

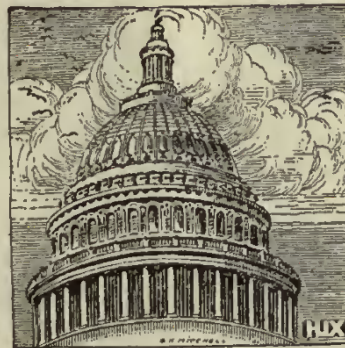
September—October, 1940

Land and Freedom

An International Journal of the Henry George Movement Founded in 1901

THE ROAD AHEAD

Social and Political Problems
Confronting Us



1940 HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

Washington, D. C.

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00

SINGLE COPIES 35 CENTS

PUBLISHED AT 150 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK CITY

LAND AND FREEDOM

An International Journal of the Henry George Movement

Founded by Joseph Dana Miller

Published Bi-Monthly by

LAND AND FREEDOM, 150 Nassau Street, New York

EDITORS

CHARLES JOS. SMITH JOS. HIRAM NEWMAN
ROBERT CLANCY

Please address all communications to **LAND and FREEDOM**

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE:—\$2.00 per year. Libraries and Colleges, \$1.00. Special trial offer to students and graduates of the Henry George School of Social Science, \$1.00 for one year. Payable in advance. Entered as second-class matter Oct. 2, 1913, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1897.

September—October, 1940

Vol. XL, No. 5

WHOLE No. 222

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

ENGLAND: Douglas J. J. Owen.

CANADA: Herbert T. Owens.

BRAZIL: Prof. Fidelino de Figueiredo.

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

SPAIN: Baldomero Argente, Madrid.

BULGARIA: Lasar Karaivanove, Plovdiv.

HUNGARY: J. J. Pikler, Budapest.

FRANCE: Jng. Pavlos Giannelia.

INDEX TO CONTENTS

	PAGE
COMMENT AND REFLECTION	131
FIFTEENTH ANNUAL HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS	132
ORGANIZATION FOR VICTORYWalter I. Swanton	135
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE GEORGEIST PROGRAM	136
THE GREATEST OF THESE IS JUSTICEJohn Hanna	139
ORGANIZATION OF GEORGEISTS — PRO AND CON	140
A WORD TO THE WISEElizabeth M. Phillips	142
THE PRICE OF FREEDOMSanford J. Benjamin	143
TRADE IN THE HITLERIAN EMPIRE.... Pavlos Giannelia	144
COUNTY VERSUS COUNTRYDouglas J. J. Owen	145
FREEDOM VERSUS MONOPOLYBenjamin C. Marsh	147
A LEGISLATIVE PLAN OF ACTION	148
FREDERIC CYRUS LEUBUSCHER	151
THUS SPAKE THE PROPHETSJacob Schwartzman	152
SIGNS OF PROGRESS	154
BOOK REVIEWS	156
CORRESPONDENCE	157
NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS	159

WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

We declare:

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

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

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

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

We therefore demand:

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

That there be no restrictions of any kind imposed upon the exchange of goods within or among nations.

ARGUMENT

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

The freeing from taxation of every product of labor, including commerce and exchange, would encourage men to build and to produce. It would put an end to legalized robbery by the government.

The public collection of the Rent of Land, by putting and keeping all land forever in use to the full extent of the people's needs, would insure real and permanent prosperity for all.

Please Make Subscriptions and Checks Payable to **LAND AND FREEDOM**

Land and Freedom

VOL. XL

SEPTEMBER — OCTOBER, 1940

No. 5

Comment and Reflection

POETS and dreamers have ever beheld the Millenium, the Golden Age. Ages have passed, and the Millenium is still hidden from the view of mankind. The Ideal Society apparently does not come of its own accord. If and when it does, it will come through man's own efforts. It is what we do now that determines the kind of world we shall bequeath. In the present, and in the world as we find it, our feet are set upon a path that leads on to the future. The way is indeed difficult—the forest is dense, there are treacherous pitfalls. Occasionally, there is a height which only the stout of heart may climb. From these heights, how sweet look the pleasant fields ahead! But to reach the fields one must descend again. We must struggle on, penetrate the darkness, and avoid the pitfalls. We must face the problems of the present, with courage and intelligence.

WE who embrace the philosophy of freedom are confident that we have the correct solution to many of the world's ills. The great preponderance of humanity is, however, unaware of our solution. Since we must continue our association with the rest of mankind, we must share the troubles that beset them. We must do something about them, now—not at the expense of impeding our true reform, but in furtherance of it. Ultimately, the seeming digression will better prepare the world for its acceptance. Indeed, if we fail to grapple with immediate problems, we run the risk of allowing the torch to be snatched from our hands by the powers of darkness—who have recently enough demonstrated their aptitude for snuffing out the light of freedom.

ACCCEPTANCE of our philosophy will come about only in a society where the tradition of freedom has been instilled, and where the people, to some extent, realize that Liberty must be forever guarded. It is to our interest that tyranny and oppression be combated, whenever they appear, and whatever their form. Only in the democratic countries has the way been prepared for our reform. And only to the extent that the citizens of democratic nations strive to preserve their freedom is it measurably retained. It is no easy task to conquer a nation like Finland or Denmark, where the roots of freedom go deep—even though it may seem that the powers of darkness have, for the moment, triumphed. On the other hand, it requires little effort to subdue a nation where the enemies of democracy have successfully perverted the precepts of freedom. Witness

the France of Rousseau, Voltaire and Mirabeau, whose present leaders have been so ready to discard Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. How true it is, in more than one sense, that the price of Liberty is Eternal Vigilance!

IT is unhappily true that the disease of landownership and trade restriction is gnawing at the vitals of even our most democratic countries. Were this not so, our work would be unnecessary. But we believe that democracy can be saved, because we know that the disease is curable—and that the cure is in our hands.

LET us not be cynical in these dangerous times. We can admit that the present world crisis is a struggle among rival imperialisms for world domination, and still recognize that in the last analysis it is a struggle between two irreconcilable "ways of life." The appearance of totalitarianism is as much a result of international as of internal injustice. The solution cannot be in crushing the peoples whose governments are now totalitarian. Neither can it be in allowing totalitarianism to triumph. It is a case where the excrescence, although caused by the disease, must be subdued first, and more favorable conditions created for eradicating the disease itself.

EACH new crisis that comes must be handled in a different way and yet in a way that is in accordance with basic principles. Each new crisis puts a new test to our faith and ideals. If our faith is to survive, we must adapt it to such usefulness as may be required for meeting the various situations that arise. It was in this spirit that the Prophets of Israel applied their faith as they were forced to meet new developments. Isaiah was sent at a time of great national crisis, and he met that crisis by laying down precepts for the guidance of his people through that epoch. A century later, Jeremiah arose during another period of anguish, and he likewise offered practical advice to his people for that occasion. The opposition to his counsel came, strangely enough, from the upholders—in the narrow sense—of the Isaiah tradition. Yet it is now clear that Jeremiah was continuing substantially on the same path that Isaiah trod—in the larger, spiritual sense. In this there is a lesson for all of us. We can apply it to the real and immediate issues of today. We will be none the less true to our faith and principles by tackling with intelligence the problems that arise in our time. We will most certainly not be true to them by closing our eyes and dreaming on about the Golden Age.

“THE BEGINNING OF THE WINNING”

Fifteenth Annual Henry George Congress

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE Nation's Capital was the scene this year of the Annual Conference of Georgeists, sponsored by the Henry George Foundation of America. It is the fifteenth consecutive year that followers of Henry George from all parts of the country have gathered together to discuss the principles, policies and problems of their Movement. The slogan adopted for the 1940 Washington Conference was "The Beginning of the Winning."

The Conference was held in the Mural Room of the famous Hotel Washington, overlooking the U. S. Treasury and the White House. The congenial hostesses of the convening delegates were the members of the Women's Single Tax Club of Washington. About 100 registered delegates attended, besides many unregistered visitors. Beautiful early fall weather helped to make their sojourn a pleasant one.

The three-day meeting, ending with a banquet, was as interesting as it was successful. The Washington press gave the event ample publicity. Accounts of the sessions appeared in the *Washington Post*, *Star*, and *News*. The latter paper, in a feature article, said of the Conference: "Not even barring arguments about Roosevelt-Willkie or the draft act, Washington's most earnest conversation this week was billed on the program of a little convention of Single Taxers at the Washington Hotel."

Among the highlights of the Conference were: a reception at the White House, where Mrs. Roosevelt greeted the delegates; the unexpected and welcome appearance of former Congressman Charles R. Eckert, Benjamin C. Marsh, and Alice Thacher Post; and the banquet, at which Congressman Robert Crosser of Ohio, Mayor Cornelius D. Scully of Pittsburgh, and Mrs. Anna George de Mille were among the speakers.

Following is an account of the events of the Conference:

First Day—Wednesday, September 25

MORNING SESSION—Delegates from all parts of the country—notably Illinois, Pennsylvania and New York—gathered together at the Hotel. The morning was spent in an informal get-together, in which the various delegates became acquainted with one another.

AFTERNOON SESSION—The first formal meeting of the Conference was held at 2:00 P. M. Mrs. Ernest Humphrey Daniels, President of the District Federation of Women's

Clubs (of which the Women's Single Tax Club is a member), extended a warm welcome to the delegates. Percy R. Williams, of the Henry George Foundation, responded to Mrs. Daniels' welcome. Zenobiah Campbell then took the gavel as temporary Chairman, doing a splendid job in making the members feel at ease. She then relinquished the chair to Dr. Mark Millikin of Ohio. In his remarks as presiding Chairman, Dr. Millikin stressed the importance of free trade, and proposed a resolution extending to Cordell Hull a vote of confidence from Georgeists for his fine work in promoting trade relations. The resolution was unanimously carried.

Dr. Millikin then introduced the speakers. The first was Robert Clancy, Associate Editor of *LAND AND FREEDOM*. Mr. Clancy spoke of the journal as "the voice of the movement," in which all sides are offered a chance to present their views. The delegates were invited to become "special correspondents" for *LAND AND FREEDOM*.

The next speaker was Charles H. Ingersoll, President of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, who spoke on "Simplifying Economics for Teaching." Mr. Ingersoll stressed the need for presenting the basic principles of economics in a form that would be understandable and acceptable to the average man. Axiomatic statements are needed, he said. "Argument creates antagonism. Truth backed by proof persuades."

The last speaker of the afternoon session was Harry J. Haase, author of the new book, "Economic Democracy." Mr. Haase related his efforts and aims in writing the book and expressed the belief that the single tax could be put across within five years if the proper kind of effort were extended. Mr. Haase proposes to use his work as a textbook, and is starting a new school with that purpose, in collaboration with Mr. Ingersoll.

EVENING SESSION—Mrs. Gertrude MacKenzie acted a temporary Chairman, and then yielded the chair to Carl D. Smith of Pittsburgh. Mr. Smith delivered a short and pithy speech on the position of Georgeists in the present crisis.

The first scheduled speaker of the evening was Hon. George E. Evans of Pittsburgh, who told about that city's housing problem, and the efforts of the present administration to relieve the situation. He outlined a form of public housing now being carried out in Pittsburgh, with model homes replacing the slums. The reaction of the audience

was that public housing is not the solution—to which Mr. Evans agreed, but explained that something had to be done presently to alleviate the living conditions of the poorer classes.

Henry H. Hardinge of Chicago was the next speaker. He presented a vivid picture of world conditions—war, dictatorship, depression—and explained that under our distorted economy, war makes business good and peace makes it bad.

Much lively discussion punctuated the evening session throughout.

Second Day—Thursday, September 26

MORNING SESSION—Mrs. Jennie Knight was the temporary Chairman, and George M. Strachan of Chicago presided. Mr. Strachan delivered a short talk on the Georgeist philosophy.

Unfortunately, none of the scheduled speakers were able to attend the meeting. Instead, Benjamin C. Marsh, Executive Secretary of the People's Lobby, presented a talk on world conditions. Mr. Marsh is well-informed on world affairs. His expose of imperialism was most enlightening. The address stimulated much discussion by the audience. Clayton J. Ewing was also present, and spoke to the group.

FOUNDATION LUNCHEON—A luncheon for the Trustees and Advisory Commission of the Henry George Foundation was given, at which the annual meeting of the Foundation was conducted. Among other business proceedings, elections were held to fill vacancies. John S. Codman of Boston was elected to replace George J. Shaffer of Chicago, deceased; Gilbert M. Tucker, to replace A. Laurence Smith, who resigned; and Charles Jos. Smith of LAND AND FREEDOM was named as second Vice-President, to succeed the late Joseph Dana Miller. All other officers and directors were re-elected.

AFTERNOON SESSION—The temporary Chairman was Mrs. Dora Ogle, who spoke on the need for correct thought. Mrs. Ogle contended that special attention should be paid to our public school system, which at present does not teach students to think correctly.

Mrs. Anna George de Mille presided over the meeting. She introduced Lancaster M. Greene, Trustee of the Henry George School of Social Science. Mr. Greene spoke highly of the Danish Folk Schools, and pointed out the relation between the tradition of these Schools and the teaching method of the Henry George School. The Danes discovered the Henry George School in 1936, and from it they received a new inspiration, and the Folk Schools were given a new stimulus.

Mr. Greene also made an earnest plea to Georgeists to keep a level head in the present world crisis. "Our only foe is ignorance," he said. "When we realize this fact, we can

resist the tendency to hate, for we will know that hate cannot change ideas—in fact, hate may obscure our perception that human nature is essentially sound, that freedom is natural and healthy, and that natural rights are not idle prattle but the very breath and spirit of America." Mr. Greene went on to show how the Henry George School is remaining true to this ideal by spreading correct thought. He urged Georgeists to do all they could to aid in the great work.

WHITE HOUSE RECEPTION—Through the courtesy of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, a reception at the White House was arranged for the convening Georgeists, at 4:00 P. M. The First Lady greeted the delegates cordially. After refreshments had been served, Mrs. Roosevelt listened attentively to the Georgeists who spoke to her. In her daily column, "My Day," which appears in a great number of newspapers throughout the country, Mrs. Roosevelt referred to our visit.

EVENING SESSION—This was termed the Women's Session. Mrs. Lloyd Biddle presided. Dr. Florence Armstrong, District President of the Business and Professional Women's Club (member of the Federation of Women's Clubs), was present and addressed the meeting. Other leaders of Women's Clubs also spoke, and there was much interesting discussion on the subject of economics. This was followed by a social hour, where refreshments were served, and a lighter atmosphere prevailed over the seriousness of the other meetings.

Third Day—Friday, September 27

MORNING SESSION—Miss Alice I. Siddall was temporary Chairman, and Mr. Carroll V. Hill of Pittsburgh presided.

The first speaker was V. G. Peterson, Secretary of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation. Miss Peterson gave a very interesting account of the influence of Henry George upon modern writers. She emphasized her point by quoting from new books, published within the last few years, in which the authors acknowledged and evaluated Henry George's position as a great social philosopher. Miss Peterson made a survey of 188 important books on economics published in 1938 and 1939, and found that one-third of them made favorable mention of Henry George and commented at length upon his theories. Many of the authors accepted Henry George's ideas and used them as a basis for their own conclusions. Among the books and authors that Miss Peterson mentioned were the following:

Harry Scherman, president of the Book of the Month Club, who in "The Promises Men Live By," gives Henry George complete credit for exploding the wage-fund theory; Gaetano Mosca, author of "The Ruling Class," which makes constant reference to Henry George, crediting him with originating many ideas which are accepted facts today;

Harry Elmer Barnes, who in his book, "Society in Transition," speaks of "Progress and Poverty" as the "most famous work ever written on the subject of poverty"; Charles and Mary Beard, authors of the important "Rise of American Civilization," who acknowledge the far-reaching effect of Henry George on American thought; Broadus Mitchell, well-known economist, who in "Wealth—Its Use and Abuse," says, "If America were invited to contribute one name to an international economic Hall of Fame, the rest of the world would scarcely understand it if we did not nominate Henry George"; and Dan Beard, who recently wrote an autobiography, in which he says, "I knew Henry George intimately. We would discuss things, principles and people, as friends may, but all the time I was talking or listening to him, I felt that I should be standing—hat in hand—because I realized that back of this little man was an invisible something, big and great, bigger and greater than the generation in which he lived understood, or even George himself realized. It was the soul of the man himself."

Wallace McCauley of Chicago was the next speaker. He concentrated his talk on conditions in Chicago, and the good work Georgeists are carrying on there. Economic conditions are very bad in Chicago, said Mr. McCauley, and the city is a hot-bed of land speculation. But he expressed a belief that this would be counteracted by the work of the Chicago Henry George School, the "We, The Citizens" group, the journal *Cause and Effect*, and many valiant individuals who are carrying on the work of economic enlightenment.

Spencer Heath dropped in on the gathering and delivered a scholarly talk on the metaphysical aspects of the Georgeist philosophy.

AFTERNOON SESSION—Mrs. Barbara Crosser Sweeny served as temporary Chairman, and in the absence of Mr. Erwin Kauffmann, Harry Haase presided.

Hon. Charles R. Eckert spoke, stressing the need of having Georgeists in strategic positions for the purpose of influencing legislatures. Good men, sound in economic principles, are needed in politics, he said. Mr. Eckert also made a plea for the internal reform of the Democratic Party.

After Mr. Eckert's talk, business proceedings were conducted. Resolutions were read and voted upon, and invitations were extended for the 1941 Henry George Congress. Chicago is to be the scene of the Conference next year. Georgeists are urged to keep that in mind, and to strive to be on hand.

The Banquet

The banquet, held on the evening of the third day, closed the nine sessions Conference. After an enjoyable repast, the ceremonies got under way, and were admirably con-

ducted throughout by double Chairmen Helena Mitchell McEvoy and Gertrude Metcalf Mackenzie.

The first speaker was Mr. Walter Swanton, who delivered a brief talk on "Organization for Victory—A Five-Year Plan." This address is printed in this issue.

Hon. Cornelius D. Scully, Mayor of Pittsburgh, delivered an *ex tempore* speech. He attested his belief in the Georgeist philosophy, and defended himself against charges of not "living up to" the cause. Mr. Scully is active in several Georgeist organizations. During his remarks, he presented a plan for spreading the Georgeist philosophy. He believes that Georgeists should feature propaganda advertisements in leading newspapers; and that the legislators in Washington should constantly be "plugged." "If we get things started right," said Mayor Scully, "we need not concern ourselves too greatly over the outcome. We know that results will come in time. But we have to get started right away—there isn't any too much time."

Mrs. Anna George de Mille, beloved daughter of Henry George, spoke to the group on the efforts of British Georgeists. There are fifty Members of Parliament, she said, who comprise the "Parliamentary Land Values Group." They are looking forward to a time when the war ends, and peacetime problems will have to be faced. Mrs. de Mille read part of the plan that this bloc proposes "when the war ends." The plan is set out in seven articles, which show the effect of the taxation of site values on housing, unemployment, the use of land, and revenue to the Government. Mr. R. R. Stokes, M. P., is Secretary of this British Group. In a session of the House of Commons on August 20, when the war situation was being discussed, Mr. Stokes spoke on the problems ahead. In his remarks, he said, "We should show that we are resolved to build a better world than that on which we turned our backs last September. It is surely in the hearts and minds of all right-thinking people that all men have an equal right to live. If they have an equal right to live, they have an equal right to the gifts which the Creator gave them wherewith to maintain that life; namely air, sunshine, land and water. If we could only put forward our declaration built upon that Christian basis, we would have some chance of obtaining three things which we badly need—secure a diplomatic victory, regain the moral leadership of the world, and earn the blessings rather than possibly incur the hatred of all mankind by failing to do so."

After Mrs. de Mille's talk, Mr. George A. Warren spoke to the group on how to avoid being a bore when explaining the Georgeist philosophy. Somewhat humorous, his speech nevertheless contained important suggestions. He urged Georgeists to be timely in their discussions, to be tolerant of other ideas, and to be friendly to other reform groups whose thoughts are harmonious with the Georgeist philosophy.

Hon. Robert Crosser, Congressman from the State of

Ohio, was the next speaker. He is Representative for the same district that Tom L. Johnson once represented in Congress. Mr. Crosser delivered an eloquent and brilliant talk on "Standards of Absolute Justice." He took contemporary statesmen to task for ignoring fundamental principles, and for considering only the expediency of the moment—the standard of justice is in the long run more satisfactory and more expedient than the "expedient" policy of taking from some to give to others. Mr. Crosser made a plea that human beings emulate the example of the Creator, Whose intent is absolute, and Who does not vary His principles. He added that unfortunately for the truth, people are governed more by fuzzy emotions than by correct thought; but that we must learn to get down to categorical statements. "Let principle prevail," said Mr. Crosser, in concluding, "and freedom will come."

Mrs. Elizabeth M. Phillips, in an interlude between the heavier speeches, amused the group with dramatic recitations of humorous poetry. The applause she received was so sustained that she was obliged to render an encore.

Hon. George E. Evans, President of the Henry George Foundation, was unable to stay long enough to speak at length. He yielded to Percy R. Williams, who presented an explanation of Pittsburgh's graded tax plan. There is now a 4% tax on land values and a 3% tax on improvements. The community is being educated to accept the idea, and when there appears to be sufficient popular approval, the tax on lands will be extended and the tax on improvements further reduced.

Francis I. Mooney was then called upon to say a few words, which he did in an enjoyable, spicy style. He showed that the Georgeist philosophy is true religion. After Mr. Mooney's talk, Miss Charlotte Schetter proposed a rising vote of thanks for the fine work of the Women's Single Tax Club in making the Congress a success.

Thus concluded the Fifteenth Annual Henry George Congress. The delegates, departing, carried with them a resolve that this year would mark "the beginning of the winning."

Organization for Victory

A Five-Year Plan

ADDRESS BY WALTER I. SWANTON
AT THE RECENT HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

WE have received a challenge at this Conference from Mr. H. J. Haase, who suggested that the single tax plan can be adopted within five years, if only all of us will get to work for it in every possible way that we can.

The time has come in the Georgeist Movement—with the large number of new younger members drawn in by the

Henry George School of Social Science—to give thought to organizing in a nation-wide way, not in any political or partisan sense, but in the interest of fundamental economics, for putting over the principles of taxation of land values as promulgated by Henry George in "Progress and Poverty."

I would not for a moment think of trying to limit in any way individual initiative or rugged individualism in the many cities and states where good work is going forward; but we should coordinate this work, and organize with a center, or headquarters, where we can learn what is going on, who is doing it, and where the work is most successful in accomplishing the best results.

At the present time we have a large number of active organizations throughout the country. In New York City we have the Henry George School of Social Science, the publication LAND AND FREEDOM, the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, the Graded Tax Committee and the Manhattan Single Tax Club. In Chicago we have a number of organizations, among which are the Chicago Single Tax Club, "We, The Citizens," and the Tax Relief Association. Among other organizations are: the Henry George Foundation of America, in Pittsburgh; the Henry George Society of Canada, in Toronto; and here in Washington, the Women's Single Tax Club, the People's Lobby and the National Popular Government League.

Besides these organizations—and the many others that exist—we have a great number of individuals doing active work. Among them are: J. Rupert Mason of San Francisco; John C. Rose of Pittsburgh; Charles H. Ingersoll and Harry J. Haase of New York City; George J. Knapp of Denver, who is campaigning for Governor of Colorado, and many others.

All these efforts should in some way be coordinated. A central headquarters for the Movement is the answer. While I have no special interest in any city or organization, it would seem that the logical place for such a headquarters, at least for the present, would be in the largest city, New York. And the logical place in New York would be the present permanent building owned by the Movement, at 30 East 29 Street, now the offices and headquarters of the Henry George School of Social Science. At the central headquarters should be maintained a master index of all active Georgeists and representatives in all the 48 States and the District of Columbia, and agents in the 3,000 counties throughout the United States, located at the county seats.

With this central headquarters in our largest city, and with the influx of many new and younger persons in the Movement, we can go forward with the assurance that we are all working together for Victory in fundamental tax reform.

Recommendations for The Georgeist Program

By MORTIMER A. LEISTER

INTRODUCTORY

I think that a questionnaire sent out to known Georgeists at the present time asking for recommendations looking toward the promotion of the movement would undoubtedly return some interesting information. This vital step for the coordination of ideas on this subject is therefore my first recommendation.

It may be assumed that such an investigation might show some scattered opinions that would merit intensive study, but I think that there would be such a tremendous number of responses for just two kinds of recommendations that one would be forced to feel the weight of them:—those which range around the respective merits of the Henry George movement as a political organization, or as an educational promoter.

I feel therefore that we must study these two recommendations of political organization and educational promotion.

THE RECOMMENDATION FOR POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Now, let us see what discussions have produced on the question of political organization of the Henry George ideas. Believers in such organization generally rest on the argument that it is practically necessary to persuade all classes of people that they and their posterity have better prospects for orderly, just and happy living under the principles of the Henry George philosophy, than under any other proposed system now offered to them; that such an effort to be successful has to reach great numbers of people; that great numbers of people are now skeptical as they were never before of the progressivism of the great political parties; that the skeptics could be persuaded to join the Henry George movement if their attention could be obtained for its program; that the best plan for such a mass effort for persuasion is the experimentally tested one of political organization; that, as political organization must eventually be adopted for the promotion of the movement, now is the best time to start it.

There is much in these propositions with which no well-wisher of the Henry George movement would want to disagree. But there are dissenters, and they assert in the main that the experience of mankind as a political animal shows that he is unable to rise above his class interests during times of peace; that the development of political parties capable of influencing the laws and morals of the nation must be understood as a process by which each class interest seeks to retain or obtain as many privileges as its cunning or its force of numbers can make the others yield to it in their

common exploitation of the powers vested in government; that in a political organization there is no room for the Henry George philosophy, which rises above class interests to embrace the welfare of all, with particular emphasis on the just treatment of the unorganized and inarticulate elements of the population who are always too late to prevent their exploitation by the organized class interests that govern the political parties.

Studying the arguments of each side, I find that they differ finally over one point. This is whether a political party could be organized, as an influential body in the affairs of a nation, in times of peace, of people who would not seek to retain or obtain privileges that they could grasp in time.

What can we say on that disputed point? Cynics would not hesitate to answer that people will grasp whatever privileges they can get every time, and they might even slyly point to that axiom of Georgeist philosophy about men seeking to gratify their desires with the least exertion. Of course, not even a cynic would challenge the sincerity of Georgeists to resist such tendencies, but he would assert that unless the Georgeists represented at least a majority influence at the outset of the career of the political organization, they would have no chance at all against the self-seeking groups. The cynic would also say that the Georgeists would be able to maintain effective resistance to such groups only by concentrating power in themselves, for once the gates were let down they would become an insignificant minority and lose all ability to withstand the familiar predatory operations of the others.

Is the cynic right? Well, perhaps not, but nobody at present seems able to contradict him successfully. Even our Georgeist who disfavors political organization dislikes that conclusion, for he does not particularly like the cynic's company. Such company suggests a defeatist attitude, and Georgeists are almost anything but defeatists.

THE RECOMMENDATION FOR EDUCATIONAL PROMOTION

Generally, when Georgeists oppose the organization of political efforts for the promotion of their movement, they are prepared to offer the alternative of an expanded educational effort for the same purpose. They say that their alternative is already an actuality, as their records of school attendance, correspondence students, and lecture functions, very clearly show. They also point to a growth of periodicals which stem from the educational branch of the movement. All this is impressive, and indeed very heartening, to every believer in Georgeism.

But there are Georgeists who say that while they will always be willing to give all the aid in their power for the development of the education program required for the promotion of the movement, they feel that, like everything else, it also has definite limitations of usefulness, and that it is

unwise to rely on it solely. Others criticize the shortcomings of the educational effort for its failure to provide adequate library facilities or guidance of any kind for needed research work. Still others confess their disappointment at the little understanding of the Georgeist principles that both classroom and mail students show after completing the prescribed study courses given by the Henry George School of Social Science. Nevertheless, I feel that none of these criticisms are harmful; weighed together, they measure the good and bad features, and try to mark out the road of experimentation to be followed for the improvement of the educational program of the movement as a whole.

It is to be noted that Georgeists do not differ about the need of an educational effort. What they divide upon is the idea that a continuation of the teaching of the principles of Henry George is the only way to bring about the success of the movement.

THE PROBLEM OF PROMOTING THE MOVEMENT

It seems clear to me that the problem of promoting the Georgeist movement successfully cannot be solved by either the political or educational concepts that the followers of the movement now hold.

How then may a solution to the problem be developed? I submit that the first step henceforth should be to let a free play of our consciousness analyze the problem.

Let us see what that may do. First of all we will make an honest statement of the situation, by saying that the Georgeist movement needs the opportunity of experimentation of its theory that the social collection of economic rent and its expenditure for social benefits would free capital and labor in industry and insure the existence of a freedom-loving, cooperative commonwealth capable of advancing all the potentialities of civilized development.

What we ask for the promotion of the movement should thus stand in close relationship with the creation of the opportunity to install the experiment. Most Georgeists feel that the success of the movement is assured once their theory begins to operate. No Georgeist doubts the outcome of the experiment if it is made properly. He wants assurance that the Georgeist principles are to be functionalized, not apotheosized, and given that assurance, he would gladly welcome the suggestions for methods and procedures that would represent the practical development of his principles.

We return therefore to the proposition that, if the promotion of the Georgeist movement is not in doubt once the experiment gets under way, then the best plan to adopt now is that which has the greatest probability of arousing a popular interest favorable toward making the experiment. It is inconceivable that anything less than a general demand for the Georgeist experiment could lead to its peaceful adoption, for this experiment raises many fundamental questions

of social adjustment that privileged groups and ignorant people generally have rarely permitted to be made peacefully. Let it be understood that Georgeists do not desire a revolution by violence, but that they do contemplate as a great necessity a revolution by laws representing the popular will in operation, and that they do not shrink from such a verdict made by a populace informed on the objectives and principles of the Henry George Movement.

—Let us now analyze what could produce such a general demand. But first, what is a general demand of the people? It is generally, I think, an expression of preference between two uncompromising different opinions on a subject which contains contradictions to such an extent as to cause a condition of general confusion and threatening anarchy. It usually takes the mode of expression that is offered to register the election. And it is not only in political conventions that elections are made. Public-spirited citizens are never discouraged from writing letters to newspapers or to politicians, or of expressing their opinions to friends and to whomsoever they find willing to listen. If the issue involves fundamental concepts, the activities of these public-minded people may suddenly be rewarded; an important center of authority, a man or an organization held in high respect throughout the country, may discover vehicular potentialities in that issue more than in any other available at the time. The people thus made acquainted with the issue then measure its good and bad features, and eventually make their decisions understood in the matter. If the issue goes so deep as to cause divisions in towns and villages as well as in states and great cities, then the test may not occur on that issue directly for a long time until other issues involving the loyalties of the particular locality against another set of loyalties elsewhere become settled.

Now, it is clear to me that the issue presented by the Georgeist theory goes deep, very deep indeed. And those men or organizations who seek an issue of the best vehicular potentialities for their purposes, are, like most of us, imbued with the desire of achieving their ends in a not too distant future.

Of course, no reasonable person might expect any easy job for such a problem. After all, for several generations now, many sincere and capable men and women have come or been born into the Georgeist movement, and their utmost has been only to hand the torch of light to us.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR ADVANCING GEORGEISM

As we have said before, Georgeists are not defeatists. They are alert and even anxious. They feel that our present civilization is greater than any past one, for they appreciate the concept that translates material civilization into specialization of labor, and converts provincialism into urbanity, at a speed that the modern tempo of communicating information requires. They feel that progress cannot be halted

permanently by war; but that it is threatened only when substantial parts of the population have their wages reduced to the subsistence level, for at such times there is but little desire for discoveries and inventions to replace labor power. They feel that their program alone is a consistent plan for maintaining progress. But they are at a complete loss for a plan that could bring the light of Georgeism to the people in our life-time.

I think that such a plan might be evolved after a little more study of the situation.

Firstly, we must be willing to cooperate with other movements that contemplate only partial objectives which are comparable with Georgeism. I think that such cooperation should be extended to trade unions that are free of racketeering influences and that are free of practices which obstruct production. I conceive that we could easily cooperate with trade associations that are free of monopolistic influences and that are combating propaganda adverse to the profit system of a free economy. I imagine that it would be relatively easy for us to cooperate with consumers' cooperative organizations that are free of socialistic influences. I cannot attempt to limit here the types of organizations with which we might easily cooperate, but in general I should be ready to advocate cooperation for all types of organization which aim at increasing production and the returns to capital and labor made possible from such increases of production.

Secondly, we must search out the practices that operate to the economic detriment of the people as a whole, and display them in their strong and weak points, so that the problem they represent may be seen in its entirety.

Thirdly, we must construct a position of authority for Georgeism in public relations. To construct such a position soundly, we should conscientiously study each selected problem on its merits, and not on its significance to some obscure point of Georgeist principle. To maintain such a position soundly, we would avoid involvement with exaggerated claims of fanatics, be they Georgeists or not.

The combination of these three methods may not comprise a complete plan, but they would, I think, bring many beams of light to a great many people. With the backing of present Georgeists, it might conceivably be attempted. And it is even conceivable that they could enjoy the reward of their efforts in their own lifetime, for it lies well within the limits of probability of success. Light to the people is never lost.

"IF a man is not a socialist by the time he is twenty, there is something the matter with his heart. If he is still a socialist by thirty, there is something the matter with his head."—Heard at the Henry George Congress.

The Keystone of Our Efforts

By DAVID C. HYDER

WE who embrace the philosophy of Henry George believe that it is conducive to the highest ends of humanity. We believe in the purposiveness of the Universe, and feel that all things in it, as phenomena, are united and brought into harmonious relationship, through Natural Law. In this belief is the basis of our Hope for the success of our efforts.

We carefully study the economics and the philosophy of Henry George, and prepare ourselves to deliver the great message to others. Behind and within our teaching efforts is the element of Hope. There is absolutely no objective criterion for the determination of our future success or failure. Some, looking ahead, will see a gloomy abyss; others, roseate triumph. Neither of them can know.

Minute by minute, economic, political and emotional tension is growing all over the world. While the blind, raging, impulses of man are reducing nations to ruins how many are there who see nothing but futility in the efforts of those who are striving to bring a brighter, freer, more ideal world into existence?

In the face of the terrible world events of today, to what can we turn as our guiding star? *Hope*.

There is in mankind an irresistible belief that Happiness is the attainable purpose of life. Without this belief, and the Hope of achieving it, mankind would have vanished from the face of the earth long ago. This Hope, then, is the keystone of our efforts.

The People

By TOMMASO CAMPANELLA

(1568-1639)

Translated by John Addington Symonds

THE people is a beast of muddy brain
That knows not its own strength, and therefore stands
Loaded with wood and stone; the powerless hands
Of a mere child guide it with bit and rein;
One kick would be enough to break the chain,
But the beast fears, and what the child demands
It does; nor its own terror understands,
Confused and stupefied by bugbears vain.
Most wonderful! With its own hand it ties
And gags itself—gives itself death and war
For pence doled out by kings from its own store.
Its own are all things between earth and heaven;
But this it knows not; and if one arise
To tell this truth, it kills him unforgiven.

The Greatest of These Is Justice

By JOHN HANNA

THE Georgeist movement was distinguished in its early years by the Crusade of the Anti-Poverty Societies under the leadership of Henry George and Father McGlynn. The emphasis was placed on the demands for Justice in the affairs of men. The establishment of Justice would, it was claimed, abolish involuntary poverty and would obtain for all men equal opportunity to work and to achieve. This Crusade kindled a flame in the hearts of many—a flame which may be less brilliant now, but is still steady and strong. However much men may differ in their opinions and methods in advancing the reform, its supporters are impelled by the same noble motive.

There has developed considerable divergence of opinion about the proper method of advancing the movement, as well as much hair-splitting discussion regarding the Law of Rent and the Nature of Interest. Such discussions may be of some value and may afford some intellectual play, but are to be regretted when they absorb energy which might be devoted to the advancement of the primary purpose. The danger is that the whole movement may be divided and its vigor lost in factional adherence to non-essentials, in the same way that the Christian Church has been split and its effectiveness impaired by its division into sects; some emphasizing one interpretation, some another, apparently forgetting, in their doctrinal zeal, that the real purpose of religion is to bring men to "deal justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly with their God" that they "may have Life and have it more abundantly." Such divergences are an example of the human tendency to let doctrine overshadow principle. A divided force is a weaker force—which must give comfort to those who are interested in keeping things as they are.

If there is any basis for universal appeal in the effort to abolish the present system of taxation, it is in the direction of establishing Justice in the relations of man to man, and man to society. Most of us will agree that when this is accomplished many of the evils from which humanity is suffering will disappear or be materially lessened and many of the vexing questions in which so many confused and broken threads have been woven will unravel themselves.

Our critics are fond of asking, Pilate-like, "What is Justice?" Without attempting any academic definition, let us abolish the very flagrant *injustice* in the present system of taxation, and Justice will show herself and men will know her as they know the air they breathe without knowing anything about its component parts of oxygen and nitrogen.

We *know* that industry, enterprise and labor are taxed and hampered by the present system. We *know* that

ownership of land confers the privilege of collecting rent for the use of land. We *know* that the presence of population and the services that are consequently supplied by the population are the factors which create the land value or ground rent—whichever term you may prefer. These are facts which to state provoke the question:— Would it not be in the interest of Justice to take this ground rent to pay for the services which the population renders; thus having the community collect its own earnings and leave to capital and labor their own earnings?

Thus it will be seen that Justice is the very core of the whole matter, the supremely vital nerve center from which radiate impulses for good or evil, as Justice is accorded or denied. Sometimes one wishes that we could recapture the fervor of the Anti-Poverty Crusade which was, in great degree, directed not only against poverty in material things but the greater poverty of mind and spirit which is the natural offspring of injustice everywhere; blighting and distorting human life. The appeal was for the abolition of poverty, not by any man-made scheme of pension or welfare relief with all their attendant evils of indolence and loss of self-respect and bureaucratic regulation, but by recognizing man's fundamental natural rights on a basis of Justice to all.

Let us unite in the attack on the injustice of the present system, each in his own way! If we cannot have uniformity of method we can maintain the force which comes of unity. Even some who do not go all the way with us are still doing valuable work in exposing the errors of the present system. To approach the subject by way of Science is good. To approach from the standpoint of Business is good. To approach by way of Ethics is good; so long as the fundamental error is shown and the Justice of the proposed remedy proclaimed. One may search the pages of history and find no great reform accomplished by philosophical or scientific argument, but when mankind has been moved by the plea for justice an irresistible motive force is set into action. Science and Philosophy serve as governor and fly-wheel for emotional force but they do not drive. Many who are left cold by the intricacies of fiscal or scientific argument will warm up to the demands of Justice.

The advocate of Justice may have high regard for scientific deduction and for empirical knowledge, but if he finds primarily that a proposal is just, that its denial results in distortion of the social fabric, in an aristocracy of wealth, in blighted and stunted lives he is content to make his decision on the basis of Justice leaving the subtleties of economic speculation to those who enjoy them; to say with Emerson "Whoever fights, whoever falls, Justice conquers evermore."

To paraphrase St. Paul: *And now abideth Science, Pragmatism, Justice but the greatest of these is Justice.*

Organization of Georgeists Pro and Con

PRO

By GILBERT M. TUCKER

TODAY we have hosts of groups and organizations working to advance our philosophy but we have no broad and comprehensive organization of Georgeists to unite our efforts. The need is imperative; independent groups are doing excellent work in specific fields but, without united support, they are at a great disadvantage and the growth of the movement is seriously retarded, and one can name hardly another comparable endeavor which lacks organized unity. Our present-day organizations fall into two categories; they are purely local or they confine their operations—and wisely—to specific fields. In the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, we have an admirable publishing agency, and in the Henry George School of Social Science, we have the nucleus of systematic education, but we need a bigger and broader program. We must have a national, or better a continental organization, for our brethren in other American countries who are doing such excellent work should not be excluded.

The major features and objectives of such a body might well be as follows:

1. The preparation of a list, and as large a membership enrollment as is possible, of those already committed to our creed or to be won in the future. This is the first requisite if we are to know our strength and where it lies, and unite for a common purpose.

2. To avoid the criticism so often levelled against some of our existing organizations—that they are too closely knit and arbitrary and give rise to factions—it should be essentially democratic in form. Since true democracy is best achieved through representative action and “home rule,” a national organization may well be decentralized, encouraging in every way the formation of local groups, to be represented in the governing board, although active executive management may well be left to a smaller group.

3. To make it broad and catholic, its declaration of principles should be general rather than specific. Qualifications for membership should be so liberal that no true Georgeist will be excluded.

4. It should aim at cooperation with and support of existing organizations, furthering the sale and circulation of literature, the extension of formal education, study and research, and all that goes with “publicity,” both for the movement as a whole and for specific approved programs. A public relations counsel, publicity man, advertising expert—call him what you will—might be employed, when possible, to put our philosophy in a more favorable light with the public and to overcome prejudices based on false conceptions or built up by our own mistakes. This might be the means of

opening to us more generously the pages of the press.

5. An important objective would be to secure more adequate financing of our work in all its aspects—something comparable to the community chests of our cities. Acting as a general soliciting, receiving and disbursing agency, such an organization, on sound lines, would prove a bulwark of strength. This is an urgent need today, for very considerable funds are often lost because there is no strong and stable institution to which funds can be given or devised for the movement as a whole.

6. The great and ultimate aim would, of course, be the extension of our philosophy, bringing in new blood, keeping alive enthusiasm, and directing it into wise channels, and building for the final realization of our hopes. Every Georgeist knows full well the limitless, potential appeal of our creed, in its bearings on practically all the pressing problems of today. We have the answers to unemployment of both men and capital, to the labor question, to housing, and even to the international problems of war and peace. But how do we go about enlisting the aid of the great numbers eagerly seeking a solution to a problem in which their interest is intense and to which they give freely of both time and money? They ask for bread and we give them a stone; they seek definite and specific remedies for evils of which they are bitterly conscious, and are given literature—inconclusive pamphlets or a formidable book—and there it rests. Or they are told to study economics in the class-room. If they do sit at our feet to learn wisdom, or if they give desultory reading to our books, and begin to get a glimmer of light, we offer no program, except perhaps that they aid in putting others through the same mill.

This is no impatient plea for political action, or for ill-judged and half-considered political campaigns prematurely undertaken. But we must shape our policies and have a plan for the future, however long we may wait for its realization. Education is our first need but we must interpret that word in a sense broader than only class-room study, and there must be a vision of the road to which it leads, with a constructive program. Present activities must continue unabated and we would not suggest that those now giving themselves so generously to valuable undertakings, in which they have faith and for which they are fitted, should scatter their ammunition. Let each one do that task which appeals most strongly to him, and for which he is best qualified, but opportunities are legion and many who have “seen the cat” are unable, for one reason or for many, to contribute much to these operations. It is these who must be enrolled, whose enthusiasm must be quickened and whose zeal must be fired, by opening new avenues of service to the cause of truth and justice.

Until we have such an organization, on broad and liberal grounds, we work under a heavy handicap. Only by united, concerted effort can we begin to make real and substantial

progress and only through strong cooperation can the foundation be laid and preparations made for the day that must come.

CON

By FRANK CHODOROV

A discussion on the value of organization as an instrument to advance Henry George's philosophy will be made clear if we define the term organization.

This word, like so many other words, is used in a variety of ways. When we speak of the organization of a business we refer to the departmentalization of the work. For greater productivity the various parts of the one enterprise are assigned to various specialists, each one of whom makes a contribution to the general objective.

But in the field of political or social activity organization has an entirely different meaning. Its central idea is that of grouping together a number of people who have a common interest, for one of two purposes: 1, To enjoy one another's company because of this common interest, or 2, To impose on others their common interest by the strength of their numbers.

There may be some division of labor in a social club or in a political society. These organizations do have officers and committees. But since such specialization is necessarily limited, the vast majority of the members have very little more to do with the group's activities than the paying of dues and the attending of meetings.

Social groups have a tendency to become self-centered. When we have met with a number of people of common interest for a long time the pleasure of such meetings tends to create resistance toward including people with whom we are not acquainted, even if they happen to have the same central interest, and even though we think we want new members. We are not sure that the newcomer will adjust himself to the new environment. The "mutual admiration" atmosphere might be disturbed.

The political organization has for its purpose the election of an individual to public office, or the adoption of some political measure. In so far as it shows signs of succeeding in its purpose it will gain adherents who hope for some advantage as a result of this association. If it does not show signs of success it will not gain adherents, because the political minded person is not anxious to be connected with a failure. The idea which drew together the original organizers of the political society does not spread because the members are not primarily concerned with spreading the idea; they are, rather, interested in imposing the idea through political action. The teaching of a philosophy to others always becomes a secondary consideration with every organization, no matter what its original purpose may be.

The history of the Henry George movement since 1897 is

the history of one organizational attempt after another. Those of us who have been in the movement any number of years remember how few Georgeists there were. When we went to a Single Tax meeting we met the same faces, we listened to the same speeches.

We were not growing. And the reason we were not growing is that we were not making new Georgeists. There may be some other explanation of this decadence, but we cannot escape the fact that fifty years of organization and political work had not prevented it.

Those of us who have devoted years to soap-boxing, lecturing, campaigning, contributing to this or that effort which at the time seemed quite worthy, must now decide whether our remaining years should be spent in the same kind of unproductive work; or whether they should be devoted to the only kind of work which apparently has produced results commensurate with the effort, namely, education.

It is eight years since Oscar Geiger started the Henry George School of Social Science. In those eight years there have probably been more new Georgeists added to the cause than during all of the previous years since Henry George died. A recent commencement exercise in New York City was attended by over 500 people. Several weeks ago Chicago assembled 300 people. And so it goes all over the country, wherever there are classes. Some 20,000 people have taken the course either in these classes or by mail.

All this has been done without organization, save in the sense that organization is the division of labor. In that sense the School is an organization. There is work for everyone to do. Some teach, some address envelopes, some lecture, some do research work, some write articles, some bombard editors with letters. But the objective of the School is to make more and more Georgeists, not to consolidate in social or political groups those who have already subscribed to the philosophy.

The Trustees of the Henry George School of Social Science recognize the danger of crystallization which results from organization and have therefore established it as the policy of the School not to encourage such activity among its graduates, although recognizing the fact that these graduates are at liberty to carry on as they see fit. Obviously an educational institution must be devoid of any political effort, even by implication.

When or how the fiscal reform advocated by Henry George will be put into effect is something none of us can definitely answer now. But it is a certainty that the reform will never come about until it has many more proponents. Therefore, we must recognize the essential importance of spreading our philosophy far and wide through the most effective means at hand. Fifty years of organization have not had this effect. The educational method initiated by Oscar Geiger is accomplishing it.

A Word To The Wise

By ELIZABETH MAGIE PHILLIPS

WHAT is the value of our philosophy if we do not do our utmost to apply it? To simply know a thing is not enough. To merely speak or write of it occasionally among ourselves is not enough. We must do something about it on a large scale if we are to make headway. These are critical times, and drastic action is needed.

To make any worthwhile impression on the multitude, we must go in droves into the sacred precincts of the men we are after. We must not only *tell* them, but *show* them just how and why and where our claims can be proven in some actual situation.

It is true that commendable attempts are being made now on the part of Georgeists to reach "the people". Perhaps letters to the papers are effective, if followed up systematically. Petitions to busy people in high public places, or in large private organizations, are gracefully acknowledged—sometimes—and that is usually the end of it.

But more decisive action is needed. We must pick our men and our business institutions, and those in high public places, and hammer at them constantly and systematically. If possible, we should even challenge them to open debate. We must show them in every way how the adoption of the public collection of land rent will benefit not only their business, but the whole community.

It would require those of us who are thoroughly grounded in the Georgeist philosophy and its application, to undertake such a task. Unfortunately, there are some among us who attempt it without an adequate knowledge of all the problems involved, who do not know when to speak and when not to speak. This can be corrected if we will train ourselves for the task.

My suggestion is that a Committee on Arrangements be formed; and that this Committee be on the lookout for quarry. Opportunities are teeming all around us. There is the radio, for instance, with its political speakers, with Forums and Round Table Talks (which hit everything but the Bull's Eye). There are periodicals, such as the *Readers' Digest*. There are lecturers, legislative bodies, authors of social commentary best sellers. Some influential writer, speaker, columnist or public figure should be selected—and the Committee get to work on him. Systematically, one letter after another week after week, should be sent by members of the Committee. In our letters, we might ask our correspondent some direct question in such a way that will be likely to get a response of some kind. We will learn by experience what to say and what not to say.

I am sure that actual, personal and continued contact with influential public figures would be effective. Such a course is bound to bag some prizes in time.

Addendum

By WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB

I heartily agree with the view expressed by Mrs. Phillips. Any one who has gone through the copious files of Mrs. Phillips' bibliography on Georgeist action, as I have, would realize that she speaks with a ripe knowledge of the efforts that have been expended within the last fifty years of Georgeist activity. I should like to add a few words, expanding on her suggestion.

At the Henry George School in 1936, the Henry George Fellowship had an active letter-writing Committee under the direction of Edward Bell. It was the time of the Ralston campaign in California, and this Committee relentlessly bombarded editors and prominent men with letters. Among the victims was Raymond Moley, who in his magazine, *Today*, referred to the Georgeist reform as "crackpotism." The Committee refused to let Mr. Moley rest, and after inadequate excuses on the part of Mr. Moley—which refused to pacify the Committee—his secretary finally had to inform the Committee that Mr. Moley had gone to Florida for a vacation.

The workers in this Committee, with rapier thrusts that only a solid grounding in Fundamental Economics provides, demolished the fallacies of editors and columnists to such an extent as to demoralize their swivel-chair pronouncements. If a small, determined group could make their influence felt, it can be done much more effectively on a larger scale. Let our strength be unified in its direction and persistent in its efforts. Let us not only upset the serene placidity of the editorial sanctum; let us select prominent writers whose pronouncements are authoritative with great numbers of people. There are many whose thought comes close to Georgeist thought, and they should be won over to committing themselves more specifically. There are, for instance, Hendrik Willem Van Loon, Walter Lippmann, Dorothy Thompson, Kathleen and Frank Norris, Johannes Steel, and many others.

Who shall it be first? All right, let us select Van Loon. For the month of November let 5000 letters be sent to him, requesting that he write an honest appraisal of the world in the light of the Georgeist philosophy. For the month of December, we might follow the same procedure in urging Walter Lippmann to give generously of the space in his newspaper column to an evaluation of current events according to Georgeism. And so on—each month we would select a prominent personage, and "let 'er go." Sit down now and write that first letter. Mr. Van Loon's address is Red Book Magazine, 230 Park Avenue, New York.

Such a Committee should certainly be organized. It would go a long way in making the Georgeist influence felt by the public.

The Price of Freedom

By SANFORD J. BENJAMIN

THERE is a dangerous growth of false optimism among Georgeists at present which bodes ill for the success of the movement. I refer specifically to those Georgeists who visualize a free society in the space of five or ten years, and who speak glibly about the time when the people, tired of governmental control or interference in their lives, will turn away from Stateism and build a real *laissez-faire* community. To achieve this end, these idealists would educate enough of the population until they will be strong enough to force the politicians to push through the necessary reforms. The emphasis, it should be noted, is placed on the peaceful solution of our problems—the ballot—a worthy means to gain happiness but in my opinion a naive appraisal of the chances of success, as well as an incorrect interpretation of the meaning of Georgeism. I base this contention on three reasons.

First, no special privilege is as time-honored by rich and poor alike as land ownership. In fact the privilege of owning land is considered a successful goal. One does not have to be a Georgeist in order to predict that land owners would fight land reform. The Spanish civil war was essentially an uprising of landlords when the government attempted to break up their estates; and far from acknowledging the right of the people to cultivate the land, the so-called democratic nations backed the insurrectionists. It should not be overlooked that, in order to hold on to their privileges, the land owners called in foreign soldiers—a lesson Georgeists should ponder when they think of achieving their reform in any one country.

It is not unlikely that the British government would have sent an expeditionary force to Mexico over the oil land issue had it not been for the growing menace in Europe and the disfavor it would have held in the American mind. As it was, economic pressure forced a partial settlement—compensation—thereby completely nullifying the issue of justice in common property in land. But first an attempted rebellion *was* created in the northern section of Mexico, which failed only because the Mexican people would not support it; yet it might have succeeded if foreign soldiers had been landed.

The concern in England over the Russo-Finnish war was directed more toward the nickel mines than freedom for the Finns. The present war itself is fundamentally a conflict for mines and oil wells, although the well-organized press has befuddled the populace into supposing that it is a war of ideologies rather than one of economic issues. Therefore, if armed conflict over the possession of land arises among non-Georgeists, how can we expect that Georgeists, after their ideas have spread to engulf the majority of men in this country, will not have to take up arms to free the land? In

fact, we may not even reach the stage of enlightening mankind to a degree of actual physical threat to the landlords. The chances are that we would be outlawed, as other groups against the propertied class are outlawed in Europe.

The second reason why the peaceful method of education alone will not suffice, is the fact that education is a slow and tedious process and more than likely to be resented by the vast majority of the people. This sounds like an unwarranted assumption, but it is not; for education, based on principles of logic, aims to break down certain cherished and fixed traditions which are the foundations of man's unstable position. Yet the very traditions we are endeavoring to break down are entrenching themselves in the minds of the people. Look around. What are people saying? Are they not crying for security—security guaranteed by the State? Are they not asking for the antithesis of George's concept of a free society? Are not the present wailings of the population the product of the tradition that only the State has the power to house, feed and clothe mankind? An empty stomach has no time for education. It is time we Georgeists awoke to the meaning of the times and frankly admitted that the trend toward complete Stateism is too far advanced at present to be checked by the advocacy of the single tax. What Georgeists overlook here is the fact that understanding the free society and achieving it are two distinct steps, not one; nor is it possible to achieve the single tax without understanding it first. If this were not so then Georgeists would be able to organize a political party now, and ballyhoo it to success.

We take pride in being able to point out the fallacies of Marxism but we neglect to give his followers credit for being realists. It is not a coincidence that Marxists head most labor unions. Georges Sorel, the syndicalist, advocated complete domination of trade unions by militant individuals who would be ready to call a general strike and paralyze industry. Marxists adhere to this principle, and I have no doubt that they will use it when the nation is in a chaotic state—as was Russia after the war. The ballot is to the Marxist only a means of solidifying his position during peace time. He knows that the transfer to actual power, however, can only be accomplished through force—at the proper time. It is in this respect that Georgeists fail when they speak about the peaceful solution of the world's evil through the ballot, the very process they—ironically enough—condemn when they say “you can't legislate prosperity.”

The third reason why education alone will be ineffective in achieving the free society, is the very nature of the reform. George advocated a revolutionary change which can only come about during a revolutionary period. Great reforms throughout history have come about only after great struggles and periods of unrest. The conditions of a privileged economy do not permit peaceful reform. And, when there is “peace”, reforms are not demanded vociferously.

Certainly the single tax could never take hold during periods like the 1920's, when unrest is not vocal. Man's struggles for freedom spring mainly from economic causes; hence we cannot acknowledge the efficacy of the ballot for much else than pacifying the populace with palliatives.

If proof is required to amplify this contention we need only point to the classic example of appeasement, a policy essentially synonymous with the palliative method, which was to prevent the present war. Now actually there is no difference in nations fighting for the possession of monopolistic privileges, and groups inside a nation contesting for local privileges. The English, desiring to cling to their world monopoly of mines, markets and oil wells—obtained through the self-same methods Hitler is employing—realized that only by maintaining peace could they hold on to their possessions, since the disillusionment which settles in after the war is the greatest changer of traditions and the most potent force to let loose the forces of dissatisfaction. That they have finally resorted to war proves only that economic questions cannot be solved by bargaining, as in legislative forums, since bargaining is essentially the way of the compromiser—and Georgeists know no compromise.

However, if we are in the midst of a revolutionary change, it is the streamlined version of the absolute State. For obvious reasons, I do not relish the thought of being enslaved under the approaching collectivist society; but it must be understood that, whereas the founding fathers escaped to America to safeguard their freedom (what a chance they had to establish the single tax!), we have no free land on which to go. Indeed, we may rightly say that the free American land, acting as a haven for the more vociferous dissidents of the Old World, lessened the tension again past absolute rulers and thus preserved their battered systems for the reckoning they now face—hence the trend to alter the system of government in all the major powers of the world within a comparatively short time.

The fate of Georgeism under a rigid collectivist state—whether Left or Right—will not necessarily be one of complete doom. The Henry George School may be closed, "Progress and Poverty" may be burned as contradicting the ideas of the master of the land. But the one thing that no government can destroy is the unyielding will on the part of some of the people to question the existing State, if only in whispers and if only in their minds. This, together with the fallacy inherent in Stateism, must in time overthrow even the most absolute of dictatorial systems. To understand this recurring fight for freedom throughout history is to comprehend where our real strength lies; for only when, with each succeeding swing toward freedom, certain traditions are left behind, do we approach the free society.

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

Trade in The Hitlerian Empire

By PAVLOS GIANNELIA

"INTERNATIONAL Commerce cannot prosper if its current is held up by barriers of excessive tariffs."

So stated the memorandum Mr. Sumner Welles handed to Mr. Reynaud, during his visit to Europe this past Spring. Our esteemed British contemporary, *Land and Liberty*, thereupon wrote: "Neither France nor Great Britain, even between themselves, has shown the least intention meanwhile of reducing the tariffs and the trade obstruction."

Not only has this been the case, but much worse; neither the British nor the French Empires have applied the free trade principle among their own territories! Besides the internal customs duties (*octrois*), Greater France had tariff restrictions between European France and all parts of the French Empire.

Great Britain still has tariffs between England and the Dominions, between England and the Crown Colonies, and between all parts of the Empire.

What is the status of trade in the new Hitlerian Empire? German economists have consulted past German policies. In German history, the customs union of the Northern German States (*Deutscher Zollverein*) was the forerunner of the political union of the German Empire. The Third Reich has remained trustworthy to the customs union principle, and has made a certain application of it in the new Hitlerian Empire. Tariffs have indeed been introduced in the newly conquered territories, but they are employed in the opposite of the usual sense of "protection." Immediately after the conquest of every territory, a free flow of trade was allowed for goods imported from the new territories into the Altreich; and "protective" tariffs were maintained in the opposite direction—that is, tariffs were imposed on goods going from the Altreich into every other part of the Hitlerian Empire.

This policy shows that the German economists, notwithstanding their opposition to free trade, realize that tariffs are more efficacious in handicapping the importing rather than the exporting country.

This "protection" was imposed immediately upon the conquest or annexation of Austria, Sudetenland, Bohemia-Moravia, Poland, probably Denmark and Norway, and probably also France. It was expected to be maintained for about a period of one year after every annexation, but will probably be continued as long as it is advantageous to the Reich.

A mutual benefit, and a strengthening of position, would have resulted from a complete free trade between France and Great Britain. It is to be hoped that Britain will yet learn the lesson. If she persists in maintaining the pernicious "protective" system, she will sooner or later learn that tariffs are not protection, but economic suicide.

County Versus Country

By DOUGLAS J. J. OWEN

THE English Counties are said by Winston Churchill, writing before he became Premier, to be the "fosterers and guardians of that tradition" by which England ruled. True it is, that the "County" influence in the social life of provincial England is paramount. It is the big county estates, with their residences of the peerage lords, barons, baronets, knights—that form the basis of the English social structure. The Hall, castle or mansion, surrounded by its park, invariably uncultivated, is surrounded in turn by a wider circle of tenant farmers—of whom there are 300,000 or more in all—regularly paying their rents to the great hall. Such a county seat may have 20, 30 or more such tenants, and these in their turn employ their agricultural laborers, numbering 700,000 or more at a war-time minimum wage of 48 shillings per week. Notwithstanding the Marxian presentation of the industrial machine aspects of modern life, it is the largest "industry" of all—the extraction of rent by the county families from the most numerous of all classes of workers that dominates English politics, even in the present time of war. Our "capitalists," the partners and directors of our great manufacturing concerns, fulfill their ambitions when they can buy a place in the country, become amateur farmers, and be introduced into those county circles where political influence is most potent. Sheriffs, county councillors and county magnates exercise this influence as they give their patronage to the Church, to the arts, to education. The county hunt, and the county ball have not been interrupted by the war, though the county families find an additional social activity in various auxiliary adjuncts to the military efforts, whilst their young men furnish the ranks with officers.

Attention is being diverted from the landed interest and its influence on the nation's destiny by a concerted attack on high wages. There is a shortage of agricultural workers at present now, not to be wondered at when their wages are compared with those of workers in munition and allied industries. War wages are so high as to give concern to those who have to solve the country's war finance problems, and letters are written to *The Times* urging some method of controlling wages. Engineers' wages are indeed nominally high, but they can hardly be said to be unduly high as regards spending value in view of rising costs of living. None the less, there is this persistent demand for a check on wages. Once again, it is said to be the workers' voracious appetite for high wages that is spelling ruin, by undermining the export trade, raising war costs, and causing inflation. And rent is not mentioned at all.

Beyond supplying the personnel for the higher ranks in

the civil and other services, what does the "county" do for the country? Let us see. There have been three War Budgets so far; in September 1939, and April and July of this year. Last September an additional £107 millions had to be raised by taxation and £895 millions by borrowing. The same month a telegram was sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on behalf of 50 Members of Parliament, drawing attention to the Land Values fund in these words:

Five hundred million pounds just waiting to be collected from values all communally created and which should go to the community, not to landowners. The effect will be that land will be forced into the best use, compared with the present position—Ipswich as an example, where 50 per cent of rateable area is idle and unrated, though of immense value. Alternatively, urge permission be granted to local authorities to levy rates on site value.

No notice was taken of this by the Government—quite naturally perhaps, in a Parliament in which the ruling force is the landed class. In vain Mr. R. R. Stokes, M. P., the author of the telegram, pointed out that the Air Ministry had paid £2,000,000 for 40,000 acres, or £50 per acre for land which as agricultural land was considered valueless for rating and taxing purposes.

In April 1940, a further £1,234 millions was to be raised by taxation, and £1,400 millions by borrowing, or inflation, as it is called by Col. Josiah Wedgwood, who warned the House of Commons that in every country in the world where inflation had taken place, as currency depreciates the saleable value of land rises. Again, no step towards land value taxation was even contemplated.

In July 1940, provision was made for further taxation to the amount of £239 millions, and still the land value fund remained the only subject of taxation left untaxed, notwithstanding that the danger of inflation was far from being staved off. Amendments to the Budget advocating land value taxation are not even given time for discussion. High spending power is still considered the source of weakness, and the attack on wages proceeds.

It is obvious that labor in the munition factories has become so vitally necessary, and the conscripting of 4,000,000 men for the forces has so intensified the value of labor, that wages are rising by economic law and may some day even reach the level where they represent the full value of the workers' contribution to production. Undoubtedly the nation's wage bill, though still below the just wage level, is a serious item in Great Britain's financial problem.

But Parliament has not been allowed to ignore entirely the rising cost of that other necessary factor in peace-time and war-time production—the land. With great persistence a number of members have drawn attention to the exorbitant prices demanded for land required for national defence purposes. As far back as 1935 the prices paid for

aerodrome sites constituted a scandal. In February 1936, a Conservative Member asked the Minister for Air "whether he is aware of the grave menace to British aviation by speculators of a certain type who are hindering and obstructing plans for airport construction by buying up useless adjoining land when airport plans become known, and demanding exorbitant prices?"

In 1936, land at Ringway, Manchester, for example, belonging to a county family, was offered at £24,000 for 128 acres; and another estate near by, of 203 acres, which had been bought in 1930 for £8,000 was offered to the Manchester Corporation for an aerodrome, and £92,000 demanded as the price. This process has continued up to and during the war period. The pages of *Land and Liberty*, the organ of our International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade, regularly supply copious instances of the British land ramp. The July number carries quotations from the Fifth Report of the Select Committee on Public Expenditure exposing the waste of public money on the high cost of land for aerodromes and other public works.

In the various Budget debates these matters have been ventilated, one Member referring to the fact that as a result of the Government going into the country districts looking for sites for camps for evacuated children, the value of land had increased in those parts. When land in the city of Leicester was required for an Air Raid Shelter for infant pupils, £338 had to be paid for 427 square yards, which is at the rate of £3,831 per acre. Thus the nation's extremity is the county and city landowners' opportunity. Men like Mr. A. V. Alexander, M. P., when in opposition, have denounced these conditions and demanded land value taxation, but the Cabinet of which he is now a member turns a blind eye to the whole matter.

There are many aspects of county agricultural life that might be dwelt on:—the huge amounts taken for many years in agricultural subsidies; the large areas of rich land remaining undeveloped or underdeveloped, at a time when food production from our own land is so terribly urgent. But the outstanding fact that passes all understanding in a time of unprecedented peril for the country, is the continued immunity of land from a fair measure of taxation upon its value. All the talk about Fifth Column activities and other newspaper topics, even discussions concerning the rival blockades at sea, serve as a smoke-screen obscuring the silent, hidden blockade of the countryside instituted by the county interest against the interest of the country as a whole, a blockade that not even this emergency is permitted to modify.

It was this same county influence through its nominees in Parliament that secured the overthrow of the Labor government in 1931, and with it the repeal of the Land

Value Tax, with the consequence that the Chamberlain high tariff system was substituted in its place. Whilst these customs duties still further embittered European relationship and precipitated the rise of Hitlerism, they at the same time constituted a self-imposed blockade against ourselves which for nearly ten years has borne as heavily on the people of this country as the air and naval blockade now attempted by our German enemies.

We have submitted to the county interests for generations, but that they should prevail through ten months of desperate war and through three War Budgets is easy proof that the power of land monopoly is only equalled by its lack of patriotism. What a change there would be in the scene if Churchill, the scion of one of the greatest county families, became again the radical Churchill, brilliant advocate of the Taxation of Land Values!

The Unemployed

By HENRY A. COIT

MIDNIGHT dwells within the heart of those whose leaden feet
 Drag wearily from dawn 'till dark along an endless street —
 The heart from which all hope has fled and left despair complete.
 Pallor sits upon the cheek and dullness haunts the eye,
 The shoulders stoop, the muscles droop of those sad men who try
 To find some work for idle hands lest something in them die.
 'Tis sad to see a willing man who hungers for the soil
 Wear out his life on city streets in search of honest toil
 While, serpent like, both want and crime around about him coil.
 'Tis sad to see a man whose gaze is always downward cast—
 Who never looks at Heaven's sun—whose countenance seems masked
 A man who has no forward look—whose dreams are in the past.
 'Tis sad to see a beaten man whose hair is turning grey—
 Who seeks for honest work to do, and asks but honest pay—
 Whose brain and brawn are in their prime, and yet is turned away.
 'Tis sad to see that such a man must seek and ask in vain—
 To know those willing, eager hands may never work again.
 In such a man Ambition dies while Hope's already slain.
 'Tis sad to see such men as these dependent on a dole.
 Cold charity exacts from such a devastating toll.
 And while the heart lies dead in each, there's terror in each soul.
 Eleven million idle men and acres yet untilled;
 And thirty million underfed with hearts and bodies chilled;
 Is this the great Democracy for which our blood was spilled?
 With idle men on waiting lands—their feet upon the sod;
 With useful tools in willing hands to serve as staff and rod—
 Their heavy hearts would fill with song, and faces lift to God.

WE must learn to distinguish between natural and un-
 natural conditions, between health and disease. We
 must learn to seek causes and not take the apparent for the
 real. Our social evils are due to violations of natural law;
 they are as pathological as the acts of a mind deranged and
 as unreliable in determining conditions.—OSCAR H. GEIGER.

Freedom Versus Monopoly

By BENJAMIN C. MARSH

Executive Secretary, People's Lobby, Washington, D. C.

A TIME of stress always brings the failures of an economic system to the fore. A decade ago America entered such a period of stress—the culmination of three-quarters of a century of looting and special privilege.

During the past decade America has been treated to the interesting, but withal disgusting, spectacle of so-called intelligent governments beating the tom-toms, and of brain-trust indulging in economic hair-pulling, to revive prosperity without ending the conditions which make prosperity for all the people impossible. It should have been an education.

Hitler has been accused of creating world chaos. He is an absolute dictator, but not powerful enough to do that. He capitalized on the world chaos due to the dictatorship of special privileges and monopolies. He seized the opportunity presented by the general corruption due to this monopoly control.

Pre-Hitler Germany put through a land increment tax, and controlled the use of land, particularly through her city planning, as no other nation had done. But she failed to face the necessity for ending land monopoly and other monopolies. And then post-Versailles rancor and rivalry with Britain's imperialism, enabled Hitler's genius to harness the tremendous mechanical and administrative capacities of the German people into a drive to equal or surpass British control in the world.

The invasion of Poland by Germany last September started another time of stress in America. We are not prepared to meet it, for the simple reason that neither peace stress nor war stress can be met by the United States, with private monopoly of land, and other private monopolies and privileges.

A recent issue of the *United States News* outlines the prospective four great economic Empires:—the American, taking in all the Western Hemisphere, out to Hawaii and including Greenland; the Russian, including her present territory and Turkey; the German, including the Scandinavian countries and the rest of Europe, and all of Africa to the Union of South Africa; and the Japanese, taking in part of China, the Philippines, French Indo-China, and the Dutch East Indies. Britain and Australia with the Union of South Africa, and a few Islands, seem to be destined for a smaller geographical control, but Threadneedle Street and British finance would doubtlessly play a large part in determining world affairs and internal policies of the four great economic Empires of the world of tomorrow. Approximately this distribution is made by Mr. Lawrence Dennis in his recent book, "The Dynamics of War and Revolution".

Over a year and a half ago, the present writer wrote an article entitled, "Americans Must Win War on Poverty Or Be Kiddled Into Foreign Wars" which was read into the Congressional Record by Senator Frazier, and some quarter of a million reprints sent into every State of the Union. That forecast threatens today.

With an intelligent economic system, with an economy of freedom, the United States would not need an economic Empire. But under our present system, with two per cent of our people owning about three-fifths of the national wealth, and two and one-half per cent of our families getting about \$5 billions of property income, plus nearly \$4 billions of earned income—in all over an eighth of the national income—and with 18,000,000 of our population a "surplus" (as far as the present economic system is concerned), America most desperately needs an imperialistic policy for two reasons:—to pay part of the overhead of our top-heavy system, and to help keep the people's minds off what has happened to them.

The writer did not need to prove the charge he made nearly two years ago, that Roosevelt needed a Franco victory, so he could wave the bogey of Hitler and Mussolini over Central and South America before the American people and make them forget what was happening to them. If Willkie is elected, this bogey will be just as helpful to him.

An army of 9,000,000 employables unemployed, and an army of one and a half million surplus farm families (under our economic system) opens the door to conscription of men and may keep a large standing army busy subduing domestic commotions. Of course, if two or three million of these unemployed are conscripted into the army, they will reduce the pressure for jobs.

The President's suggestion that it is the patriotic duty of students to attend to their studies, and not volunteer for the army, shows his knowledge that there is little danger that they will be faught anything opposed to the economic status quo.

America probably has less than three years, and almost certainly less than five years in which to make the essential changes in America peacefully. Failure to do that will probably result in America's having a hard-boiled dictator with a heart for the special privileges.

For seven and a half years, America has gone on the theory of raising the standard of living by curtailing the production of the essentials to raise that standard of living, through subsidy out of the Federal Treasury. We have spent over \$62 billions, about half of it borrowed, to buy off a revolution, and to prime the pump for private ownership. Some 20,000 people get approximately one third of all dividends paid, amounting to about twelve and a quarter billion dollars for the three years—'37, '38, and '39.

We are heading into a World War with the same semi-

criminal privilege classes in control as were in control under Presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, though none of those three had President Roosevelt's gift of bamboozling the American people. Apparently, only a British defeat, or scare over South America created in the hearts of millions of Americans, can re-elect the present occupant of the White House, who has done infinitely more for monopolists and the special privilege classes than any predecessor, though he has handed out more slops and sops to the disinherited than any other of his less astute predecessors in Washington.

Every reactionary interest in America, clerical, financial, pseudo-educational and landed, favors the conscription of men for an army, including an industrial army. They first tried to get them at \$5.00 a month, throwing in religious services, though they have raised the ante, under severe pressure, to \$30.00.

The Congress of the United States favors more consumption taxes to pay for the billions of dollars allegedly for defense and, as the writer told the House Committee on Ways and Means, the defense tax bill should be called a bill to "give free plants to profiteers, and protect them from taxes".

The big financial and industrial interests of America, whose products are needed for defense, are on a sit-down strike. This is so serious that the President of the American Farm Bureau Federation, a highly conservative organization largely dominated by Southern planters, told the House Ways and Means Committee: "The American people will not tolerate, at a time of such grave emergency, any group, in effect, pointing a pistol at the government and saying they will not produce guns or airplanes or other supplies needed for national defense in this hour of grave emergency unless they are given this guarantee or that guarantee and unless the restrictions are kept off their profits."

Readers may think I have painted a rather dark picture. I hope events may prove me wrong, but I doubt it.

No essential economic changes have been made yet in any major nation, except through totalitarian methods. America has gone a long way toward that goal in the efforts of the Old Deal and the New Deal, to maintain special privileges. America has a chance to do the essential things by democratic procedure, but they cannot be postponed for any term of years. It is not Hitler at our gates which menaces America; it is the big and little Hitlers of special privilege in America who constitute the real danger to our country. Running away from depression at home to disaster abroad, is not the American way.

THE final arbiter of all intellectual truth is the mind; of all moral truth the conscience. These are the real authorities, and the duty of subjecting all things to the test of reason and conscience a man owes to his fellowmen, and to God.— JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

A Legislative Plan of Action

IN these days, when so many signs indicate the necessity of a reorientation of our revenue system, the question arises: What concrete plan have Georgeists to offer the various legislative bodies, who in the last analysis are charged with the responsibility of effecting the application of any reform. With this in mind, Messrs. Walter Fairchild and Harry C. Maguire, of the American Association for Scientific Taxation, New York City, have prepared what they consider a model draft of a Constitutional Amendment and Concurrent Bill, for introduction in the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York. LAND AND FREEDOM is pleased to offer to its readers the ideas suggested in this plan to legislate the fiscal requirements of the Georgeist philosophy.

In the proposed Constitutional Amendment which follows, the italicized portion represents new matter to be added to the present Section 10 of Article 1 of the New York State Constitution:

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

The people of the state, in their right of sovereignty, possess the original and ultimate property in and to all lands within the jurisdiction of the state. All lands shall forever remain allodial* so that the entire and absolute property is vested in the owners, according to the nature of their respective estates. *The term property, however, shall not be construed to permit any person to appropriate the rent of land; it is hereby recognized and declared that all ground rent, actual or potential, belongs to the people of the state as a common asset, and the legislature shall pass appropriate laws to recover the full annual value of all lands exclusive of improvements within the jurisdiction of the state for the use of the state and its subdivisions.* All lands the title of which shall fail, from a defect of heirs, shall revert, or escheat to the people.

* * *

It will be noted in the foregoing draft that it is proposed to delimit, in the basic law, the commonly accepted, though erroneous, meaning of the word *property*. At present, the layman's and lawyer's concept of *property* admits the "right" of land owners to appropriate that which under the natural law and justice cannot be the subject of private property, viz., ground rent.

To carry out the Constitutional Amendment, enabling legislation is of course required. To that end a concurrent bill is proposed, from which we quote the preamble and a few sections.

*"Allodial" is opposed to "feudal." The latter tenure requires the rendering of services to the overlord or sovereign, in return for the feudal estate granted. Allodial tenure is complete and absolute, with no such restrictions.—Ed.

PROPOSED ACT

To promote the general welfare, by taking the value of land and special privileges in taxation, and repealing taxes on labor and industry.

SECTION 1. *Policy of state and purpose of chapter.* It is hereby declared that a serious public condition exists in this state affecting and threatening the welfare, comfort, and safety of the people of the state, resulting in abnormal disruption in economic and industrial processes, and the curtailment of incomes by unemployment and business depression. To raise wages, increase the earnings of productive capital, abolish unemployment, and promote the free flow of capital goods, require a shifting of the burden of taxation from values created by the combination of labor and industry to the values created by the community. The abolition of all taxation save that upon the value of land and special privileges will remove the burden upon production and industry, bear equally upon all men, and fall only upon those who receive from society a peculiar and valuable unearned benefit, and upon them in proportion to the benefit they receive. The shift of the burden of taxation from production and exchange to the value or rent of land and special privileges will result in disposing the lands of the state to their best possible use, thereby permitting prosperity to all. With nature's opportunities thus free to labor, with capital and improvements exempt from tax, and productive industry released from restrictions, wages of labor and earnings of productive capital will be increased, unemployment eliminated, and poverty abolished. Therefore, in the public interest, the necessity for legislative intervention by the enactment of the provisions hereinafter prescribed is hereby declared as a matter of legislative determination.

SECTION 2. *Assessment of land.* Beginning in the year next succeeding the passage of this act and thereafter, land shall be assessed at its full value as though unimproved and free from tax, and the taxing authorities of counties, cities, towns, villages and school districts shall annually fix such tax rates on the assessed valuations of land so as to cause, as nearly as possible, the full annual gross value or rent of land to be taken by taxation.*

SECTION 4. *Assessment of intangible franchise rights.* Beginning in the year next succeeding the passage of this act, the state tax commission shall annually fix and determine the full and actual value of the intangible franchise right of each special franchise under the jurisdiction of the public service commission and of the transit commission as though free from tax and exclusive of the value of tangible property included in such special franchise.

The commission shall also determine the full value of the same and file a written statement of such value with the clerk of the city, town, or village in which such special franchise is subject to assessment, as set forth in section 45-c of article 2 of the tax law. The taxing authority of each taxing district shall annually fix such tax rates on such full value of the intangible franchise right as to cause as nearly as possible the annual value of such intangible franchise right to be taken by taxation.

SECTION 5. *Equalization of assessment and apportionment of tax.* The state tax commission shall make such reasonable rules and regulations not inconsistent with law as may be necessary to require the local taxing authorities of the state to assess land at its full value as though unimproved and untaxed. The state tax commission shall ascertain the amount of the budget reasonably adopted by any county, city, town, village or school district and in the case of any overlapping taxing districts it shall calculate the ratio of the amount of such budgets with respect to the land values within such taxing districts. The state tax commission shall also ascertain the amount of the total assessment for land in any tax district and the total amount to be raised by taxation, and shall apportion this amount in accordance with the respective local budgets. Any excess of taxes above the reasonable budgets of the local taxing authorities shall be collected by the county treasurer and paid over to the state tax commission for the use of the state.

SECTION 6. *Repeal of taxes on industry and labor products.* All taxes on industry and labor products are to be abolished as hereinafter provided to wit:

The following taxes shall be abolished and the laws providing for them repealed to take effect on the last day of the second year following the passage of this act:

Tax on gasoline and similar motor fuel (article 12A of tax law), tax on milk (article 19 of tax law), cigarette tax (article 20 of tax law), taxes on alcoholic beverages (article 18 of tax law), excise taxes on business transactions, occupancy, tickets of admission to places of public exhibits, patent medicine, tobacco, vending machines, possession of telephone connections, and all other excise taxes and taxes on sales of merchandise whether under a state law or under any local law.

The following taxes shall be abolished and the laws providing for them repealed to take effect on the last day of the third year following the passage of this act:

Tax on mortgages (article 11 of tax law), tax on transfers of stock and other corporate certificates (article 12 of tax law), corporation tax (article 9 of tax law), franchise tax on business corporations (article 9a of tax law), franchise tax on state banks, trust companies and financial corporations (article 9b of tax law), tax on national banking associations (article 9c of tax law).

*The method herein proposed seems for the present more practical, while no less effective, than the alternative method of directly collecting the annual gross economic rent as such, since it conforms more nearly to existing tax procedure.

The following taxes shall be abolished and the laws providing for them repealed whenever the revenue from the sources mentioned in Sections 2 and 4 above is found sufficient to meet all budgetary requirements herein and shall not at any time be levied in a larger amount than may be necessary to meet, pro-ratably, the needs of the budget aforesaid:

Taxes upon personal incomes (article 16 of tax law), taxes on inheritance (articles 10, 10a and 10b of tax law).

* * *

Accompanying the proposed legislative resolutions aforesaid, an interesting "Explanation," will also be placed in the hands of the legislators. Extracts of it follow:

EXPLANATION OF LAND VALUE TAX LAW

As the title of the bill points out, the primary purpose is to eliminate business depressions and end unemployment and restore to all men equal rights to the use of the earth. To accomplish this the bill amends the present tax law by repealing taxes on labor products and industry and substituting generally therefor one main tax upon the value of land.

The chief requirement of the bill is that the full annual value of land exclusive of improvements shall be taken in taxation by the state and its subdivisions for public use.

The complementary requirement is to repeal taxes on labor products and industry.

The annual value of any piece of land exclusive of improvements, usually called "ground rent", is a value directly due to the presence and activities of the state's population and to the manner and amount of its expenditures public and private. It therefore constitutes the natural source of revenue for the government and should be exhausted before any resort to the taxation of individual wealth.

Relief from taxation of improvements would result in a tremendous stimulus to building construction and improvement in the number and character of buildings.

The abolition of sales taxes would increase purchasing power, stimulate trade, decrease unemployment, increase ground rent and hence still further increase public revenue.

TAXATION IN PROPORTION TO BENEFITS RECEIVED

The bill applies the principle that taxation should be in proportion to benefits conferred. Taxation in proportion to benefits received has long been the keystone of our tax policy, as the Court of Appeals pointed out in *People v. Ronner*, 1906, 185 N. Y. 285; 77 N. E. 106:

"There can be no doubt of the correctness of the general proposition that the principle upon which taxation is founded is that the taxpayer is supposed to receive just compensation in the benefits conferred by

government, and in the proper application of the tax; and that in the exercise of the taxing power the legislature ought as nearly as practicable, to apportion the tax according to the benefit which each taxpayer is supposed to receive from the object upon which the tax is expended."

ASSESSMENT OF LAND AT FULL VALUE

Assessment of land at its full value "as though unimproved and free from tax" covers the economic fact that increasing the land value tax increases the proportion of land value into the public treasury and correspondingly decreases the amount left in private hands and reduces the "selling price" or market value of land although the actual full value or annual gross rental of land will not be reduced, and as prosperity rises the full value of land will also tend to rise. Full economic or annual gross rental value, and not market value, is made the base of assessment value on which the rate is calculated.

REPEAL OF OTHER TAXES

Repeal of taxes on industry and labor products is staggered over 2, 3 and 4 years. It will take a year or more to make necessary adjustments. The bill divides the taxes to be repealed into three classes. First, consumption taxes like sales taxes are to be repealed at the end of the second year after the law takes effect; second, taxes on industry generally such as business corporation franchise taxes are to be repealed at the end of the third year; third, income taxes and inheritance taxes which are direct taxes are to be repealed and/or reduced as soon as feasible.

LICENSE FEES

There are many so-called license fees which are really taxes in disguise, that is, for automobile registration plate taxes, liquor dealers' licenses, etc. The liquor dealer's license is in addition to the tax on liquor which is in the bill for repeal. We think that this item must be handled separately and the correct rule should be that the state tax commission should determine the cost of regulating any profession or trade for which a license is required and the license fee should be in proportion to the cost of regulating the profession or trade. This bill does not touch the unemployment insurance taxes and if it is desired to repeal the unemployment insurance law we think it should be handled in a separate bill.

* * *

At present the State of New York has embodied in its constitution, in Section 10 of Article 8, a 2% limitation on the amount of revenue to be raised by real estate taxes for local purposes. This section must of course be repealed, to give proper effect to the scheme of land value taxation set forth above.

The sponsors of the foregoing plan of proposed legislation for the State of New York have also worked out an amendment to the United States Constitution, so as to apply the same idea to our Federal needs.

PROPOSED U.S. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

The 2nd, 3rd and 4th words (*and direct taxes*) shall be deleted from the 3rd paragraph of Article 1, Section 2.*

Paragraph 4 of Article 1, Section 9 (Beginning with the words, "No capitation or other direct tax") shall be deleted and in its stead shall be substituted the following: "The Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes on the value of any and all land in the United States, its territories, possessions, and District of Columbia, excluding the value of improvements."

Anyone interested in the complete draft and explanation of the proposed legislation, or in the program for putting it into effect, in the State of New York or elsewhere, should write to the American Association for Scientific Taxation, care of LAND AND FREEDOM.

Frederic Cyrus Leubuscher

FREDERIC CYRUS LEUBUSCHER passed away August 18, at his home in Essex Fells, New Jersey. While prominent in many walks of civic and political life, his greatest reputation was as a life-long advocate of the Georgeist philosophy. We can think of no better way of paying tribute to his memory than to present the accounts of him which follow, each of which shows a different side of his life and work. One account is from a featured obituary of Mr. Leubuscher in a local newspaper. The other two are by close friends of the man—Charles H. Ingersoll and Joseph H. Fink.

The Life of Leubuscher

(From the *Caldwell and Verona News*)

Mr. Leubuscher was born (in 1858) in New York. He was the son of Louis Mortimer Leubuscher and Catherine Horner. His father, while a student at the University of Berlin, took part in the Revolution of 1848-49. He was taken a prisoner, but later escaped and came to New York.

Frederic was a graduate of the New York public schools, College of the City of New York and of Columbia University. He started the practice of law in 1884 and continued active in that profession until two months before he died. For many years he was chairman of the Municipal Court Committee of the New York County Lawyers Association and was a member of the Judiciary Committee of that

body. In 1909 he was chairman of the Municipal Democracy that nominated Judge Gaynor for the mayoralty.

When Henry George ran for mayor in 1886, Mr. Leubuscher supported him, and at the close of the campaign, wrote a history of it in collaboration with Louis F. Post, who later became assistant Secretary of Labor under Wilson.

He had been connected with Single Tax activities for over fifty years, and was for many years president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club and head of the Society to Lower Rents and Reduce Taxes on Homes, a Single Tax affiliate.

Shortly after moving to Essex Fells, he ran for the Borough Council and was elected on the Democratic ticket in 1920. Mayor Sylvester H. Williams named him as chairman of the finance and law committee. In 1925, he was elected president of the Council, and reelected in 1926.

Mr. Leubuscher was also a member at one time of the New York Free Trade Club, having served on the executive board with Theodore Roosevelt.

The Religion of Leubuscher

By CHARLES H. INGERSOLL

Our friend Frederic C. Leubuscher, was a personal acquaintance and ardent admirer of my namesake and relative—the agnostic, Robert G. Ingersoll. And one of the lifelong ties that have bound Fred Leubuscher and myself, and our families, has been a heterodox religious faith. I use the words "religious faith" advisedly; by that I mean that we *have* religion and that we *have* faith.

I think my thoughts now may be considered that of Leubuscher and Ingersoll—as well as many friends here assembled—when I assert a belief that is different from the common concept—in a God of Order and a God of Nature, whose Divine Purpose comprehends all of his two billion children on Earth, as distinguished from a special interest in individuals and sects, in their affairs and their creeds.

My earliest memory of Fred Leubuscher—back in the early 1880's—was on the platform of the Masonic Temple at 23rd Street and Sixth Avenue, New York, at one of the meetings of the Reverend Hugh O. Pentecost, a *Preacher of the Gospel*—of a Gospel also immortalized by Father Edward McGlynn, in whose career Mr. Leubuscher was vitally interested. I refer to the Gospel of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

This Gospel changes a narrow orthodoxy which panders to human peccadilloes and denials, by implication at least, that a Creator could have but one design in creation, to that of the possession, by all of his children, of an earth, with its usufruct, as Jefferson called it, stored with an abundance for all peoples' sustension.

And this religion goes further—it includes the optimistic—because it is better grounded—faith and hope. A faith and hope supported by history, authority and reason, that one day, when so-called Christian Civilization has run its tragic course of economic illiteracy and destruction, this usufruct—or rent—of the earth will be recovered to all the people, and thus realize, in its highest terms, Jeffersonian Democracy. This was the religious faith of Fred Leubuscher.

Fred Leubuscher's life has been long and faithful; wonderfully balanced between the practical and the ideal; between the truly spiritual and that which is scientifically applied; between the hard grind of the work of today and a vision of the morrow that may still be a hundred years from realization.

His philosophy was not the kind that demanded either plaudits or continuous support; he was schooled in that rare reserve expressed

*As thus amended, the paragraph would read, "Representatives (deleted portion) shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, etc."

by Tom Johnson, who warned his co-workers against expecting encouragement during their generation.

What actuates a life such as Fred Leibuscher's? To the unobserving it may be a variety of human characteristics. But we who have known him for these decades know that a man who for three score years and more, literally lived with an ideal, must have possessed a democratic and catholic love of humanity, an accurate sense of justice, and a keen discernment between nature's way and the way of men. And finally, a practical determination to put dreams into practice.

The Practicality of Leibuscher

By JOSEPH H. FINK

About forty years ago, I undertook to act as chairman of the committee on outdoor meetings of the Manhattan Single Tax Club. Shortly thereafter, the question of a new president for the club came up. Mr. Leibuscher agreed to accept the presidency if I would take on the duties of secretary. To this I agreed. Leibuscher then asked me what his duties were to be. I told him that the duties of the President would be to preside at all the meetings and pay the expenses when there was no money in the treasury. "I accept," said he.

The political parties in Harlem, realizing that the Single Tax meetings were educating the public, made every effort to stop these street-corner meetings. Through their influence, the Chief Inspector of the Police Department gave orders that the meetings must cease. We appealed to him on several occasions but he insisted that they could only be conducted if a permit were issued, and that no permits would be granted. He made all sorts of statements to the effect that it was a violation of law to carry on street corner meetings.

Mr. Leibuscher and myself called on the Chief Inspector at his office at Police Headquarters for a show-down. Mr. Leibuscher insisted that the Inspector point out to him what sections of the law he referred to. After much discussion to and fro, the Inspector said that street corner meetings were a nuisance and they were stopped because of complaints. Mr. Leibuscher then told me to discontinue the meetings, and at the same time told the Inspector that when the political campaigns opened, he would have persons attend the meetings and make complaint to the police that they were a nuisance. Looking the Chief in the eyes, he said, "And if you don't stop these meetings, I will prefer charges against you to the Police Commissioner." Mr. Leibuscher was about five feet four and the Inspector six feet two. He looked down at Mr. Leibuscher with his jaw stuck out and said in a bombastic voice, "Do you mean that?" "Yes," replied Leibuscher. The Inspector changed his attitude and said "All right, go ahead and run your meetings, but keep away from 34th Street and Broadway." (These corners were perhaps the busiest in the entire city, and it would be impractical for anyone to attempt to hold meetings there.)

During his long and useful career, Leibuscher always stood for principle first and never was a compromiser.

* * *

No account of Fred Leibuscher would be complete without mention of the frequent contributions during his lifetime to the various Georgeist activities, including LAND AND FREEDOM. He was exceptionally generous to the Henry George School of Social Science, of which he was a Trustee, having left the School a bequest of \$3,000, in addition to large amounts bestowed upon that organization before his death.

Thus Spake the Prophets

By JACOB SCHWARTZMAN

MILLENIUMS before Henry George appeared in the world, the little world of the Hebrews, huddled on the Asiatic Mediterranean, produced those early rebels against tyranny and injustice, known as the Prophets. Starting with Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and continuing with the twelve "minor" Prophets, this scorned and persecuted minority boldly cried out against the corruption and unbridled luxury of the judges, kings, priests and landlords on the one hand, and the stark poverty engulfing the masses of the Hebrew people on the other. Throughout the land misery and war prevailed, blood ran like water, factions opposed one another—and neighboring countries, sensing "kill," warred incessantly against the "chosen children of God," who, led by their corrupt leaders, gave more appearance of descent from the devil.

The great Isaiah—who may be considered a predecessor of Henry George—seeing the chaos, and witnessing the relentless pressure of the insatiate landlords, cried out in despair:

Woe unto those that cause house to join on house, and bring field near to field, till there is no more room, so that they may be left alone as the inhabitants in the midst of the land!

Therefore are my people led into exile, for want of knowledge; and their honorable men suffer of famine and their multitudes are panting with thirst.

Lamenting the poverty-stricken condition of the poor, as did Henry George, Isaiah bitterly denounces their oppressors:

O my people! thy leaders cause thee to err, and the direction of thy paths they corrupt.

The Lord is stepped forth to plead, and standeth up to judge the people.

The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of this people and their princes; but ye—ye have eaten up the vineyard; the plunder of the poor is in your house.

What mean ye that ye crush my people, and grind down the faces of the poor? saith the Lord the Eternal of hosts.

What liberal newspaper of today would dare to accuse the entrenched power of the possessors of the land with such vehemence? What prophet of today denounces with the same lofty motive the ill-gotten gains of the few?

Speaking with a voice of thunder, the majestic Prophet continues:

Woe unto those that decree decrees of unrighteousness and the writers who write down wrongful things;

Who turn aside from judgment the needy and who rob the just due of the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may plunder the fatherless.

The worthless person shall be no more called liberal, and the avaricious man shall not be said to be bountiful.

For the worthless person ever speaketh villainy, and his heart will work injustice, to practice hypocrisy, and to speak error against the Lord; to leave empty the soul of the hungry and the drink of the thirsty will he take away.

The instruments also of the avaricious man are evil; he deviseth wicked resolves to destroy the poor with words of falsehood, even when the needy speaketh what is right.

But the liberal deviseth liberal things; and he ever persisteth by liberal things.

Looking forward into the dim future, scanning the unborn centuries, the Seer of Israel envisions a society in which Justice prevails:

And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat their fruit.

They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat; for, as the days of a tree are the days of my people, and the work of their hands shall my elect wear out.

They shall not toil in vain, nor bring forth unto an early death.

Jeremiah, his heart torn by the prevailing unrighteousness, continues the struggle. With a determined courage, rare to find anywhere in the field of social thought, and all the more startling at a time when tyrants passed as staunch upholders of justice, this brilliant Prophet blasts the rulers of his day:

Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by injustice; that maketh his neighbor work without wages, and giveth him not the reward for his labor;

That saith, I will build me a roomy house, and ample chambers, and cutteth himself out windows, and ceileth it with cedar, and painteth it with colors. . . .

But thy eyes and thy heart are directed on nothing but upon thy own gain, and upon innocent blood to shed it, and upon oppression, and upon extortion, to practise them.

With a sadness that permeates his prophecy, the vigorous dreamer, Amos, describes the wretchedness enveloping the nation which he loved so much. In a sudden fit of anger, he cries against those who are responsible for the condition of the poor:

Ye who change justice into wormwood, and cast down

righteousness! . . . Ye tread down upon the poor, and ye take from him onerous contributions of corn!

For I know your manifold transgressions and your numerous sins; ye are those that are the adversaries of the just, that take a ransom, and that wrest the needy in the gate.

Remove thou from around me the noise of thy songs; and the playing of thy psalteries I will not hear.

But let justice roll along like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream.

His mood changes, and with a breadth of vision and a love of humanity, which alone should preserve him for posterity, gently he utters:

Are ye not like the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord. Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt? and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?

Perhaps the most social-minded of all the minor Prophets is Micah, who condemns the landlords with a violence tinged with hatred:

Woe to those that devise wickedness, and resolve on evil upon their couches! By the first light of the morning they execute it, if they have it in the power of their hand.

And they covet fields, and rob them; and houses, and take them away; so they defraud the master and his house, and the man and his heritage. . . .

Thus hath said the Lord concerning the Prophets that mislead my people, who when they have something to bite with their teeth, cry, Peace; but who prepare war against him who putteth nothing in their mouth.

Micah paints an enchanting picture of a society of brotherly love, where all nations shall be free and equal, all resting on the principle of liberty and justice. I should like to commend these passages to those who are intent upon destroying the little civilization still left this unfortunate earth:

And many nations shall come, and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us of his ways, and we may walk in his paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem.

And he shall judge between many people, and decide for strong nations even afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-knives; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, and they shall not learn any more war.

But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, with none to make them afraid; for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it.

Signs of Progress

GEORGEIST ACTIVITIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Henry George School of Social Science HEADQUARTERS

ENLARGED QUARTERS—After a summer of intense work the fourth and fifth floors of 30 East 29 Street, New York City, are completed and in use. There are eight new class-rooms, as well as an auditorium with a seating capacity of 150. With the latest type lighting fixtures and complete modernization, the School building now makes an impressive sight.

Three series of lectures to be held in the new auditorium have been planned. One series is a lecture forum, conducted every Sunday, to attract the general public. There is also a series conducted on Friday evenings, entitled "Fundamental Conditions for a Lasting Peace." On Tuesday evenings, Albert Jay Nock will speak on individualism versus collectivism. An admission fee of \$3.00 is being charged for this latter series. The others are free.

FALL TERM—Classes in Fundamental Economics and advanced courses opened the week of September 23. The enrollment in the "Progress and Poverty" course is about 1300, and about 300 have registered for advanced courses. This term has seen a high percentage of book sales, about 60% of the students having purchased books.

An imposing series of advanced courses have been prepared which bid fair to gain for the School an academic reputation. Among these courses are: Basic Course in Sociology of Economic Institutions; Principles and Problems of Tax Policy; Public Speaking; Basic Principles of Composition; and Formal Logic.

Extension courses are again opening all over the country. Among the places where classes have already started are: San Diego, Calif.; Hartford, Conn.; Boston, Mass.; Newark, N. J.; Philadelphia, Pa.; points in Westchester, N. Y.; and points in Long Island, N. Y.

About 400 students have enrolled for the correspondence course in "Progress and Poverty." A new course in "Protection or Free Trade" has been prepared for correspondence students who have completed the first course. Already 100 have enrolled for this advanced course.

CHICAGO, ILL.

REPORT OF JOHN L. MONROE, SECRETARY

FALL TERM—After a tremendous amount of work on the part of a volunteer crew, which distributed thousands of

announcements, the Fall term opened the week of September 16, with a total enrollment of over 500. The Speakers Bureau of the Chicago School is now under way, and has already made several speaking engagements, to be held at rotary clubs, churches, young people's clubs, etc.

MASTER'S DEGREE EXAM—The examination for the Master's degree in the English Department at the University of Chicago included a quiz on Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." There were three questions. The first asked to explain George's reasoning processes. The second referred to George's environment as influencing his ideas. And the third asked for the Georgeist reply to typical criticisms.

P & P TO LINDBERGH—When Col. Charles A. Lindbergh spoke at the Soldiers Field peace rally, a graduate of the Henry George School, Clyde Bassler, was present. He had with him a copy of "Progress and Poverty" to present to Lindbergh. Mr. Bassler gave it to a guard, who gave it to one of the rally sponsors, Capt. Grace, who gave it to Lindbergh. The book was seen tucked under Lindbergh's arm as he left the Field.

Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

REPORT OF V. G. PETERSON, SECRETARY

Ten thousand copies of "Progress and Poverty" were printed by the Foundation in September. This is the Foundation's thirteenth printing of that masterpiece, and it brings the total number of copies to 68,000. Fresh printings of "Protection or Free Trade" and "Social Problems" were made during the Summer.

Special attention is called to a new edition of Henry George's neglected "A Perplexed Philosopher," advertised on the back page of this issue. This is the first American edition since 1904. It has been printed in the same style and format as the other works by George, completing the set of his books published by the Foundation.

In all, the Foundation has now published and distributed a grand total of 100,000 volumes. In the distributing of these books, the splendid work of the Henry George School of Social Science has been of tremendous assistance. The two organizations are in close cooperation, working harmoniously, each helping the other when that help is needed.

Manhattan Single Tax Club

The Club has embarked upon a course of action to do all in its power to spread knowledge of the Georgeist philosophy while there is yet time. In this program—as outlined in a circular recently sent out—are the following points:

1. Revitalizing the Club to bring it up to its standing under Henry George, and make its influence felt throughout the country.
2. Publishing its paper, *democracy*, weekly to spread sound economic teachings.
3. Cooperating with other Georgeist organizations.
4. Interesting the public through radio talks, lectures and the dissemination of literature.

Arden Celebration

The annual Henry George Day celebration was held in Arden, Delaware, on Sunday, September 8. Arden is an "enclave of economic rent" administered under the single tax principle, on the outskirts of Wilmington. The attendance at the meeting was good, and the speeches were well-received.

The principal speaker was Harry Weinberger, who delivered an address on "Liberty in a Dark World." Dr. Henry George III (grandson of Henry George), spoke of the pioneer spirit as being an important factor in the greatness of men like Henry George and Mahatma Ghandi. Julian Hickok and Harold Sudell of Philadelphia spoke. Mrs. Katherine F. Ross, former Trustee of Arden, spoke on the Arden Deed of Trust, and paid tribute to Frank Stephens, founder and guiding spirit of that little community. In her talk, Mrs. Ross said:

"To be able to grant basic justice and freedom, involved in the equitable Use of the Earth, upon which, together with Free Trade, depends the just distribution of wealth, requires an instrument, such as a Constitution, or, as in the case of Arden, a Deed of Trust, to keep it inviolate. And that is what the Deed in Arden has been designed to do for Arden. Should the Trustees perform a dereliction of duty in respect to this underlying intent, they can be forced to resign, but no Court of Law, I am told on authority, can dissolve this Trust.

"This instrument, that prevents basic aggression on the part of individuals, groups of individuals, or a majority, in its preservation of Equal Rights in the Use of the Earth in Arden, although other adverse unnatural conditions may overshadow its effects, is the highest, the simplest and most fundamental social guide that has ever been devised, and Georgeists have the privilege to pay it honor."

Dr. Henry George was drafted by the Trustees of Arden to fill a vacancy on their three-member board. The position is a life-long one. Dr. George is president of the Delaware State Osteopathic Society.

The School of Democracy

Within a year at least, two new schools teaching Georgeist principles have been started! One is the We, The Citizens School (reported in the last issue of *LAND AND FREEDOM*); and now we have the School of Democracy. This new School is being started by Mr. Harry J. Haase, in collaboration with Mr. Charles H. Ingersoll. The present headquarters are at the Manhattan Single Tax Club, 1165 Broadway, New York City, in Room 203.

Classes are being held daily at 5:30 and at 8:00 P. M., and on Saturdays at 2:00 P. M. Several Georgeists have become interested in the idea, and some are starting extension classes, among them Mr. Byron T. Conrad, of Bellerose, Long Island.

Mr. Haase has circulated a number of Georgeists urging them to cooperate. The prime purpose of the School is to "convince the layman that the only workable basis for democracy is equality secured through the collection of economic rent." Cooperation is invited, in the form of "physical, mental, moral or financial assistance."

Great Britain

Our commendations go to our British colleagues who are carrying on so bravely amidst air-raids and the general disorder in the present crisis. Mr. W. E. Fox, Henry George School leader, continues his classes, which opened October 2, at the Battersea Central Library. The United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values sent Georgeist literature to the Annual Conference of the Association of Municipal Authorities of Ireland, held September 12. Altogether, 1,190 copies of each piece of literature were sent, and a number of Town Clerks responded, saying they were giving the matter their attention.

A Georgeist working in Ireland reports that the spreading of economic truth is impeded by the political division of that country. "The Six Counties is the last Tory fortress," he writes to *Land & Liberty*. "The partition keeps the political issue before the Irish people to the exclusion of the economic problem and serves the same purpose that Home Rule served in England. I don't expect much progress in our lines till the partition is removed; but it is well to spread the light amongst the more far-seeing people, which I am trying to do as opportunity offers."

Mr. F. C. R. Douglas, the new Georgeist M. P. from North Battersea, is losing no time in speaking for sound economic principles in Parliament. In a debate on the Finance Bill, August 6, Mr. Douglas condemned the Purchase Tax as being both unjust and unsound. In concluding, he said: "Reference has been made today—and very properly, I think—to the circumstances which we shall

have to face after the war, because our troubles will not then be ended. One of the problems with which we shall then have to deal, no doubt, will be the question of putting into employment those who are taken off the production of munitions and implements of war, and the tax on land values, which the Chancellor has rejected, would be a valuable instrument in securing that the idle resources of this country were put into use in order that its idle people should be employed. I hope that question will yet be pressed to an issue, that the Purchase Tax will be repealed, and that better taxation will be placed in its stead."

We should like to call our readers' attention to our new British correspondent, Douglas J. J. Owen. Mr. Owen has kindly volunteered his services in this capacity, and hopes to keep us informed on economic conditions as well as Georgeist activities in Great Britain. An article by Mr. Owen appears in this issue. Our thanks are due to Mr. Arthur W. Madsen of *Land & Liberty* for securing the services of Mr. Owen.

L & F Again Goes to Washington

IN our last issue we announced that 50 copies of the May-June number of this journal had been personally distributed among as many Congressmen at the nation's capital. The idea was extended for July-August so as to place the Pan-American issue of *LAND AND FREEDOM* in the hands of every member of the Senate and House of Representatives, over 500 copies having been mailed. Each was accompanied by a letter, appealing for land value taxation as a means of financing the national defense program.

Of course, all such activities entail expense. The printing and delivery of 500 copies, with enclosed letter, by 3rd class mail, costs around \$50. However, we believe this kind of work justifies the effort, and we are only too glad to do it whenever the necessary additional funds can be obtained.

BOOK REVIEWS

LAND ACCORDING TO ELY AND WEHRWEIN

"Land Economics," by Richard T. Ely & George S. Wehrwein
The Macmillan Company, New York. 1940. 512 pp.

Any book that considers the economic issue of the land question is of interest to Georgeists whether or not its author understands that "the ownership of land is the great fundamental fact which ultimately determines the social, the political, and consequently the intellectual and moral condition of a people." It is with this thought that "Land Economics" is here reviewed.

In the preface we find that "Land Economics may be defined as the utilization of the earth's surface, or space, as conditioned by property and other institutions, and which includes the use of natural

forces and productive powers above or below that space over which the owner has property rights." The index notes four references to George. The bibliography has placed "Progress and Poverty" under "Conservation of Natural Resources."

Students who have read "Progress and Poverty" do not all become Georgeists, but they usually agree that the Malthusian theory, which attributes want to the decrease of the productive power of land, is completely answered in the second Book. But the noted professors insist that Henry George "failed to overthrow the law itself."

Private property is justified "only on the social theory of property, namely, that it is established and maintained for social purposes. Under this theory, agricultural land is retained as private property because it is believed that the nation enjoys the greatest well-being under private ownership. Whenever social welfare is better served by shifting from private to public land, the state has the power to make this change. It has the power to make the right of the individual to the land less absolute."

The reviewer wonders what Ely and Wehrwein would say if this "social theory of property" were at some future date used to defend a Georgeist society.

The authors illustrate their lack of understanding of Henry George's concept of private property in land. He was not interested, as claimed by these economists, in "excluding land from the realm of legal private property." Georgeists are only interested in the public collection of the economic rent. Perhaps the noted professors merely overlooked mentioning this difference. Or perhaps the confiscation of the milk and honey of vested interests would not permit them to note any difference in consequences.

"Competition for the land has driven the price up to the full capitalized value of its income. In fact, many times above this value, through speculation and other factors." How has this admission slipped in?

Two mentions are made of why Henry George wrote "Progress and Poverty."

"Henry George acquired his philosophy of the taxation of land in the atmosphere of land-frauds and wild speculation in urban and agricultural lands of California where both Mexican and American land policies had favored concentration of ownership, and the bona fide settler found great difficulty in acquiring land."

The second mention also deals with the environmental factor that influenced George. It is an apparent attempt to belittle his contribution to economic theory. "He lived during the post-Civil War period when speculation, 'land-grabbing', corruption, and fraud were rife, but he over-simplified the remedy for the ills of society by attacking 'the unearned increment' in the land only."

Is it possible that a good word about George is permitted to enter the book? The authors quote from Lewis Mumford's "The Brown Decade":

"But George's awareness of the political importance of the land, his clear perception in 1879 of dangers that were to be fully demonstrated by 1890, and the stir that he made in the torpid political and economic thought of his day by introducing into it a vital idea—all this cannot be discounted. Henry George challenged the complacencies of bourgeois economics in the terms that the bourgeois economist could partly understand. Less than fifteen years after George's 'Progress and Poverty' was published, Professor Fredrick Turner pointed out some of the social and economic implications of the passing of the frontier. From this point on, any one who ignored the role of the land, either in American history or in our current institutional life, was guilty of convenient forgetfulness: the fact was established."

Nowhere in this book did the reviewer find any suggestion of a constructive land policy for lessening poverty amid advancing wealth. But all phases of the science which deals with the earth's surface are discussed and amply illustrated. The size of families, immigration, birth and death rates, and other factors of the study of the population statistics are pursued. "Temperature and Sunshine"; "Rain-fall and Evaporation"; "Topography"; Agricultural, conservational, arid, forest, urban, recreational lands and water, mineral and power resources—these are only a few of the items that would interest even a Georgeist in this book.

"Land Economics" tells you how it is possible to satisfy men's needs, but never mentions why they are not properly housed, clothed and fed. The noted professors would find the solution in "Progress and Poverty" if they would reexamine this book without any prejudices.

—LOUIS P. TAYLOR

NOTES ON DENMARK

"Notes on Denmark—Before and After the German Invasion," American Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. August, 1940.

The organization known as American Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy was organized shortly after the German invasion of Denmark. The purpose is to perpetuate the Danish culture and freedom-loving tradition, and to work to the end "that Denmark may continue to live on."

This compilation of "Notes on Denmark" presents a picture of Denmark's contribution to the world. The Folk Schools, the co-operative system and the land and fiscal systems are described. "The Danish people prize independence above everything else," and this is exemplified in their legislation.

One could wish that these notes might direct more attention to the influence of the land value tax on the prosperity and well-being of the nation. However, we do find notes on "Subsistence Homesteads and Resettlement."

"In Denmark," say these notes, "rural resettlement and subsistence homesteads have ended landlordism, sharecropping and tenancy. In 1850 as many as 42% of Danish farmers were tenants. Today only 4% of Danish farmers are tenants; 96% work for themselves. The United States had about the same percentage of tenant-farmers in 1935 as Denmark had 85 years previously.

"Since 1899 an Act of Parliament has placed land at the disposal of Danish farm laborers . . . A total of 17,190 new farms were created under that Act. Under a later Act of 1919 5,000 additional new farms have been established. Their owners pay interest to the government on the value of the land according to periodical re-appraisals.

"All these new farms have become available not only through the reclaiming of land but also through a resettlement on land surrendered by large entailed estates. These became free estates by (1), giving up 25-30% of their capital and (2), by surrendering—against compensation—one third of their land. The money obtained, 89 million Kroner (\$20,000,000), was placed in a 'Land Fund' the interest from which is used right along for government purchase of land to establish small holdings."

In many other ways, Denmark has enacted progressive legislation. The condition of the Danish people after the invasion is also described in these notes. The contrast leaves one with the fervent hope that the ante bellum status may be speedily restored.

R. C.

CORRESPONDENCE

EDUCATING THE SCHOOLS

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

I believe that in our efforts to spread the doctrine of Henry George we are now engaged in the work of sweeping back the tides. The huge amounts collected from us in taxes for the educational system are used for the teaching of a meaningless political economy, and the comparatively insignificant outlays we can make are pitted against the false ideas spread by those huge outlays. Before we can begin to instill real political economy we must wipe out the false teaching on which the people have been reared—a colossal undertaking.

If we could introduce into the schools a textbook on political economy in accordance with George's doctrine, there are teachers ready to select it for their classes, and it would soon force out the unscientific and meaningless textbooks which have made economics the "dismal science."

But such a textbook can not be approved for purchase by boards of education nor ordered by teachers until it has been published, and publishers simply will not publish books which teach the public collection of rent. They will not take the risk, because there is no market for them. A writer who should succeed in producing such a textbook, even supposing it to be a perfect text, must either finance its publication, with small chance of sales, or keep the manuscript for handing out to his friends. It is small wonder that the youth of the nation are brought up with ideas of political economy which render the spread of Georgeism very difficult.

The best service which Georgeists could render to the cause would be to call for the submission of textbooks, select the best or have a better one written, and concentrate their funds on its publication; then have it sanctioned by boards of education, and solicit individual teachers to order it for their classes. One textbook taught in the high schools and colleges, *at the expense of boards of education*, would do more to advance the cause than the mountains of Henry George literature which have said what Henry George has already said in better language, and which are read by few except dyed-in-the-wool Georgeists.

Jamaica, N. Y.

HENRY J. FOLEY.

REPLY TO MR. HAXO'S "THEORY OF INTEREST"

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

This letter is for the purpose of taking issue with the theory of interest as expressed in Mr. Gaston Haxo's article in the July-August issue of LAND AND FREEDOM, and to present what we believe to be the natural law of economic interest. The fundamental argument on which Mr. Haxo's theory is based is the statement that capital is not a separate factor of production and that interest is therefore not an economic fact but is a social institution that exists only as a result of borrowing, and has no place in distribution.

Mr. Haxo has tried to prove that capital is not a factor of production by contending that it is a factor of labor. Let us look at the argument in favor of this assertion. He states that capital alone produces nothing, and can produce nothing without labor, that labor hardly ever produces anything without capital and that therefore capital is a factor of labor. If this reasoning is sound, can we not use exactly the same process to prove that land is a factor of labor? Land alone cannot become wealth, it is transformed into wealth only by the application of labor, and labor cannot produce wealth without land on which to operate.

Since we cannot prove that capital is a factor of labor without also proving that land is a factor of labor, we had better reconsider

land, labor and capital as separate factors of production. The efficiency of production depends on the quality and quantity of the land used, the labor employed and the capital used. When any of these three items is increased in either quality or quantity, more production of wealth results; when any of these items is decreased, less wealth is produced. Since a change in any one of the three affects the output in the same manner as a similar change in any other one, it follows that if any one is a factor of production, then all three must be factors.

Ricardo has given us the law of rent. If we can also discover the law of interest we will have a complete answer to the problem of distribution, since wages must be that which is left after rent and interest are paid. The natural law of economic interest must be that law which requires labor to pay for the advantage which it derives from the capital it employs. It is easy to jump to the conclusion that in the case of manufacturing this advantage is measured by the difference between what can be produced with tools as compared with what can be produced without tools. Let us find out how much the advantage of tools really is.

Suppose that a man is producing wealth with the aid of a tool.⁴ Each time the tool wears out, he makes a new one. If it requires T days to make the tool and if the tool wears out in W days then in a cycle of T plus W days the man spends W days in producing wealth and T days in making the tool. The tool is also wealth but this need not confuse us, since it is not of itself useful to the ultimate consumer and has exchange value only because of its usefulness to labor. Now suppose that just as a tool wears out, the man requires a new one from someone else and therefore does not have to stop to make a new one, and suppose also that in the future he is able to spend all his time in producing wealth since he is not obliged to stop to make a tool when one wears out. Therefore the advantage of acquiring the tool is measured by the amount of wealth that could be produced with the tool during the time required to replace the tool—in other words, the advantage represented by possession of the tool.

Most of the difficulty we have had in understanding the law of interest has resulted from the false assumption that interest is payment for the advantage resulting from the *use* of capital. We have shown, however, that in the case of tools, the only advantage to labor is that which results from the *possession* of capital. Since use is predicated on possession, the error is easy to make. However, we all recognize that rent arises from the possession of land regardless of how much wealth is produced from it, and it should not be difficult to apply the same reasoning to interest and capital. Payment for possession of land and capital rather than payment for use is the basis for the natural laws of rent and interest because payment for use implies by definition that the amount paid will be in proportion to what is produced and would therefore be a tax on production, which of course, has no place in distribution.

Let us now determine the law of interest by finding out how much labor must pay for the possession of its capital. It is obvious that no one needs to pay more for any tool which he desires to possess than the exchange value of that tool. He will pay that much in the value of his own labor whether he produces the tool himself or acquires it through exchange. When the tool has worn out, he must again pay that same exchange value if he wishes to continue to possess a tool, and subsequently, each time the tool wears out, he must again pay the exchange value of a tool if he wishes to continue to use it. This routine is nothing more nor less than what we are accustomed to call "amortization." Since economic interest is wealth paid for permission to use capital, in excess of the repayment of the capital, it is now evident that economic interest is zero.

We agree with Mr. Haxo's refutation of George's contention that

the forces of nature give an increase to capital which justifies interest. There can be no doubt that the cooperation of nature which gives more produce for the same amount of labor and capital does not increase the return to the producer but does tend to lower the exchange value of his product.

Commercial interest is what the creditor receives in addition to the return of his capital. Without attempting a complete analysis of commercial interest, let us point out that under our present system, the owner of wealth may purchase a monopoly (exchange wealth for the title to land). So long as this opportunity exists, the owner of wealth will not use it as capital unless commercial interest rates are as high as the return he can get from the monopoly. Therefore, the artificially high commercial interest rates in existence today are the result of our land policy. Commercial interest rates are generally thought to contain an insurance factor, but this would tend to disappear in a free economy due to the pressure of loanable funds. Since individuals desiring to preserve wealth for use in old age or for other purposes would have no choice but to loan it for use as capital, and since labor would find it much easier to produce wealth, it might be that those desiring to loan might find it necessary to pay a service charge to the borrower who contracts to preserve the original value of the wealth borrowed.

We agree with Mr. Haxo that the type of loan made by loan shark companies to distressed individuals is a social phenomenon. Wealth loaned for such purposes is not used as capital in production and is outside the field of political economy. Therefore, the rate charged for such loans does not need to agree with the prevailing commercial interest rate. That this business would decrease if the number of distressed individuals were reduced, is another argument for the removal of monopoly privileges and restrictions.

Towaco, N. J.

E. L. ERWIN
H. M. THOMSON
P. WINSOR, JR.

(The "Theory of Interest" article by Gaston Haxo, appearing in our previous issue, resulted in a not unwelcome avalanche of letters to the editors. The letters were preponderantly in favor of the views expressed by Mr. Haxo, though several took strong exception. The one above has been set up as typical of the "dissents."—ED.)

THE "ISLAND" CONTROVERSY

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Regarding the island illustration, Beckwith is drawing largely on a fertile imagination for his "facts." He calmly assumes that the product of the island is more than Brown and Jones can consume. How does he know that? He did not get it out of the 56-word paragraph I wrote. I was challenged to show "a single instance" where land had a value, and I am entitled to set up any hypotheses I choose, provided the conditions are not impossible. If Beckwith will read the paragraph again he will not find anything to indicate what is the total product of the island. He will, however, find that Jones is using all the land that "is available to him". Ignoring these facts, Beckwith has set up a "straw man" and knocked him down. He is like a chess player who being checkmated, calmly gets out of his difficulties by moving his opponent's pieces! The hypotheses I set up were made very brief for the purpose of forestalling attempts to bring in irrelevant matter, but even so, Beckwith's versatile imagination was not to be denied. Now to elaborate, let us suppose that Jones makes a living worth 1 X, and Brown 10 X. The question is, is the difference of 9 X wages, interest or rent? We may rule out interest as it is merely a subdivision of wages. This leaves only wages or rent. Now it is obvious that Jones will be willing to pay Brown anything up to 9 X—let us say 8 X for

convenience—for the mere permission to use Brown's land. In this case Jones' standard of living will be doubled while Brown gets 8 X for nothing. This 8 X, therefore, cannot be wages since Brown (now) does no work. Jones supports both himself and Brown by his "labor applied to land". If this 8 X (or 9 X) is not rent, then all theories of rent must be scrapped. The truth is that the hypotheses I have set up are "fool proof" and there is no escape for Beckwith unless he can show that conditions such as I postulate cannot exist. Brown is simply using land that is ten times more productive than any Jones can obtain. That is not an impossible condition and must be accepted. Of course, it is almost needless to say, that this island merely serves as an illustration. I am prepared, when the proper time comes, to show that the value which is inherent in Brown's holding applies generally to all farm lands. Where social services are supplied they will cause a value to "attach" to the land, but over and above this, there will be an added value in respect of exceptional natural advantages, where such exist. I think I can prove this with the same Euclidian precision as I have used in the island example.

(I note Beckwith does not refer to my contention that rent may be taken in instalments as effectively as by the one-step method. Has he been educated?)

Auckland, New Zealand.

C. H. NIGHTINGALE.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

In his original premise, Mr. Nightingale stipulated that there is no social service on his suppositional island, which is occupied by these two men and no others. This means that they had no commerce, or communication, with other human beings, and that means that, except insofar as they themselves consumed their product, that product went to waste. Any surplus over this consumption could not be sold.

Therefore, the only way that the man on the better end of the island could make a better living than the other would be by being a better worker or hunter, or better cook, or by being able to eat more, or by having more leisure. If, therefore, they exchanged ends, and the man who at first had the poor end paid the other something to compensate him for surrendering the good end of the island, this exchange would not make the poor worker, the poor hunter, and the poor cook good at these callings. The only way this man could get a better living as a result of that exchange and that payment would be by being able then to lie abed longer in the morning and spending more hours lying in the shade on hot days. But, if this resulted, the payment should be fair; which means that it would equal the advantage thus gained. This would mean that it would compensate the other man for the disadvantages thus incurred and this would mean that it would pay the man who then went to the poor end of the island for the increased effort required to make a living there.

That would mean that the man of leisure were paying the other to work that he himself might rest. That payment would be, not rent, but wages. It would be an exchange between two men, with no third parties involved. Such a payment cannot be rent; for rent is paid because of surrounding conditions, and necessarily involves other persons beside the payer and payee. Where only two are involved, the payment must be either wages or interest.

Mr. Nightingale mentioned no improvements; and it may be assumed that none are involved. But if they were involved, the corresponding payment would be interest. In this case the wages due the man who works that the other may rest and the interest (if any) accounts for the entire payment; there is nothing left of the payment that could, even in imagination, be termed rent.

Stockton, Calif.

L. D. BECKWITH.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

FREDERIC C. HOWE, noted liberal reformer, and a devoted Georgeist, died August 3 at the age of 72. His ardent work in many progressive movements gained for him a reputation as an aggressive champion of the "average man." He was the author of many books containing Georgeist principles, such as "The Confessions of a Reformer," "The Confessions of a Monopolist," "Denmark—a Co-operative Commonwealth," and many other works. All his life he had fought monopolies, and for six months before he died had been working with the Federal Monopoly Committee. Previous to that he held many official positions, among them U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, adviser to Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, and member of the Ohio State Senate. Dr. Howe was one of Tom L. Johnson's enthusiastic supporters during the latter's fight for municipal government reforms in Cleveland.

We have recently secured a new special correspondent for Brazil—Prof. Fidelino de Figueiredo. Formerly a resident of Portugal, Prof. de Figueiredo is now teaching at the Faculties of Philosophy of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, at the invitation of the Brazilian government.

It has been difficult to communicate with our French correspondent, Pavlos Giannelia, but recently we have received word from him. He continues to supply us with articles, and tells us that we may now communicate with him. At present he is residing at Neuilly-le-Real, France.

DR. J. J. PIKLER, our Hungarian correspondent, recently celebrated his 76th birthday. It is still difficult to contact Hungary, but we are glad to know that he is alive and well. An article by Dr. Pikler recently appeared in *Land & Liberty*.

OUR new British correspondent, Douglas J. J. Owen, is a member of the Society of Friends. Apparently, the Society is aware of basic principles, for they have been circulating a poster which reads:

REMOVE A BASIC CAUSE OF WAR
Provide Access for All Nations
to the
World's Resources and Markets
Will You Pay This Price
For Peace?

HARRY C. MAGUIRE has written to the Federal Unionists urging them to consider the proposition that the democracies declare world free trade and free movement of peoples among the civilized nations immediately. "After that," says Mr. Maguire, "Federal Union is inevitable. With no such action, the war will end with another treaty of revenge, and the whole dreary, bloody business will start over again in 1960."

SOME copies of the Pan-American number of LAND AND FREEDOM were distributed at the Inter-American House at the New York World's Fair, and some were sent to the Pan-American Union in Washington, D. C. In both cases, the magazine was well received. Dr. Rowe, Director General of the Pan-American Union, expressed his interest in the issue.

THE Tax Policy League, 907 Broadway, New York City, is an organization devoted to tax research. Its members conduct researches into existing tax conditions, and compile valuable statistics. Harold S. Buttenheim is president of the League. Among the publications of the League are periodic popular releases, known as "Taxes for Democracy." These include, in digested form, the findings of the League. They occasionally contain illustrations by Robert Clancy. The subscription rate of "Taxes for Democracy" is \$1.00 per year.