did stand for was Democracy and Freedom, Justice and Tolerance.

Honoré Daumier was born at Marseilles in 1808. Most of his life was spent in illustration for such journals as *La Silhouette*, *Le Monde Illustré*, *La Caricature*, and *Charivari*. He was once imprisoned for a caricature of

King Louis Philippe. He died, nearly blind, in 1879.

Mr. Anthony Bertram has written an essay on Daumier, some of which will be worth quoting here:

"Daumier chose to display their (the people's) wrongs, their sufferings, their sorrows. Outside the crowd there are the lawyers, the soldiers, the rulers; them he shows as the cause of wrongs, sufferings, and sorrows. At least, that was how, as a political cartoonist, he saw them; but he gave them such individuality, such intense vitality, that we realize that they also are Tom, Dick and Harry, though for the moment they are playing the part of this or the other abstraction, the law, the army or the ruling class. It is this reality, this individuality of his people, that makes Daumier's exposure of a topical grievance into an exposure of all humanity.

"From the stuffy little offices of radical journals, from prison, from the barricades, from his garret, Daumier looked out on a vast concourse of human beings. . . To the world he was a poor persecuted hack; but his kingdom was all mankind."

The Daumier cartoons reproduced here are from *Charivari*, and they range in date from 1850 to 1870. We present them through the kindness of Mr. Francis Neilson. The cartoons are accompanied with quotations from Henry George, to illustrate the similarity in thought.



COMMERCE (to Politicians):—Gentlemen, when are you going to finish playing that game? . . . I'm getting tired of paying all the expenses of your party!

"The present method of taxation . . . operates upon energy, and industry, and skill, and thrift, like a fine upon those qualities."

—Progress and Poverty.



COMMERCE (to Politicians):—How do you expect me to make headway if you always hold me back?

"These are the substitution of governmental direction for the play of individual action, and the attempt to secure by restriction what can better be secured by freedom."

—Progress and Poverty.



THE PEOPLE JUDGE THE BLOWS.

“Under all forms of government the ultimate power lies with the masses . . . The working-men of the United States may mold to their will legislatures, courts and constitutions. Politicians strive for their favor and political parties bid against one another for their vote.”

—Protection or Free Trade.



THE REIMBURSEMENT OF 45 CENTIMES
NEW TRICK INVENTED BY THE CELEBRATED BERRYER

—See, my friend, I take this 5-franc piece out of this pocket (tax of 45 centimes), and I pass it over to your other pocket (tax on salt) . . . It is then very clear that you're a hundred sous to the advantage. . . *Cri, craque!* . . . The trick is done!



—My field plundered. . . my horse taken. . . my money stolen. . . That's what they call patriotism!

“That, as declared by the French Assembly, public misfortunes and corruptions of government spring from ignorance, neglect or contempt of human rights, may be seen from whatever point we look.”

—Social Problems.



LIBERTY (to War):—Pardon, my dear, let's try out my powers before yours! . . .

“Who is Liberty that we should doubt her; that we should set bounds to her, and say, ‘Thus far shall thou come and no farther!’ Is she not peace? is she not prosperity? is she not progress?”

—The American Republic.

Georgeism, Thomism, And The Catholic Question

By ROBERT C. LUDLOW

(An article on "Georgeism and Thomism" by Mr. Ludlow appeared in the March-April 1940 issue of LAND AND FREEDOM. In that article, the author discussed the possibility of a mutual assimilation of the doctrines of the followers of Henry George and those of Thomas Aquinas. In the present treatment, Mr. Ludlow elaborates his ideas.—Ed.)

THERE is nothing novel in suggesting Thomistic borrowing from another philosophic system. For, after all, the Thomist is an eclectic—he has borrowed much, and that from divergent and often strange sources. The founder of his system preferred Aristotle to the Christian Augustine — not, it is true, Aristotle in synthesis — but Aristotle as laying the rational foundation upon which a true synthesis could be based. And I say a true synthesis could only then come because Aristotle lacked knowledge of revelation—a corrective that must be taken into account if any really full and vital outlook (other than the mediocrity of a "golden mean") is to be reached. Aristotle, as it were, waited for Thomas Aquinas to crown and enlarge and correct his philosophical system. And this was done within the framework of Catholicism. For with the transformation of the nationalist Judaic revelation into the universal message of Christianity it was seemly that a philosophical system admitting the objective and universal should be utilized as the rational foundation from which one could then proceed to higher things. Nor is it strange that the Christian Aquinas leaned toward the pagan Stag-irite—it was to be expected that a revelation bursting the bonds of Judaism should assimilate the Gentile as well as the Jewish outlook. The Roman Church has always been the great assimilator. At the risk of scandalizing some she has not hesitated to use what was true and beautiful in the pagan creeds, while at the same time keeping the riches of Israel in her bosom. I have heard it said—why does the Roman Church approve of Aristotle and not Plato? And the answer is, of course, that she sanctions what is true in both Aristotle and Plato, but that most of her children feel that Aristotle laid the more solid foundation upon which the "higher things" might rest.

Because the Thomist is an eclectic, his system is not yet complete. Or rather, let us say he has the framework—part of it is filled in and a great deal more remains to be filled. It may take years or even centuries of dispute before this or that is dropped into its proper niche within this framework. There is no need to despair entirely if there seems to be no indication of any great understanding between Georgeists and Thomists. For the Thomist is slow to enthusiasm, holds emotional response in distrust and, because he has a long memory, looks upon no economic

system as fully proved. For those whose outlook stops at the borders of reason there will be more trust in a professed cure here and now than for those looking "sub specie aeternitatis." The combination of these elements in Catholicism works unrest in many a soul. The mentally healthy will try to hit the right balance, but many there are who will not be able to do this and to whom the Church extends an uneasy indulgence.

Catholicism and Thomism are not synonymous terms—allegiance to one is no guarantee of allegiance to the other—nevertheless it is within the larger framework of Catholicism that the Thomist philosophy works itself out. So it is that the acts of ecclesiastical authority will have bearing on the question of assimilation. And that, of course, brings up the McGlynn affair. In Catholic circles (particularly in Jesuit circles) we hear much of Dr. McGlynn's excommunication and small mention of his eventual vindication, and to these we can only extend the reminder of the excommunication of Thomas Aquinas and his eventual vindication — sometimes the Church has wrestled with angels. But, after all, there is a contradiction (or apparently one) between the usual school of Catholic thought and that of the Georgeists. And that does not lie in the land doctrine—rather does it lie in the question of what economics is and whether man *makes* his economic laws or *discovers* them.

Thomas Aquinas did not regard either politics or economics as physical sciences—but rather as branches of ethics—treating them as subdivisions of moral theology. He held that they dealt with human actions and were therefore susceptible of moral judgment and so did not admit of treatment as given to laws of medicine or chemistry. Henry George felt quite otherwise. He contended that there was indeed a science of political economy and that it was a natural science and that its laws were discovered, not made, and that therefore they were to be treated as one would treat the laws of mechanics and physics. This does not mean that George ruled ethics out of economics—far from it. But ethical considerations, with him, did not enter into economic law *as such*. Rather, these laws worked out automatically and inevitably, like the law of gravitation. Ethical judgment concerned itself with how man *used* these laws. George held that natural economic law tended to the common good if left untouched and he judged unethical the attempt to interfere with these laws—be it the socialist attempt at planning or the attempt to manipulate economic law to benefit the few. In this, his viewpoint differs sharply from that of the Malthusian-minded economists. For these latter also, economics was a physical

science, but a science whose working out tended, not as George held, to the common good, but rather to the benefit of the few at the top. For them there was no ethical judgment, either in relation to economics in itself or in man's actions. For George there was no ethical judgment in relation to economics in itself (as there is no ethical judgment of the law of gravitation) but there was ethical judgment in regard to man's manipulation of these laws. For the Thomist, ethical judgment enters both fields—that of personal action and that of economics proper, since for them man *makes* his economic system.

This, then, and not the land dispute, is the question that offers the more fundamental difficulty—does man *make* or *discover* the economic law? And if the question cannot be dissolved, can there still be made a working agreement among Thomists who assert the former and Georgeists who teach the latter?

Another disagreement more fundamental than that of the land question is that concerning freedom. Regulation is never desirable in itself—if we must have it, then let it be because it leads to a truer freedom than otherwise. And so one approaches the Georgean concept of freedom in economic life and intellectual life with favorable bias. This preparation of mind is a necessary preliminary to any investigation. It is sheerest fiction to say that we can approach problems disinterestedly. Time spent on the question of disinterested versus interested investigation would be as wasted as that spent on the question of motivated versus unmotivated actions. If nothing else prevents a disinterested investigation, our very physical make-up does so. A man disapproves of many things from a sour stomach or he is "intellectually" convinced of the absurdity of ethical standards, because he prefers unlawful sensual pleasure. Once, a young man came to the Cure d'Arts to argue against the Faith. He was advised the confessional, after which he could no longer remember what his "intellectual difficulties" had been. A man does not approach the problem of immortality, or of the existence of God, or the permanence of the marriage bond, in a disinterested way—he hopes for one answer rather than another. This is no necessary hindrance to discovering truth—because the very idea of truth must contain the psychological make-up of man in it and, if we can emancipate ourselves from mere prejudice as distinguished from a natural and legitimate "interestedness" we need feel no hesitancy but that man is capable of finding truth.

The Thomist is predisposed to admit the necessity of limited freedom—the Georgeist at times talks of "unlimited" freedom, but a second thought usually shows him the fallacy of this, especially when it's a question of "unlimited" freedom for the landlord. But the idea of freedom as an end in itself towards which the economic system should

aim persists in Georgean literature. And there is the truth in it that if the common good is best served by a free economy then we need the free economy. But the end is the common good, not freedom. The most perfect physical pleasure of which we are capable here is the act of coition in which body and soul are surrendered to another, so that volitional freedom itself is inoperative during the unitive act. And in that parallel act which is the perfect consummation of eternal happiness—the coitional surrender to God which is the Beatific Vision—freedom has found its object and is assimilated. So that neither the performance of the earthly act of union or its divine counterpart count on freedom as an *end*; rather it is the means making possible the end and becomes inoperative with the attainment of that end.

This holds true of the economic life also. If there is any purpose in having a free system, it is to serve the common good. Georgeism remains little more than a nicely worked out plan or an exercise in logic unless it can demonstrate its worth and be considered both as a practical system and a system conducive to the physical and spiritual good of the community. Freedom is always desirable and preferable as a means to any end. If the end be temporal it must foster freedom (forced coitional union is rape); if it be eternal it must postulate freedom as a condition to that end (one attains the Beatific Vision voluntarily or not at all).

These two problems, then—the nature of economics and the nature of freedom — form the basis for discussing Georgeism, Thomism and the Catholic Question. Let us hope they will be thrashed out by competent Thomists and Georgeists, and not remain just material for a short article to gather dust in Limbo.

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Poverty

By THEOGNIS

(Greek—Sixth Century B. C.)

FOR noble minds, the worst of miseries,
 Worse than old age, or wearisome disease,
 Is Poverty. From Poverty to flee
 From some tall precipice into the sea,
 It were a fair escape to leap below!
 In Poverty, dear Kyrnus, we forego
 Freedom in word and deed, body and mind;
 Action and thought are fetter'd and confin'd.
 Let me then fly, dear Kyrnus, once again!
 Wide as the limits of the land and main,
 From these entanglements; with these in view,
 Death is the lighter evil of the two.

The Battle Of The Towns

English Municipal Campaigns

By DOUGLAS J. J. OWEN

SOME of the finest hours in English history, when not taken up with crowns and dynasties, have been those which tell of the long struggle for freedom of the boroughs, towns and cities. John Richard Green, in his "Short History of the English People," says: "In the silent growth and elevation of the English people the boroughs led the way . . . The rights of self-government, of free speech in free meeting, of equal justice by one's equals, were brought safely across the ages of tyranny by the burghers and shopkeepers of the towns."

This was written of the period from the Norman Conquest onwards. The struggle was against tolls, privileges and monopolies of all kinds. "Land," says Green, "was from the first the test of freedom, and the possession of land was what constituted the townsman." But he goes on to say: "In England the landless man who dwelled in a borough had no share in its corporate life; for purposes of government or property the town was simply an association of the landed proprietors within its bounds." So that, against the merchant guilds composed of the landed burghers, there arose the craft guilds of the landless townworkers. "The longest and bitterest strife of all," we read, "was naturally at London. Nowhere had the territorial constitution struck so deeply, and nowhere had the landed oligarchy risen to such a height of wealth and influence." About the year 1196 it was "the unfair assessment levied on the poor, and the undue burthens which were thrown on the unenfranchised classes, which provoked the first serious discontent."

This discontent exists unremedied at the present time. "Unfair assessments levied on the poor" are still the main feature of municipal life. The complete freedom of the English towns in local affairs is yet to be won. It is hardly credible that the great cities which sprang up after the Industrial Revolution, almost as rapidly as the American cities described by Henry George—Manchester, Glasgow, Birmingham, Liverpool, each with a million inhabitants—have no local option in the method of raising their municipal revenue. The assessments levied on the poor townspeople are as unfair as in 1196. Local authorities are bound by statutes passed in Queen Elizabeth's time 340 years ago. The Industrial Revolution and the Great War have made no difference in that. In the valuation of property no distinction is allowed to be made between the land and the improvements upon it. The site and the super-structure must be taken together, and no attempt is made to assess the true economic value of the land alone. This unscientific provision may have made little difference in Elizabeth's

day. It is working havoc in the finances of the great industrial and commercial centres of modern times.

The huge totals of municipal indebtedness constitute a second National Debt, imposing an enormous burden of interest payments, which falls mainly on the small householders. The level of local taxation, or "rates," rises inexorably in spite of the strictest economy and the reduction of necessary social services. Vacant land and vacant property escapes local taxation, and owners of valuable city sites are thus encouraged to withhold their land from its true economic use. Thus the community can neither use the land it has made valuable, nor secure the values it has created thereon.

A striking example of the effect of these local taxation laws is shown by the Bill passed last year enabling municipalities to exempt from local taxes any increases in the value of properties due to the erection of Air-Raid Shelters (See *Land and Liberty*, June 1938, p. 82). Special legislation was thus required to free our local authorities from the obligation they would have been under to impose local taxes upon the value of the people's protection from bombs. Thus the Government also admits that taxation levied on improvements discourages the making of them. But it is only protection against bombs that is to be now encouraged—protection against rain and cold, the houses which people need to live in, are still to be taxed and rated as before.

It is no wonder that in the face of such anomalies there has grown up a public sentiment in this country for the principle of land value taxation for local as well as national purposes. A principal evidence of this is the long agitation of the municipalities for freedom to levy taxes (or "rates") on land values separately from improvements. The numerous resolutions in favor of this change, and the action taken in following them up, would not have been carried out by Councillors and M. P.'s if it were not for their being pressed forward by their constituents.

The people of this country are as much awake to the "aggression" of land-monopoly as they are to the outside aggressor. The ceaseless work of educating the public in Henry George's principles has been carried on by the United Committee and all its associated Leagues until there is now a wide appreciation of our basic principle. It is no mere "rating reform" that is in question but a step forward in the struggle of the towns and their citizens for fundamental justice.

I guess our American friends would consider it a great thing if any of their cities were doing as Cardiff did in 1935—taking a definite lead on this question; passing its

resolution in favor of this fundamental change; inviting all other municipalities to a Conference demanding the necessary legislation; and communicating its declarations far and wide. Here is one instance of the "campaign", and it is only fair to remember work done by the United Committee, and by the International Union for the Taxation of Land Values, in support of the Cardiff initiative. It should be repeated that such action as that of Cardiff could not have been undertaken but for the urge of public opinion already created.

Since 1919, to go no farther back, resolutions calling for power to levy local taxes on land values have been passed by more than 235 local authorities, including such great cities as London, Glasgow and Cardiff. Not only has this individual action been taken, but a number of them have from time to time organized Conferences of Municipal Authorities, as in the case of Cardiff, for the purpose of influencing Parliament to grant them the necessary powers. Many have set up special "Rating" (local taxation) Committees to investigate the question, and have published valuable Reports, such as that of Sheffield in 1928, now one of the publications (No. 77) of the Henry George Foundation of Great Britain. Like other municipalities Sheffield had a long and bitter experience of the exactions of city landlords when land was required for schools, playing grounds, hospitals, and other public purposes. The city saw the values it was creating by its public expenditure being diverted into private channels by our effete taxation laws. It had good reason for its Report which has had a wide and influential circulation. Similar Reports were made by Newcastle-on-Tyne, Stoke on Trent, and others.

Special mention should be made of the Report on the question of the Finance Committee of the London County Council and the Bill which was its consequence. Just as, when the Land Value Tax in the 1931 Budget was repealed, a large number of municipalities passed resolutions of protest, so, when the L. C. C.'s Bill was being considered by Parliament, numbers of local authorities sent up resolutions of support.

This incident in the age-long battle of the towns is one of the most significant. In 1936 the London County Council, that great and influential body, decided to demand legislation from the Government to enable it to tax land values. But its demand was refused by a Parliament in which the influence of landowners is paramount. The Council then decided to prepare and introduce a Bill of its own which would have been a "Private Bill" since it applied only to its own area. Again the Council was frustrated. It will be appreciated what great importance attached to this determination shown by our greatest local government body and how its fortunes were followed by the rest of the country. The landed interests, whilst they opposed the proposal in the press, knew of course that a majority would vote against

it in the House of Commons, but they shunned any debate on it in the House, as they knew it could only help the agitation in the country for the land value policy. They therefore secured a ruling by the Speaker that such a proposal could not proceed by way of a Private Bill. For the time being the issue was decided on a technicality of procedure.

It should be mentioned that Mr. F. C. R. Douglas, who is chairman of the L. C. C. Finance Committee, and now, happily, a Member of Parliament, took a leading and determining part in all these proceedings. There can be no doubt that his statesmanship, his quiet, persistent, and genial conduct of controversy and debate from beginning to end were largely responsible for this triumph for our movement. Warm tributes were paid him by opponents as well as by friends. It has been well said that there are two ways of hitting a fellow, one is in the solar plexus, the other is by way of a pat on the back. One is the way of a certain type of propagandists, of angering and estranging their opponents. The other is that which has resulted from the L.C.C. debates. The Labor Party came to see the virtue of land value "rating", and schemes like the local income tax and other palliatives have been killed stone dead so far as London is concerned. The adoption of the land value principle for local taxation by the London Labor Party has done more to turn them toward the appreciation of the Henry George solution of the poverty problem than reams of wordy debate with its "ad hoc" fling at Socialism. A case in point:—The representative of an important assessment authority called recently at the United Committee offices. He said he had been an ardent and uncompromising Socialist but now as a practical man, obliged to look into the "rating" problem, he has come to see that the Henry George plan is the right one.

The important thing in the L. C. C.'s Bill was not the "rate in the pound" (i. e. the percentage of the tax levy); it was the fact of the Bill itself and the principle it stood for, the fact of the London County Council challenging a reactionary House of Commons, the fact of the nation-wide propaganda that came out of the Bill. The echoes of that fight have by no means died down. The war itself has not suspended the agitation. On July 31, the Derby Town Council on the recommendation of its Audit and Finance Committee passed a resolution urging the Government to empower local authorities to levy local taxes on site value. On the same day a similar resolution was debated by the Smethwick Town Council. The reports of these debates are given in *Land & Liberty* for September 1940. And so the battle of the towns goes on, war or no war, justifying the words of A. W. Madsen at the time of the L. C. C. ruling: "The determination of the municipalities and of the advocates and friends of the land value policy to knock still louder at the door of Parliament has been powerfully stimulated by this setback, hastening the day when the Government in power must enact the necessary legislation".

A Challenge To Pessimism

By W. R. B. WILLCOX

IN its generous and frank presentation of views of the speakers at the recent Henry George Congress, the September-October LAND AND FREEDOM offers sad, if salutary, testimony to the present state of progress towards Henry George's goal—the governmental collection of the Rent and the abolition of Taxation.

However, the noticeable disuse of the term "single tax," which some may regard as of very minor importance, should be distinctly encouraging to others. In 1934, a contributor noted that in the previous issue the factor Rent had been mentioned four or five times, while the term "single tax" had appeared no less than 138 times. In the last issue (except for a dozen appearances in the names of Single Tax Clubs) the term is used only 10 times. One may rejoice to think that it may become obsolete in another year or two, removing the embarrassment of explaining that "the single tax isn't a tax, anyway—it is Rent."

Otherwise, Georgeists may well be filled with consternation if they reflect seriously upon the direction in which they are moving. Henry J. Foley in your "The Road Ahead" number, believes "that in our efforts to spread the doctrine of Henry George, we are now engaged in sweeping back the tides." Benjamin C. Marsh, after citing existing conditions and trends, said: "Readers may think I have painted a rather dark picture. I hope events may prove me wrong, but I doubt it." Sanford J. Benjamin said: "There is a dangerous growth of optimism among Georgeists at present which bodes ill for the success of the movement." He cites as reasons for his apprehension that "the conditions of a privileged economy do not permit peaceful reform," that "Georgeists fail when they speak about peaceful solution of the world's evil through the ballot." He quotes Marx as authority for the view that "Transfer to power can only be accomplished through force," and asks: "How can we expect that Georgeists will not have to take up arms to free the land?"

But those who think they see the bright star of Henry George's goal; who think that through the years they have been plodding towards it; who, within their lights, have striven to dispel the fog which obscured it from others, should search their souls as they read the following paragraph from Mr. Benjamin's "The Price of Freedom."

"First, no special privilege is as time honored by rich and poor alike as land ownership. In fact the privilege of owning land is considered a successful goal. One does not have to be a Georgeist in order to predict that land owners would fight land reform. The Spanish civil war was essentially an uprising of landlords when the government attempted to break up their estates;

and far from acknowledging the right of the people to cultivate the land, the so-called democratic nation backed the insurrectionists. It should not be overlooked that, in order to hold on to their privilege, the land owners called in foreign soldiers—a lesson Georgeists should ponder when they think of achieving their reform in any one country."

Where has it more clearly been implied that Georgeists are a body of land reformers, a minority in opposition, fighting against "landlordism" which they see as evil, instead of for the governmental collection of the Rent which they know is righteous? This evidence of obsession with "land" disinters ideas which have lain dead since the days of "Progress and Poverty." Whose task, but that of Georgeists, to revivify them? Let us look at some of them as questions to be answered.

To begin with, why do Georgeists antagonize, or want to fight, landlords? Will there not of necessity always be landlords to administer the land to which they hold titles? Will not landlords be necessary to collect the Rent from tenants and to turn it over to the government, together with the Rent they themselves owe to society in the services which society renders to both of them? Why inconsistently call landlords, "land owners"? Do Georgeists believe there are such things as land *owners*? Is that the reason they can look forward only to the necessity of taking the land away from landlords by force? If they will mistakenly call landlords by that name, a number of questions are bound to arise in the minds of the ignorant. How are these questions to be answered?

Would Georgeists object because an automobile owner gets the Rent paid for the use of his automobile? If not, why should they object because a land owner gets the Rent paid for the use of his land? Would they contend that the public should get the Rent paid for the use of an automobile owner's automobile? If not, on what grounds would they contend that the public should get the Rent paid for the use of a land owner's land? On the other hand, would Georgeists contend that the land owner should not get the Rent because he does not own the land? If so, would they contend that the public should get the Rent because the public owns the land? Does the question as to who shall get the Rent rest upon a decision as to who owns the land?

Georgeists should know that the so-called land owner's claim to ownership, weak as it is, is far stronger than that of the public. He usually can submit a title deed in legal evidence of ownership, which in most instances is more than the public can do. Would Georgeists contend that

so-called land owners should not get the Rent because they are fewer than non-land owners; hence, that (in a democratic country!) a majority, properly propagandized, could vote to take the land (and the Rent) away from a minority by taxation? Do they agree with so-called land owners that for the public to get the Rent by taxation is to "confiscate" the land of these land owners?

If force is to be the arbiter in this case, Georgeists should know that the decision will go to these land owners, who have all of the legal, educational, financial and military, power in their hands; and that to oppose this power means persecution and civil war. But do Georgeists agree with those they call land owners that a nation, by conquering the people of another nation, becomes owner of the land of the conquered people? That to be patriotic, people should be willing to fight to get the land of another people, or to hold it for their own land owners? That to live on this earth some people either must fight, or pay, other people before the land can be used?

Do Georgeists agree with those they call land owners, that holders of titles to areas of land, to that extent, are owners of the earth—owners of climates, views, mines, forests, harbors, rivers, soils? That fighting for, or paying for, land affects the land? That people pay Rent because the earth, with all of its natural elements and forces, *exists*? That people pay Rent for the use of the *land*? Why longer "kick against the pricks"? Does hope lie in this direction?

But there is hope! The star which Henry George beheld still shines. Its penetrating rays illumine still farther reaches of the path which he discerned. Shall men not venture nearer to the goal he sought; beyond the point which he attained? Would he not bid them push on? Men know not the purposes of creation. They never may know how men came to inhabit this earth. But they know, if they are to live, that their livelihoods must be toiled from the earth; that they must have access to the provisions of nature—the land. Therefore, men want land! So desperately do men want land that, down through the ages, if not otherwise to be had, men have fought—and still fight—to possess the land. If, as a result of accumulated knowledge and experience, men learned that it was not necessary to burn buildings to provide themselves with roast pig, may not the accumulated knowledge and experience of the present day teach them wisdom as to how to obtain their livelihoods without fighting, or paying, to possess the land?

Is it possible that any considerable number of Georgeists are becoming merely another group such as socialists or communists—blindly, fanatically, adhering to still another "ism," hypocritically denouncing the evil doctrine of Karl Marx of the inevitability of a class war between Labor and Capital, while, as short-sightedly, propounding a doctrine no less evil, the inevitability of a class war between land-

lords and non-landlords; that people must continue to be plunged into new hatreds and civil war? Have any considerable number of Georgeists lost faith in the power of Truth and Justice to bring Peace to this world?

Can this explain the paradox, that while a great array of eminent men, for decades, have acclaimed the outstanding mentality of Henry George, and the luminous quality of his social philosophy, they have ignored its possible implications, and have refused to investigate the causes of its lack of practicality in the progress of civilization? These discuss endlessly the relations of Labor and Capital, and the use and productivity of the land, but tacitly ignore the essentiality of the factor Rent which is present in every social and economic problem. Is it a consequence of the failure to search out the true nature and significance of Rent, that people have resorted to every variety of Socialism—communism, fascism, nazism, New Dealism, and a host of other "isms;" that they have discarded the tenets of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and no longer crave the personal freedom and individual initiative of true American democracy?

In view of the present social and political chaos, would it not be wise, for the moment, for those who call themselves Georgeists, to hold in abeyance the prejudice that Rent is due to the relative productivity of nature, that it is a "gift of nature" without cost to mankind; and instead, (as worthy of investigation) to view it as a measure of the worth, only, of social and governmental advantages—advantages produced at the cost of human toil and necessary to the procurement and use of the provisions of nature? Whatever the cost of a title to land, it is, after all, the cost of the title, not the cost of the land. Land is not produced, furnished or changed, by an exchange of wealth for a title to land.

By processes no man could devise or energize, the mysterious elements and forces of nature bring forth the fruits of the land. Their growth costs men nothing. But to possess these fruits—the results of this inexplicable metamorphosis—men must toil. If they toil not, these "increments," due to the ceaseless processes of nature, will, as men say, wither away, when by no manner of toil can men possess them. The "gifts of nature" are free to men to possess, but to possess them men must toil. For mankind there is no "unearned increment."

In the light of this reasoning, Hope returns! Rent becomes compensation, solely, for the labor and capital expended in providing social and governmental services. Security of possession of land, attested by a title deed, is one, and only one, service of government. Without this service, a title deed would have neither value nor efficacy as protection of the results of toil on, or in, the land to

(Continued on page 190)

Signs of Progress

GEORGEIST ACTIVITIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

REPORT OF V. G. PETERSON, SECRETARY

CALENDAR—Last year, about Christmas time, the Foundation published its first Henry George wall calendar. The idea proved extremely popular and was an effective instrument of propaganda. Many people wrote us during the year, after seeing this calendar in homes and offices, and some of these inquirers are now making their own study of our philosophy. The success of the calendar has justified our making another one for 1941. It will feature a handsome photograph of Henry George taken at the height of his career. It was generously loaned from her own collection by Henry George's daughter, Anna George de Mille. The date pad will carry inspiring quotations culled from the golden treasury of George's books. The calendar will again sell at twenty-five cents.

CHRISTMAS GIFTS—The giving of George books as Christmas gifts is a time-honored custom which has started thousands of people on the road to clear economic thinking. To encourage this type of giving we are offering special prices on quantity purchases. For instance, five dollars will purchase a full set of the George books in uniform bindings and a copy of "The Philosophy of Henry George," by Dr. George R. Geiger. Five dollars and seventy-five cents will purchase ten copies of our one dollar edition of "Progress and Poverty."

We are wrapping books to be given as Christmas presents in gay holly paper, with greeting tags attached. Individual attention is paid to all gift orders. Last year, about 500 books were sent out from the Foundation as Christmas gifts. This year, we are trying to reach the 1000 mark.

BOOK DEALERS—We have been very much encouraged by the lively interest on the part of our good friends, the book dealers. In the past few weeks, as a result of a special campaign, 200 books were placed with 20 new dealers, who had hitherto not deemed it worthwhile to stock Henry George books. It is worthy of note that dealers in small towns are now welcoming "Progress and Poverty."

FOSTER VS. GEORGE—Along with thousands of our friends who had hoped for Mr. George's election to the Hall of Fame this year, we suffered the disappointment (relative, of course) of learning that the vote was given to Stephen Foster, writer of American folk songs. Sharing honors with Henry George in the "near the top candidates," was Thomas Paine. He received fifty votes to George's forty-seven.

THE SCHOOLS—Last year the Foundation developed a lively interest in the Georgeist philosophy by circularizing the high school teachers of economics. This work had such splendid results that we extended our campaign this autumn to include normal schools throughout the country. Not only are we selling books to the teachers themselves, but are receiving requests for study material to be used in class. Also worthy of mention is the fact that several new colleges have introduced "Progress and Poverty" in their economics courses.

And now, in closing, let me extend the Season's Greetings and best wishes for a happy and busy 1941.

American Association For Scientific Taxation

Readers will recall the "Legislative Plan of Action," prepared by the Association, which appeared in our September-October issue in abridged form. It was a proposed Amendment to the Constitution of the State of New York, and was intended to serve as a model for proposing the Georgeist reform in legislative assemblies.

Since its partial appearance in the last issue of *LAND AND FREEDOM*, the full, unabridged Plan was printed in the form of galley proofs and sent to numerous persons prominent in Georgeist, civic and educational work, for suggestions and criticism. The general response was enthusiastic, and the Association was gratified to observe the care with which the Plan was read and criticised. It is thus assuming the form of a cooperative work, and will undoubtedly be an important contribution toward the legislative adoption of the Georgeist proposals. Following are excerpts from some of the many letters received:

"The Plan seems to me to be of great merit and I want to wish you all success with it. I am one of those who have been waiting more than fifty years for such action as this."

—Henry Ware Allen, Author.

"If I could share your optimism as to the possibility of bringing about the taxation reforms which you advocate with the speed you desire and also that these reforms in state and local taxation would completely abolish unemployment and poverty, I should say that you have done an excellent job of draftsmanship in the proposed constitutional amendment and legislation."—Harold S. Buttenheim, Editor, *The American City*.

"I cannot see any way to improve this very excellent piece of work."—William E. Clement, Secretary, Benjamin Franklin Research Society.

"I appreciate your sending me the galleys of 'A Legislative Plan of Action.' . . . I do not believe that anybody should be able to derive revenue from the mere ownership of land. But I do not believe that tax measures are the most efficient way of handling the situation. It seems to me that the direct and most effective way would be for society to recover the actual title of all land from private holders. . . . Why not strike directly at the root of the tree?"—Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Chairman, Dept. of Economics, New York University.

"It is so evident to me that you and your associates have spent so much thought and labor upon your proposed legislation that even though you have invited criticism and suggestions, it would be presumptuous for me to suggest any amendments without previously explaining that I fully realize you may have excellent reasons for preferring the text and the details as already given."—Albert Firmin, former Postmaster, Brooklyn, N. Y.

"The amendments, the bill, and the comment are compositely a succinct statement of Georgean economics; and mixed in a way I never before encountered in legislation. A splendid propaganda as well as legislative document."—Charles H. Ingersoll, President, Manhattan Single Tax Club.

"I think the general plan of not trying to do the whole thing too quickly is sound."—Benjamin C. Marsh, Executive Secretary, People's Lobby, Washington, D. C.

"I question the value of attempting to write Georgeism into law until Georgeists themselves have a more concrete program. I don't think that merely shifting taxes from improvements to land will do any good. I think it has done considerable harm in other places."—Paul Peach, Associate Editor, *The Freeman*.

The Association is now at work carefully sorting and sifting the many suggestions and criticisms offered. When the final draft is put into shape, it will be published in pamphlet form as "A Legislative Framework for the Philosophy of Henry George." A wide distribution is anticipated, as well as concrete results in legislative halls. It should be understood here that the Plan, or Framework, is not being presented as a mere fiscal measure. It is a legislative embodiment of the full Georgeist philosophy in all its strength.

An Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is also being projected. As soon as the work on the State Plan is completed, the Association will endeavor to frame a model Amendment for the Federal Government, covering all the legal and Constitutional points necessary.

The American Association for Scientific Taxation, under the direction of Messrs. Walter Fairchild, Harry C. Maguire, and Charles Jos. Smith, has its tentative headquarters at the office of LAND AND FREEDOM, 150 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y. Communications to the Association should be addressed care of this magazine.

Henry George School of Social Science

Two new and very interesting series of lectures have been scheduled for the new auditorium of the School. One is a series of six lectures on "The Forerunners of Henry George," delivered Friday evening, beginning November 15, by Mr. H. D. Bloch. In this series, Mr. Bloch reviews the theory of the land question as presented by thinkers who anticipated George, such as Confucius, Spinoza, Locke, the Physiocrats, Smith, Ricardo, Mill, Marx, Spencer, Ogilvie, and Dove. The second series of lectures, delivered on Tuesday evenings beginning December 3, is on "Origins of the Capitalist Crisis," by Mr. Will Lissner. The admission charge for this latter series is \$1.00. In a series of three talks, Mr. Lissner proposes to outline historically the rise of the capitalist system, the factors in it that are favorable to the development of a free society, and the factors that it must rid itself of in order to overcome its present crisis.

A new course in "Progress and Poverty" opened the week of October 28, with good attendance. Another course opens the week of January 27, 1941, and a campaign is already under way to secure many students. One of the methods being used is the urging of every friend and graduate to secure one student for the School.

The extension courses continue to build up. Particularly remarkable is the progress of the Boston and the New Jersey extensions. The latter has already secured a headquarters at Newark. Chicago continues its sustained activity, and its Speakers Bureau is taking the Windy City by storm.

The School of Democracy

Within the very short time it has been in existence, the School of Democracy has already shown signs of growth and progress. Classes are held at headquarters (1165 Broadway, New York, in the office of the Manhattan Single Tax Club), and there are extension classes at Bellerose and Brighton Beach. In addition, questions and answers for a correspondence course have been worked out. The text-book used in the courses is "The Economic Democracy," by Horace J. Haase, who is teaching the classes. Mr. Haase is ably assisted by Cecil C. Tucker, who is serving as Executive Secretary of the School.

A Library has been established. It has been greatly augmented by a contribution of three hundred pieces of literature from Mrs. Amalia Du Bois, consisting of books, pamphlets and back files of LAND AND FREEDOM. The Library also arranges to lend the text-book to students at ten cents a week. If the student wishes to purchase the book later, whatever rental he paid will be deducted from the price.

Manhattan Single Tax Club

In furtherance of the plan of extending the activity of this Club in its new quarters, one meeting a week is being held—Mondays from 8:30 to 10:30 P. M. Remember the address—1165 Broadway, New York City; entrance at 25 West 27th Street; one flight up.

Following is a list of lecture and debate subjects, and speakers, for the ensuing eight weeks:

Dec. 9—"Organization, Local and National," Lecture by President Ingersoll. "Is 'Single Tax' a Good Name for Our Movement?" Debate.

Dec. 16—"Coordination of Organization and Teaching," Lecture by Harry Haase. "Should Politics as Well as Economics Be Taught?" Debate.

Dec. 23—"How Can We Spread M. S. T. C. Activities?" Lecture by Grace Isabel Colbron. "Step-by-Step Versus All-at-Once," Debate.

Dec. 30—"What State Movements Are Best?" Lecture by Alfred N. Chandler. "What Progress Have Political Movements Made?" Debate.

Jan. 6—"How Can National Organizations Serve the Henry George School?" Lecture by Nathan Hillman. "How Many Kinds of Rent are There?" Debate.

Jan. 13—"Do We Waste Time on Interest, the Wage Fund, and Malthus?" Lecture by Cecil C. Tucker. "Does Rent Enter Into Price, or a Tax on Rent?" Debate.

Jan. 20—"Can the Money Question be Linked With the Land Question?" Lecture by President Ingersoll. "Cooperation With the New Deal, Labor Unions, etc." Debate.

Jan. 27—"What is the Ultimate Government Under Freedom?" Lecture by Harry Weinberger. "Must Government Always Rely on Force?" Debate.

The above program may be taken as a model for organization of branches of the National Single Tax Association—which is affiliated with the Club. Branches or chapters should be active in every sizeable community.

Alaska

Mr. Jim Busey continues to publish his sparkling journal. Four changes have been made recently. The name of the paper has been changed to *Alaska Frontier*; it appears in a larger format; the publication address has been changed to Valdez, Alaska; and the subscription price has been reduced to \$1.00 per year.

Good, sound Georgeist philosophy appears regularly in *Alaska Frontier*, and this is balanced by informative, newsy articles, humor, and many pithy little gems of wisdom. That Mr. Busey succeeds in making his presentation popular is evidenced by the fact that the September-October issue of *Alaska Frontier* was sold out on the news-stands.

The paper is "devoted to Alaska, to Alaska's problems and to the Freedom for which Alaska stands," and carries as a slogan on the front page: "To Open Alaska Industry, Open Alaska Lands." The articles are of such general interest, that it would be well worth while for you to subscribe to this paper, no matter where you may be. As stated above, the subscription price is \$1.00, and the address is: *Alaska Frontier*, Valdez, Alaska.

Australia

The Australian Georgeists are constant in their efforts to keep the question of land reform open in legislatures and before the public. Mr. E. J. Craigie, Member of the House of Assembly for Flinders, and President of the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, takes every opportunity to uphold Georgeist principles. There was a debate in the House recently, concerning a Bill granting the Broken Hill Proprietary Co. power to fix terms for a water line supplied to the Whyalla district. The B. H. P. is already a monopoly concern, and Mr. Craigie constantly directed attention to the fact that this Bill would increase their monopolistic powers. However, the Bill was passed by a majority of seven, despite Mr. Craigie's brave fight.

Also important to our Australian friends, and part of their program, is Proportional Representation. They have had a little more success with this reform. *The People's Advocate* of October 21 reports that the Bill for the adoption of Proportional Representation in connection with the South Australian elections was advanced another stage on October 9, when the second reading was carried by 20 votes to 16. Mr. Craigie also carries on the work for P. R. in the House of Assembly.

The Henry George League of New South Wales continues its varied activities, among which is conducting the School of Social Science. In an article on the School in *The Standard*, Mr. G. H. McCredie reports: "The School is purely an educational body, and it is a most important adjunct to the Henry George League. It was formed by Messrs. W. A. Dowe and J. Brandon about three years ago, and since that time approximately 300 students have passed through it. Of this number about 10 have remained as leaders or instructors.

"It is now the work of the Henry George League, which embraces the School of Social Science, to bring the philosophy of Henry George before the people in such an attractive manner as to excite their interest sufficiently to make them desire to take a course of study of economic science."

On the program of the Henry George League is a series of weekly discussions and debates. One of these discussions, held October 28, was on Gaston Haxo's "Theory of Interest," which appeared in our July-August issue.

Denmark

Our Danish comrades are still laboring for the Cause! For some months—that is, since the German occupation of Denmark—we did not hear about Georgeist work in that little country. Recently, however, they have resumed sending us their excellent quarterly publication, *Grundskyld*, which has not been suspended. In the June and October issues of this journal, which we have just received, our Danish friends tell us of their thoughts and activities during the dark months. They have not wavered in their faith and work, and their tone is one of hope.

In the June issue, J. L. Bjerne has an article on "Our Faith and Our Power." In it he sets forth the position of Georgeists in the world today. "Is there no hope?" he asks in concluding, and answers, "Yes! We are engaged in a great work of economic enlightenment, and already many have been taught the importance of a free society. We must never cease in our work. We are the Apostles of today—the future depends on our Faith and our Power."

The June issue also carried a notice of two important bequests. One is from a prominent person, Alfred Pedersen, who has left a legacy for education in social economy. 200 Kronen a year will be given to any student recognized by the Left Wing Youth or the Henry George Foundation. The other is a gift of 25,000 Kronen received by the Henry George Foundation. The Foundation now has 40,000 Kronen, and all the money is used for non-partisan educational work.

In the October issue of *Grundskyld* appears the address of F. Folke at the grave of Abel Brink on September 2, the birthday of Henry George. On the grave-stone of Brink, at his own request, are carved the words, "*Jorden for Folket*" ("The Land for the People"). "This," said Folke, "stands up against the opposing thought, '*Jorden for de Maegtige*' ("The Land for the Mighty')."

In another article in the same issue, Mr. Folke offers some thoughts on the present situation. "The trouble today," he says, "is that the countries did not hearken to the need for true economic freedom. We, in our little country, are not free from blame. Have we preserved freedom? What we need is an awakening. We Georgeists must carry on the fight for economic freedom."

Jakob Lange has published a new work, "Socialokonomi" ("Social Economy"). It is a Georgeist book, and in it Henry George is quoted extensively. The *Okoteknisk Højskole* (which is the name given to the Danish Henry George School) has asked the author to work out a manual for the book, for the use of the students.

The *Højskole* reports favorable progress. It has been in existence for three seasons, and has already taught over 1000 students. This Fall it entered its fourth season, and is growing more and more influential.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE TIMES PRODUCE THE BOOK

"The Economic Democracy" by Horace Joseph Haase. Orlin Tremaine Company, New York. 1940. 400 pp. \$2.25.

With the advantage of, among other things, some seventy years of criticism of Henry George, Mr. Haase launches forth into a fresh elucidation of the social sciences. He directs his appeal less to the dreamers after Utopia than to a generation who, taught in the harsh school of the materialistic sciences, require of the social philosopher the same kind and degree of evidence that they demand of those who demonstrate the simplest propositions of physics and chemistry.

The pace of the book is set in the seven-page chapter on definitions. The attention of the reader is invited to the fact that "a scientific definition is a description of a phenomenon, as well as the explanation of the meaning of a term," and that "thus within any one science the question of definitions resolves itself into a question of logic." The scientific procedure consists of nothing more than observation, classification, assignment of an exclusive nomenclature, and the determination of causal relationships.

Mr. Haase does not differ from Henry George in any important conclusion. From one end to the other his book is a cold, merciless condemnation of the private collection of land values. But if nothing more could be said, it might well be asked, "Why, then, write another book?"

The purpose is exhibited in the pattern. Strongly influenced by Dove, and under the necessity of adhering to his definition of a definition, Mr. Haase rigidly excludes from each branch of the subject all phenomena that are not peculiar to it. Thus we have the science of economics, dealing with the production of wealth; the science of political economy, dealing with exchange and the phenomena to which exchange gives rise; the science of sociology, concerning the ethical relations between men in their commercial dealings; and the science of politics, "treating of the natural laws governing the regulation of man's conduct by men."

This breakdown of the subject matter yields a perspective of the entire field of the social sciences which lays the axe to a good deal of fruitless quibbling. Of more specific interest, however, is Mr. Haase's elucidation of the nature and relation of utility and value; his simplification of distribution by classing interest as the wages of the capitalist and rent as the wages of society; his identification of Individualism and true Socialism, and the consequent discarding of the latter term as superfluous and, in its present connotation, misleading; and his demonstration that while planning is obviously necessary as a prelude to action, the character of the plan determines whether its fruits will be freedom or slavery.

"The Economic Democracy" makes no pretense of competing for George's place in the hearts of men. No knowledge that can ever come to light will dim the lustre of that man's fame. Yet the tempe, of the times makes it advisable to divest these extremely controversial subjects of even the most fleeting suspicion of personal sponsorship and emotional bias. This is true even of the doctrines of Jesus Christ. People have been betrayed by opinion and seduced by appeal to their sympathy until at last they have turned their faces from anything but the most incontrovertible fact.

The presentation of the argument for land-value taxation in textual form is never wasted effort. The volume under consideration is filled with up-to-date material and references with which the modern student will have become familiarized through his newspaper reading. And after the process of the true democracy has been

developed step by step, the student is presented with a Platform of Freedom, containing specific application of principles to practice, and he is invited to cooperate in the movement through an existing organization with which he is made acquainted.

In addition to the original contributions mentioned above, the book is roughly a combination of "Progress and Poverty", "The Science of Political Economy", and "Democracy Versus Socialism". The style in parts is somewhat labored, in parts inspired, on the whole unemotional. In the crucible of classroom work some few defects may rise to the surface. Nevertheless, in the opinion of this writer, its method of treatment makes it superior as a teaching text to "Progress and Poverty". It has the approval of many substantial Georgeists.

CECIL CARROLL TUCKER, JR.

GEORGEIST PHYSICIAN PROBES CIVILIZATION

"When Loneliness Comes," by George A. Glenn, M. D. Published by the Author, Suite 632 Empire Building, Denver, Color. 1940. 309 pp. \$3.00.

Dr. Glenn, besides being a senator of Colorado, has his own practice in Denver, is surgeon to Physicians and Surgeons Hospital, Professor of Anatomy and Demonstrative Clinical Surgery, College of Physicians and Surgeons, and has served in many other institutions and hospitals.

Dr. Glenn has been watching the growing neurasthenia that has rapidly crept over civilization. He discusses in this all too brief book the vast conglomerated alliance between the medical profession and the pharmaceutical supply houses that preys on the physical and mental ills of mankind with pills and nostrums. He understands, too, that land monopoly has a blighting effect on the people in civilized society. "In reviewing history," he says, "we perceive that in the primitive state all land is comparatively free and afforded by the Creator for the use of men, to labor and live on. Whereas with the encroachment of organized 'civilized' people—the free land is ruthlessly seized from the native inhabitants and direct ownership claimed by the invading Government. After this aggrandizement, sabotage occurs, and all the fertile land and the water rights thereof are parceled out to governmental favorites, who promptly force the native inhabitants into slavery by demanding tribute for occupancy thereof." And he goes on to urge a proper solution of this problem.

Dr. Glenn has observed that humanity is being driven relentlessly to swift senility by the pace of civilization. He has seen women's frigidity and men's impotency become more widespread. Hormone extracts from animal life are being given to slow up the rapidly aging members of society who are being defeated before they achieve their goals or secure recognition. But Dr. Glenn is of the belief that within plant life exists hormonal substance of greater purity, economy and potency—and to either disprove this position or substantiate it he took a trip to the jungles of Brazil, where after many encounters with beast and man, he came upon the beautiful Amazonian women, and learned the secret of their longevity.

Dr. Glenn devotes the first half of his book to the conversations he had with different people who were running away from their personal civilized troubles. There was a statistician, an authoress, a junior business executive, a social worker. Each one had ramified contacts with society in his or her professional capacity; each also had personal problems. And each one was cynical of Dr. Glenn's wholesome, if enlightened, views on connubial happiness. Each one had been so conditioned by the "civilizing" influences of our strangled economy that he could not begin to see the truth and the light freely given to him by Dr. Glenn.

Those who enjoyed James Hilton's "Lost Horizon" can relive the beauty and sweetness of that land in the second half of this book—except that this is not fiction. This is the true story of longevity, of economic freedom, of social happiness.

As a reviewer who loves figures for the power of their accuracy but dreads them if not footnoted as to their source, I often felt in my reading of "When Loneliness Comes" that our author bandied his percentages a little too fluently.

I should also like to have seen more pictures to document his chapters. Assuredly, the book should now be followed up by a well-financed crew of social scientists and cameramen—both still and movie. It would be interesting to see whether philanthropy will stop pampering with its expenditures of monies to preserve the status quo, but will give funds to finance a follow-up to Dr. Glenn's trip.

It will also be interesting to learn whether the medical, sociological, anthropological, pedagogical and other professional journals will accept articles on these findings.

Dr. Glenn's book is enjoying a wide circulation in Colorado. It should be widely circulated, for, amidst the wide variety of subjects sure to arouse popular interest, the author has cleverly mingled "sex" with economics and the land question. He urges his readers to disentangle from their minds the warping effects of our neurasthenic life, and, with a fresh approach, to work toward a more ideal society.

WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB

FRAUDULENT LAND GRANTS

"Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York," by Dr. Irving Mark. Columbia University Press, New York. 1940.

Even devotees of land reform may be astonished when confronted with the extent of fraud which accompanied early land grants. In Dr. Mark's interesting study, some of these frauds are uncovered.

The looseness and vagueness with which many grants were described, by metes and bounds, permitted huge increases in the size of the tracts granted. Among the grantees was one Robert Livingston, who in 1675 was appointed Secretary of the Board of Commissioners of Indian Affairs. Livingston, like other politicians of his day, carried the favor of several Governors who assisted him in the acquisition of thousands of acres of land. One land grant patent was stretched from 2600 to over 160,000 acres. Livingston acquired this tract for 930 guilders (about \$375) in wampum, and \$200 in axes, kettles, knives, blankets and similar commodities. What the Indians could use their axes for, with their land gone, is an interesting speculation.

It was quite simple to stretch a land grant. The metes and bounds which described them would refer to "where Two Black Oake Trees are Marked wt. L," or "where Heapes of Stone Lye," or by a stream that winds its way around many bends and turns, and run back into the woods.

In this manner, the Van Rensselaers were able to acquire, in the vicinity of Albany, upwards of one million acres. The claim of Rev. Godfridius Dellius involved 537,600 acres in the Saratoga area.

Dr. Mark found that huge concentrations of land in the hands of a few were accomplished through fraud, chicanery, nepotism and political corruption. There is ample material in his work, on which he could have easily moralized, but which he chose rather to set forth as a historical episode. However, the work is commendable from that viewpoint, and is worthy of reference for those interested in the search for a cure.

J. H. N.

CORRESPONDENCE

L & F GOES ON THE AIR

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM :

I happened to read the July-August issue of your magazine LAND AND FREEDOM. Your proposals appear to be both sound and intelligent.

Every Wednesday we present a radio program over Station WLTH at 1:30 P. M. We would be pleased to have someone on the editorial board of your magazine speak for about 15 minutes on Nov. 27th.

Kindly let me know whether it will be possible for you to accept this invitation.

Cordially yours,

FRANCIS MERCHANT

THE BIOSOPHICAL INSTITUTE

New York, N. Y.

(In response to the above kind offer of The Biosophical Institute, Mr. C. J. Smith delivered a radio talk on the subject of "Idealism and Realism," in which the Georgeist philosophy was treated from the viewpoint of practical idealism. The Biosophical Institute, of which Dr. Frederick Kettner is the Founder and President, is an organization devoted to Character and Peace Education. Its headquarters are at Broadway and 67th Street, New York City.—Ed.)

GILBERT TUCKER ON ORGANIZATION

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM :

I should like to add a word to the recent pro and con discussion in LAND AND FREEDOM regarding organization, in which I took the affirmative side. As is often the case, when we accentuate differences, we lose sight of major points of agreement, and I am sure that Mr. Frank Chodorov and myself are far more in accord than may be apparent.

By organization Mr. Chodorov means a group united for one of two purposes: to quote his words, "to enjoy one another's company because of this common interest, or to impose on others their common interest by the strength of numbers." If such are to be the objects of an organization, let's have none of it, and I agree with him as to the futility of any such plan. But are these the purposes at which we should aim, or are they the purposes of organizations somewhat comparable to those we already have? If Mr. Chodorov will read the objectives which I roughly outlined, he will, I think, be largely in agreement with me.

There are countless organizations which, in a way, parallel the goal at which we should aim, all devoid of the objectives to which Mr. Chodorov rightly objects. Consider many of the professional associations of physicians, lawyers, architects, nurses, educators and the like, or more commercially-minded groups like Chambers of Commerce, trade associations and kindred organizations. Or study innumerable organizations working for mere correlation, avoidance of over-lapping and general efficiency including the great problem of financing—charity organization societies, community chests and the like. True, they sometimes do have good times together and sometimes they unwisely yield to the temptation to indulge in ill-judged political action, but all this is apart from their major purposes, and indeed organization might be very useful to us in holding in check some untimely and half-baked political campaigns. As for some lighter activities, there can be little objection, if not overdone; need we always go about all our serious purposes devoid of all sense of comradeship or of pure fun? Even the Henry George School has its occasional dinners and jollifications—and what harm do they do, as long as they are mere side-

shows while serious business goes on uninterrupted in the big tent. Perhaps sometimes, if practised with moderation, as should be all amusements, the greater purpose is even furthered by such affairs as long as they remain wholly incidental.

In the same issue of LAND AND FREEDOM which carried the recent discussion, I note that many recognize the imperative need of association. Almost uniformly, these writers see, as does Mr. Chodorov, that the imperative need is education, although they may not always interpret that word in a way confined only to formal study in the class-room. Mr. Chodorov wisely states the educational objective of the School, devoted to and chartered for that specific purpose, but why limit the stimulation of the countless avenues of service, which he mentions, to work for and under the School? "An educational institution must be devoid of any political effort" and in that I would agree; I would even go further, for I am not at all sure that "to bombard editors with letters" is a proper function of a School, although training in such procedure is entirely proper. The graduates as well as many others must be encouraged to engage in many lines of work, which are almost wholly educational in the broadest sense but which nevertheless do not fall directly within the province of a chartered school.

Perhaps the greatest objectives of such an enterprise as I urge, should be correlation and financing. It should aid and encourage many activities, again generally educational, outside of the province of the class-room, and it should be the great central organ for financing our work as a whole but without the slightest interference with operations conducted by groups of a specialized or local nature. That many opportunities are lost for securing considerable sums for the promotion of our great task is a matter of positive knowledge, and the explanation lies in the simple fact that we have no strong and stable association which represents the rank and file of Georgeists and is not limited, either positively or by policy and custom, to a specific activity.

Certainly, multiplicity of national organizations is not to be desired. Should any spirit of enterprise or cooperation be evinced, there are two existing bodies which might well be developed to fill a larger field—the Robert Schalkenbach and the Henry George Foundations. Both have weaknesses which must be eliminated before either can take the place which it might assume. The Schalkenbach Foundation has no broad membership but is only a well administered trusteeship for handling certain funds. It is made up of busy men who can afford but little time for its affairs and it commands no general support from Georgeists. The Henry George Foundation, to put it bluntly, does little but promote an annual conference and hold title to George's birth-place. If either or both of these organizations would undergo a renaissance and attract real support from the many Georgeists, today so often dormant, there would be limitless possibilities ahead. Of the two, the Schalkenbach is the most hopeful and my suggestion is that some policy be developed for building up a membership—call them members, associates, friends or what you will—to which could be delegated some measure of responsibility for aiding its work, broadening its field and for raising funds. Every effort should be made to avoid its domination by cranks and extremists or by those within our ranks who are intolerant of every endeavor not in line with their single-track minds.

The functions of these members or associates might be only advisory and contributory but it would seem that there could be no objection to their representation on the board, for one may question whether a close corporation device, with a self-perpetuating board, is the best when a large and general support is sought. With energy and wisdom, and particularly with tact and tolerance, a

strong organization could in time be developed, strengthening the Schalkenbach Foundation, enabling it to expand and develop.

The new association would be but little different from the foundations of today except in stability, vigor, more general appeal and in the possibility which it would offer to secure better co-operation and more adequate financing for our great task. What possible objection can there be to such a program?

Albany, N. Y.

GILBERT M. TUCKER

With all respect for Mr. Tucker's views as above expressed, we believe the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation is doing a splendid work, and should continue to function in its present special field.

ED.

AN AUSTRALIAN VIEW ON INTEREST

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM :

Your July-August issue contains an interesting article on a "Theory of Interest" by Mr. Gaston Haxo. He is sound in his statements that interest is not due to the reproductive forces of nature; also, that the contract (interest) freely entered into by borrower and lender, both of whom benefit therefrom, is equitable; and this custom is not likely to cease. Payment for service rendered, and it is commonly so understood, is the justification for interest, and the average rate is determined by competition between lenders. The return to lenders is their own concern.

I purchase a machine (capital). I purchase it from my own funds. It is mine for all time. That is just. But again, I borrow money not for itself, but for the service it supplies and I buy the machine. It is not mine. I pay for its hire. That is just. Service for service—interest.

Surely Mr. Haxo's statement that interest as an institution is "but the evil fruit of an evil economic system", and is "unearned increment" is wrong. It largely arises from his treating money as if it purchased only capital. If I, a land speculator, buy and sell vacant lots I do not spend money in purchasing capital. I purchase land—a wide distinction. If I buy a block, erect a building upon it, and let the whole, I am paid in money; I receive so much in interest on my building (capital). *This is just.* And I receive so much in land rent. This is due to society, and I have no just claim to it. Mr. Haxo makes no such vital distinction.

There is little doubt the enormous land rent incomes of Astors, English dukes, German junkers, etc. are invested by them partly in purchasing additional land—not capital. They also invest land-rent money in capitalistic enterprises, claiming "interest" and also in interest-bearing Government loans, stealthily reducing the masses to slavery. The whole world is the sufferer.

The investment origin is land rent privately appropriated. Only in this sense is Mr. Haxo's statement correct that "interest as an institution has its roots in land monopoly and the resultant exploitation of labor". This investment of the people's values we must put an end to. We must eliminate all land rent from private incomes.

Then will money lent be invested in capital alone, which, with interest thereon, Mr. Haxo endorses as just. Long-term interest on debts would disappear and back debts be paid off, for a new world of prosperity would prevail. The effect of breaking up land rent monopoly would be the same as witnessed in early "Go West" days before land speculation got the mastery and brought the United States to its present condition of progress and poverty. George would be vindicated. So great would be the demand for labor and capital, that wages and interest (both just, and the same in origin) would rise together, and with land rent collected and the abolition of monopolies, parasitism would be ended.

Melbourne, Australia.

F. T. HODGKISS

"CORRECCION"

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM :

Mr. Joseph Sinnott, in his article "The Land Problem in Mexico," displays a remarkable knowledge of this country and the rapid development of its national economic life in the course of one century. I should like, however, to correct a few errors in the article.

In the first place, the name Anahuac which he applies to one of the strong tribes in pre-Columbian times is wrong. Anahuac was the name of the luxuriant valley on which the City of Mexico is situated; it means "near the water," in reference to its many lakes. The tribe he mentions was named Nahuatl. This really was a generic name including several of the best cultured tribes, and it means "one who speaks well."

The labor movement under Lombardo Toledano which Mr. Sinnott refers to favorably, has been only a political trick to give power to a group of workmen's leaders leaning strongly to Bolshevism. Toledano himself and President Cardenas seem to believe in the efficacy of Communism and have fanatically worked for its spread. As often happens, the new Frankenstein has become too strong for them, and they no longer know how to wield it. Fortunately there is a large amount of common sense among the common people, and workmen have begun to see the uselessness of Marx's theory.

I, too, have regretted that our presidents "do not know the way." But we should not wonder; in Cardenas' cabinet figure men who are professed Georgeists. Why have they done nothing toward the subdivision of large estates by means of the fiscal weapon, as Henry George advises? The other way brings a neat sum into the private pockets of functionaries. The temptation is too great. Then, what use would a copy of "Progress and Poverty" be in the hands of Mexico's leaders? They won't read it. I wonder whether the leaders of the United States have ever studied it.

Monterrey, Mexico

PROF. E. T. WESTRUP

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM :

We are very pleased with the spirit manifested in your editorials. They remind us of Louis F. Post's *The Public*. While always forceful, Post was never bitter or rancorous.

Pasadena, Calif.

MR. AND MRS. FRANK H. BODE

(Continued from page 183)

which men might claim title. Security of individual liberty, attested by citizenship, and encompassing freedom to enjoy all other social and government services, is another, and paramount, service for which Rent is compensation.

Were these truths understood and recognized by all—what man, or group of men, would have the face or unwisdom to precipitate a war, to preserve to themselves the privilege of ignoring their obligations to society, the payment of Rent in full to the government? By unitedly promulgating the truth that men must toil to possess the "increments" of nature, might not Georgeists again start mankind on the march towards the goal of Henry George—the public collection of the Rent and the abolition of Taxation? Might not such a program remove obstacles to the solution of the land problem, and disclose the insanity and futility of war? Would they deny this to have been his goal?

Land and Freedom

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Abbreviations

SP—Signs of Progress
 BR—Book Reviews
 C—Correspondence
 NNP—News Notes and Personals
 U—Untitled
 V—Verse

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Land and Freedom

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NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

A very good friend of LAND AND FREEDOM is in receipt of a letter from a British Army officer of high rank, whose name, for obvious reason, is withheld. A few passages will interest our readers: "The unrighteous certainly seem to flourish in Europe for the time being and will do so until we are sufficiently purged. And what of France? It is terrible to think of so proud a country so low in the dust . . . When I think of Weygand, whom I knew, it all seems so unbelievable despite the wilful 'ostrich in the sand' behavior of our leaders . . . I can see why self-righteousness won't save us. We have yet to drink deeper of the cup of humility and repentance—and have done with vanity and hypocrisy. I think the punishment this country is undergoing is developing the higher qualities of unselfishness and patience, rather than of cowardice and self-interest."

MICHAEL J. BERNSTEIN, an instructor at the Henry George School, delivered an address at the Sunrise Club on November 4. This Club has been functioning for many years, and notable Georgeists have held forth at its meetings, among them Harry Weinberger and Oscar H. Geiger. Mr. Bernstein's topic was "International Trade Relations," and the Sunrise Club Bulletin reports that his talk was "interesting and effective." Mrs. Bernstein and Miss Dorothy Sara were also present. To the Club, Miss Sara "proved a very interesting personality," and Mrs. Bernstein "graced the occasion with charm and distinction."

ROGELIO CASAS CADILLA spoke recently at the Pan-American Room of the International House, in New York City. Sr. Casas emphasized that the happiness of the people depends on their receiving the product of their labor. He also pointed out that international trade barriers were an important cause of war, and that they should be removed.

AN AUTOCADE tour to South America is being planned by the All-American Civilian Council for Economic Defense, under the direction of Mr. Herbert Hungerford. The trip, to be composed of a cavalcade of automobiles, and representing citizens of all classes, has for its purpose the establishment of good will and improved economic relations between North and South America. Mr. Hungerford has been active in the Georgeist Cause.

ANTONIO BASTIDA, another prominent leader in the Georgeist movement, died October 12th at the age of 78. Mr. Gaston Haxo sends us the following account of Mr. Bastida:

"At an early age he became a disciple of Henry George, whose principles he championed most vigorously throughout his long career. He was a splendid character, loved by many and respected by all. An uncompromising foe of half-way measures, the motto 'The Land for the People' was his religion and his only political platform. He was one of the founders of the Single Tax Party and very active in that organization until he left New York to retire in the land of eternal sunshine—California."

We have also received notice of the death of two more of our friends: Michael C. O'Neill, of Brookline, Mass, at the age of 77; and Percy S. Marcellus, of Brooklyn, N. Y., who was active with the Philadelphia and New York Georgeists.

We have received an interesting letter from our aviator friend, John Miller. After relating his many experiences in flying (being a pioneer in roof-to-roof autogiro flight, shuttling between the Philadelphia and Camden post office buildings on a mail carrying contract) he expresses a desire to become acquainted with local Georgeists. Mr. Miller resides at 20-39 - 41st Drive, Little Neck, L. I., and is now flying for Eastern Air Lines.

Please Note

May we request that our subscribers immediately notify us of change of address, to insure prompt delivery of LAND AND FREEDOM. Second class mailing matter has no forwarding privilege, and therefore if you do not notify us, you are liable not to receive your magazine.

It would be appreciated if all matter intended for publication in LAND AND FREEDOM were typed or otherwise legibly written in blue or black ink on white paper, with double spacing between lines. Your cooperation will help us in editing, and insure against the inconvenience of our having to redraft the article, or letter, for the printer.

• • •

STATEMENT of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Acts of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933, of LAND AND FREEDOM, published bi-monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1940.

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

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Charles Jos. Smith, who, having been duly sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the owner of LAND AND FREEDOM and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended 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, managing editor and business managers are:

Publisher: LAND AND FREEDOM, 150 Nassau St., New York City.

Editors: Charles Jos. Smith, Jos. Hiram Newman and Robert Clancy, all of 150 Nassau St., New York City.

Managing Editor: None.

Business Manager: Charles Jos. Smith, 150 Nassau St., New York City.

2. That the owner is Charles Jos. Smith, 150 Nassau St., New York City.

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 full 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.

CHARLES JOS. SMITH,

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