

between international financiers and American industrialists has been foreseen ever since the problem of the payment of the war debts has been found to be inconsistent with our tariff policy.

Of course the spokesmen of the various national groups who signed the manifesto were directing their admonitions toward Europe, but it is absurd to believe that it will not have its repercussions in the United States. A glance at the map printed in the *New York Times* on October 31, showing the boundary lines and tariff walls which separate European nations, reveals a condition of affairs which would be ludicrous if it were not ominous. As shown on this map, which was reproduced from the *Illustrated London News*, Russia, in addition to having a tariff wall higher than any other country except Spain, has in addition a barbed wire fence on top of the wall. Perhaps this was merely a humorous quip by which the author of the map wished to suggest that, in addition to ordinary difficulties, which the tariff places in the way of commerce, there was an additional embargo in the opposition of most of the nations to permitting any exchanges between their nationals and the "unspeakable Bolshevik," whose politics are as incomprehensible to us as his intractable language. But every nation, especially the newly created, seems to have devoted a large part of its governmental powers to shutting out the other fellow's manufactured goods. How asinine a policy, as though one could jump a fence by pulling on one's bootstraps! And when the expected prosperity does not arrive, the builders of these tariff walls have only one thought to remedy the situation, how can the barriers be made higher.

For this general state of mind in the rest of the world the United States must bear the largest share of responsibility. However our pre-eminence in matters of art, science or spirit may be contested, no one disputes our agglomerated wealth. Foreigners reason that if the tariff were the hideous evil that its enemies say it is, clearly it would have prevented our being the richest country in the world. They go farther and argue that by following our general fiscal policy they may come to attain our state of beatitude.

Alas! that this state of mind should exist, for our example thus lets loose upon the world that pernicious doctrine which has done more to corrupt and debauch governments, democratic and monarchical alike, than any other device which mankind has yet perfected, with the one exception of landlordism. Instead of seeing in the United States the greatest Free Trade area ever known in the world and recognizing that the absence of barriers between the States is one of the powerful contributors to our well-being, they see the source of our prosperity in our exclusion of foreign commerce. As if a merely negative policy could be productive of great results. Our great agricultural and mineral wealth, our inventive genius, our comparatively free institutions, all these elements count for

nothing to their purblind eyes in the building up of national wealth.

As might be anticipated this appeal from those ordinarily counted as its friends, finds no response except a protest from the high tariff hosts who now man the battlements in Washington. Owing their elevation to the seats of the mighty to the subsidies, which the beneficiaries of the protective tariff rain alike upon the just and the unjust every four years, with President Coolidge at their head, they rush to the defence of their masters. Secretary Mellon points out how different are European and American conditions and that the spokesmen of the manifesto being from the wealthy and therefore the good and wise, could not possibly have referred to conditions on this side of the water.

And it is worth while noticing that in this point of view they are sustained by a paper which though occasionally sustaining Democratic candidates seems to have long since lost all perception of democratic policies with the sole exception of prohibition, *The New York World*.

What an opportunity this manifesto would have afforded to the bright intellects of forty years ago, George, Garrison, Shearman and a host of others to pour their indignation and ridicule on a policy which never had a logical leg to stand upon since Henry George wrote "Protection or Free Trade" and showed why many honest but stupid minds clung to the protectionist delusion because they saw that of itself Free Trade accomplished no miracles and that under the tariff for revenue, which was miscalled Free Trade in Great Britain, there was grinding poverty. He showed that unless Free Exchange was supplemented by the Free Production, which the abolition of private ownership of land value would entail, it could accomplish little toward the general welfare of the race. It is a pity that, at this juncture, copies of "Protection or Free Trade" can not be had in the United States in quantities. Every effort should be made to give the book the widest circulation.

The chances are large that the press which is so powerfully influenced by the aggregate wealth of the protected interests, will try to give the whole question the minimum of ventilation. But every one who cherishes a glimmer of hope that any advance toward economic freedom can be made in our day should work, might and main, to widen the rift in the cloud sufficiently to let a few beams of justice shine upon the economic darkness.

Our One-Legged Civilization

Lona Ingham Robinson in *Des Moines Register*

IN the good old days when the earth was flat and the sun sailed merrily around it all day long, our primitive ancestors invented many things. They made the spear, the bow and the battle ax with which to hunt and fight and likewise the God of war to control the fate of battles.

In two-wheeled chariots they drove to battle and in galleys they navigated the sea. They made crude implements with which to till the soil and women and slaves did the work. They invented the spindle, the loom, the art of building, and made tombs and pyramids to commemorate their dead.

Wrestling at first hand with the Great Unknown, they evolved those near-sciences, astrology, alchemy and surgery, and out of their primeval souls they evoked sorcery—evil enchantment. Their magi studied the stars and cast horoscopes of kings and nations. Their surgeons practiced barbering and phlebotomy. Their alchemists toiled over crucibles in hopes of transmuting baser metals into gold. Their sorcerers (kings and conquerors) learned the secret of transmuting the energy of their (so-called) baser brethren into gold, and founded land-tenure and tax systems by which enchantment they enslaved their fellow mortals. To safeguard their magic, they made cuniform inscriptions on brick recording their titles and mortgages. One of these tablets is still extant in the museum of Pennsylvania University.

Dim ages have passed into oblivion and where are we now? Though spear and battle ax have gone out, alas! powder, nitroglycerine, tanks and deadly gasses have come in. The crooked-stick plow has given way to steel and horse power, to traction and gasoline; the crude caves and huts are superseded by marvels of beautiful architecture and conveniences, by pillared palaces and marble banks; yet the majority of our people are nomadic tenants or dwellers in mortgaged homes. Ancient chariots long ago yielded to various betterments on wheels; to steam cars, trolley and motor vehicles of many kinds, but the pyramids and ancient land-tenure system are with us still!

Ancient water-craft progressed from galleys through triremes, full-sail vessels, steamboats, Lusitanias, till at last men have done the impossible and sail the air! But the tax system already old when Herod farmed out his taxing of the Israelites to rapacious tax-gatherers, is virtually the same we use today!

Cuniform inscriptions on bricks changed to writing on papyrus, on parchment, to printing on paper; thought and then speech flew on wire till finally the miraculous wireless and radio! But landlords are still recording their titles and mortgages as safely as those on the Assyrian tablets of 430 B. C.

As centuries rolled by, astrology merged into astronomy, alchemy grew into chemistry, surgery was cut over into surgery, but their evil contemporary, sorcery, is still respectable and in command. Plying her black art, she grinds out as with an invisible cream-separator, millions of weary toilers impoverished by their own industry, and a select number of billionaires growing richer in their own idleness.

Now we would not think of using such tools or boats or chariots as our remote progenitors made; or of wearing

such clothes as they wore; we would not submit to being bled by their chirurgeons; we smile at their cosmology. Yet those simple minded-old parties at the dawn of history, who could not make a decent plow or wagon or watch or steam engine, who never dreamed of daily papers or movie pictures, who did not know unearned increment from the nebular hypothesis, rank today as authority on the fundamentals of political economy and have transmitted to us their unswerving faith in war. Only we are fighting in the air before we have legally established our rightful relation to the soil!

We ruthlessly scrap our antiquated stage-coaches, sea-craft and handlooms to make room for better; we revise or wholly reconstruct our therapeutics and our faulty machines without governmental authority. Yet it takes ages to abolish whipping-posts, prisons, capital punishment, slavery and war.

The world can go forward in only two ways. Individually with freedom, and collectively by permission of established government. Such things as can be originated by one man and copied and improved by others, as a pump or a bridge, are revised with ever increasing momentum. But advance in laws, constitutions and governments which involves the welfare and happiness of all humanity must proceed through the machinery of governments moving at the rate of a glacial formation.

Civilization, to be able to walk—not to say march—should be fairly balanced with both feet on the ground. But as we see the leg of statecraft involving the conduct of states and nations, stopped growth in its infancy ages ago and now hangs a superfluous deformity; while the leg of mancraft, ingenuity and skill applied to material things, has kept right on growing. So civilization has to hop on one leg making almost no progress at all. No wonder it is nearly overwhelmed by predatory hordes of enemies, parasites bred of its own weakness. This lurching, hopping, falling cripple can never go ahead while one leg keeps outgrowing the other. The recent crowning result of this horrible complex is one of the nightmares of the world. To restore equilibrium and start our poor cripple going again is man's tremendous job.

The dazzling deeds of our scientists, discoverers and inventors in many lines have so long held our attention that we forget to demand that governmental and institutional progress keep pace with it.

For instance, note our ancient land-tenure system with all titles vested in any old king or conqueror forever; with first and second mortgages, interest and foreclosures, tax deeds and penalties. It is the most perfect dollar-trap that could be devised. All preserved intact by its equally antiquated running mate, our tax system. He who owns the land upon which others must live and work, fixes wages. When in desperation men flock to the cities and stand at the factory gates for jobs, their average wages here are fixed by what they could earn back on the land.

We hear much about "efficiency" and "scientific methods." Why not modernize our land-tenure system by overhauling our tax system? Every one admits with Hearst that it is a "bundle of inconsistencies." Henry George in "Progress and Poverty" analyzed all these various kinds of taxation, showing the results of each.

His book "Progress and Poverty" shows what is the real scientific taxation. It has been translated in all the principal languages of Europe and into Japanese and Chinese. In his life he had the labor unions with him, but they soon forgot. So this singular fact remains: that those who would have been benefited most by his teachings put into operation, never, as a class, adopted his great idea. Labor leaders ignored it. But the class who live by interest and profits understand it and they know it will work. They know it is not merely a little fiscal reform. They know it would call back into our public treasuries a fund now lost to us. They know that a fund created by the community collectively is allowed to be sluiced off by private parties as profits in land deals which if it were taxed into the public treasury would pay all our taxes, with never any need of bonds. In short, they know that if we taxed the price all out of land, instead of being a lifetime paying up for a piece as now, we would only pay the annual rental into the public treasury in which all have an equal share.

In the several Single Tax campaigns in California the dollar-trapping class formed a solid phalanx of opposition. Listeners-in on an anti-Single Tax dinner given to one hundred leading club women of Los Angeles in 1918, got the gist of the opposition. In three speeches each throwing a special scare we gleaned the following:

1. If the Single Tax should prevail how could we float our bonds?
 2. With the Single Tax in operation what would we secure mortgages on?
 3. Why if the Single Tax should come to pass nobody would want any land except for use.(!)
- Our friends the enemy have said it for us.

SOMEBODY some day will write a book about the romances of castaway print. John Burns in his youth was drifting in Africa. He found in an out-of-the-way spot beside a jungle river a copy of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." He read it from cover to cover. He never learned how it got in such an unlikely place for an English book to be, but anyhow it fixed his destiny. He was converted to its theories, returned to England, became a leader such as Ramsay Macdonald is today and a great member of Parliament. This was told me by a business associate who was ciceroned through Westminster by the genial Burns himself and heard the tale from his lips.

—The *Ambassador*, published by the Niagara Paper Mills, Lockport, N. Y.

Wealth and Want

PROFESSOR MARSHALL'S REFLECTION AS A
YOUNG MAN

"**A**S invention after invention has been made, hope after hope has been formed that poverty and extreme hard work would pass away—but hope after hope has been disappointed. The yarn that in old times it would have taken a man ten years to spin is now spun in a day by the machines which one man can manage, and yet there are people who have no clothing but rags. Each pound of coal that goes into the furnace of a steam engine does as much work as the weary muscles of a man in a day; and yet even in England and in other Western countries there are workers whose physical toil is so hard that they have no strength left for the higher life of man. This state of things must appal every person who thinks; and from time immemorial protests have been raised against a state of society in which such things can be. There are two great questions which we cannot think too much about. The first is, Is it necessary that while there is so much wealth, there should be so much want? The second is, Is there not a great fund of conscientiousness and unselfishness latent in the breasts of men, both rich and poor which could be called out if the problems of life were set before them in the right way, and which would cause misery and poverty rapidly to diminish?"

—Quoted by the *Spectator* in review of A. C. Pigou's recently published "Memorials of Alfred Marshall."

DENMARK has a population of 3,500,000. There are in Denmark nearly 1,200 book shops selling books exclusively. New York City, with 5,000,000 population concentrated, has according to the classified directories, 264 shops where books are sold, but the majority carry books as a side line."

—GRACE ISABEL COLBRON in *Publishers' Weekly*.

Progressive Steps in Japan

FINANCE MINISTER HAMAGUCHI has been outlining the government's taxation programme in a number of public addresses in which he has been declaring the necessity of economy in government and lower taxes upon the people in general.

He proposes doing away with stamp taxes upon drugs and patent medicines, the tax heretofore collected on railway, steam ship and street car tickets, the tax upon shoyu, the sauce used every day by every Japanese, the income tax on small incomes and a lowering of the tax rate upon small land holdings, with a revision of the land assessments that will provide a long-needed equity between the small property owner and the owners of the large feudal estates.

Through these eliminations and revisions downward he estimates a shrinkage of some \$40,000,000 in federal revenue.—Cable Dispatch in Los Angeles (Calif.) *Times*.