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Land and Freedom

An International Journal of the Henry George Movement Founded in 1901

Land Values of France

Pavlos Giannelia

Science and Economics

Paul Peach

The Rights of Infants

Thomas Spence

Reign of Natural Law

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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

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 admit 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.

*It is not contended that any existing statistics have been compiled scientifically.

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 Georgan 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.

A FREE COPY of LAND AND FREEDOM is an invitation to become a subscriber.

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 tenements 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



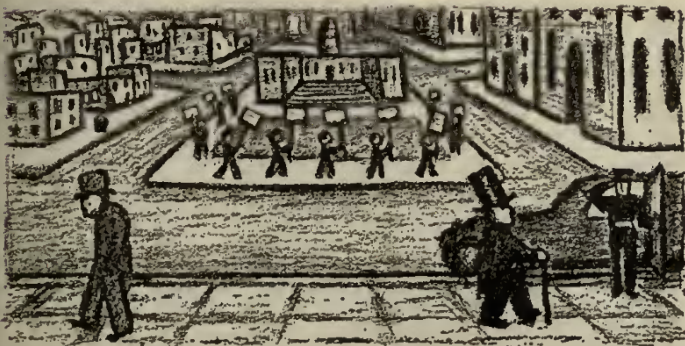
The second condition of progress is EQUALITY. Peaceful association is required for progress—and this is maintained only when a condition of equality, freedom and justice prevails. Where the dignity of the individual is respected, and every one receives the full reward of his labor—there the profit motive 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 high 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. INVADERS 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 Hohaia 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 FELS.

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:

Georgeist 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.

Summer 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."