

July—August, 1939

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

*An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901*

The Cult of the Insoluble

John Hanna

Determining Land Values

Joseph R. Carroll

A Plea for Action

John Luxton

Thinking Would End Depressions

Henry J. Foley

Henry George Conference

Book Reviews—Correspondence—News Notes and Personals

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00

SINGLE COPIES 35 CENTS

PUBLISHED AT 150 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK CITY

# LAND AND FREEDOM

An International Bi-Monthly Magazine of Single Tax Progress

Founded by Joseph Dana Miller

Published by

LAND AND FREEDOM, 150 Nassau Street, New York

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SUBSCRIPTION PRICE:—In the United States, Canada and Mexico \$2.00 per year. Libraries and Reading Rooms, \$1.00. Club subscriptions, 5 for \$7.00. 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.

## JULY—AUGUST, 1939

VOL. XXXIX

No. 4 WHOLE No. 215

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## WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

VOL. XXXIX

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## Comment and Reflection

WE have often pondered over the sweetness of "the uses of adversity" especially if we were prosperous at the time. It had a soothing effect, its poetry was appealing and it carried the weight of authority. Yet it conveyed a subtle warning, suggesting unwelcome possibilities, such as aches and pains, a leaky roof, or a depleted bank balance. In our various ways we sought the most efficient means to meet such situations should they arise.

AS we near the end of the tenth year of the greatest depression ever known we still ponder. And as we examine the means employed to combat this depression we are appalled at their futility. The world is still without economic knowledge. In the science of political economy we are apparently little beyond the blood-letting stage, judging by the various panaceas offered. The money theory of prosperity, as always, is everywhere and the Longs and the Townsends are omnipresent. We have tried restriction of production in hitherto unthought of ways using up a good part of the alphabet. There seems to be a vague idea that increasing the volume of money will decrease unemployment, so we issue more of it. Business is at a standstill, yet the banks are asked to extend more credit even if any basis of credit has been destroyed. The amount of both money and credit available is enormous while tangible security for loans suffers a constant decrease in value.

TAXES continue to increase together with mounting fixed charges on public debt and the banks extend further credit to the government by the purchase of government bonds and short term notes. The proposal that steps be taken to increase production is "unthinkable." So production, the only thing that can pay debts, living expenses or anything else is taxed and otherwise discouraged and, as we approach the vanishing point of any credit basis, comes the latest panacea:—The Federal Government will lend where the banks refuse. In some obscure way, lending will stimulate prosperity while the public debt rises, as the government issues more bonds

to provide funds for the loans. All this is offered to cure the phenomena of idle men, idle capital and idle land. Prosperity for over nine years has been and still is, just around the corner and millions are still unemployed. "Sweet are the uses of adversity!"

YET the people seem to want all this, otherwise they would do something about it. True, they complain of "the terrible and increasing taxes" and "if things keep on, the government will own everything." This kind of complaint is widespread and increasing, the people are becoming more and more tax conscious and the time is most opportune to put forth a real constructive programme. While the full measure of "abolish all taxation save that on land *values*" may be more than a tax ridden people can digest at this time, it should appeal to them as never before. The nation is looking for a way out.

THE second day of September marks the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Henry George. He died in 1897, nearly forty-two years ago and since that date, we are told the movement has made no progress. This criticism comes not only from some of his adherents, but in comments from time to time in the outside press. We do not share this view, nor did the late editor and founder of this paper. On the contrary we feel that the cause has progressed, not despite times and conditions but because of them and that the whole economic situation favors it.

THIS brings us to consider the history of an earlier movement, the most fundamental of which we have any knowledge. In the first century of the Christian era, about 54 A. D., the early Christians were whispering their convictions in the catacombs of Rome. Over two centuries later, in the same city, under the reign of Diocletian, there occurred the last and greatest of the Christian massacres. The result was considered so complete that coins were struck off to commemorate "the annihilation of the Christians." This was in 303 A. D.

**N**INE years later the Emperor Constantine was converted to the Christian faith and in 330 A. D. his city, Constantinople was formally dedicated to Christianity. The motives of the Emperor or the number of Christians in either the first or the fourth centuries is not of consequence. The thing to bear in mind is, quoting the historian, "It was not until the year 325 A. D. that Christianity got under way."

**I**T is during the Christian era, which at its beginning proclaimed the sanctity of the individual and his right to himself, that the ideals of democracy have shown their greatest development. While the roots of democracy go farther down in point of time than the Christian era, it is because we have lived in this era that we are beneficiaries of the progress of these ideals. That is not to say that at any time the world has enjoyed a true democracy. That cannot be where economic law is not understood or where precedents or legislative enactments are violations of that law. Like Christianity, democracy has only been approached.

**T**HE man of Nazareth must have been the product of his time. His teachings were universal truths and marked by their simplicity, and that which endures is not form or ceremony but the eternal principles which he gave to the world. This is equally true of the throng that came after him including "the Prophet of San Francisco." It is too early for the world to see Henry George in true perspective but he will yet prove to be the man of his time. His ideas seem to be silenced by what Tolstoy called "the noisy teachings of Socialism," or by the lazy misconceptions of those who mistakenly consider themselves secure. His eternal truths are finding their way into every part of the world and men who have never read Henry George or even heard his name have felt the influence of his ideas. Poverty, hunger and unemployment are coming under closer scrutiny as their tentacles reach upward and claim their victims. The younger generation takes nothing for granted and the scientific approach to all problems is supreme.

**W**E venture the thought that what appears to be lack of progress is but the effect of a relatively brief retrograde movement. The times have brought to the front the expected variety of panaceas and more will follow. It cannot be otherwise as our mounting debts and increasing taxation bear down on production. A distressed people, not incapable of thought, but unaccustomed to thinking will continue to follow the line of least resistance. The logic of events will end the retrogression and through it all lies the glimpse of the dawn.

## A Request

**D**URING the editorship of Joseph Dana Miller, bills for renewal of subscriptions to LAND AND FREEDOM were mailed upon the expiration dates. In the past few months, however, there has been some delay in billing, and we have recently sent out notices covering overdue accounts. In order that we may properly adjust our records, we request that remittances be made as early as conveniently possible.

This is your paper and your cause, and we ask your cooperation to give the paper a wider circulation.

## A Tribute to Human Liberty

**S**OME time ago, the National Institute of Social Sciences bestowed upon Hon. John W. Davis one of its gold medals "For Distinguished Service to Humanity." These remarks were a part of his speech of acceptance, and are considered an example of outstanding eloquence and earnestness:

"I think there should be in the heart of every true lawyer, certainly of every American lawyer, a burning passion for human liberty, for the right of all men, as Kipling so finely puts it, 'To live by no man's leave, underneath the law.' 'Liberty! It is a word to conjure with and not to vex the ear with empty boastings. Only in partial gleams has she yet shone among men, yet all progress hath she called forth.' I am quoting, as you realize the words of Henry George in his splendid apotheosis to Liberty, which is one of the noblest passages of English prose. Liberty has been the beacon light of every step in man's advance. Under Liberty alone can man prove himself worthy of the divine paternity he claims. And because there are always men who glory in mastery over their fellows, that liberty can only be retained and preserved by a ceaseless and eternal vigilance. To keep that untiring sentry-go is the first, the supreme duty of every lawyer.

"In the Nineteenth Century most of those dwelling in the civilized world treated liberty as a thing no less normal ordinary and inevitable than the very breath they drew. Even those who did not yet possess it felt it almost within their grasp. How different the picture today! Over how much of the earth's surface has the lamp of liberty gone out under totalitarian rule, and over how much more does its flame dance and flicker under the ghost-like breath of a planned economy! Who is to guard that flickering blaze? Who is to relight that extinguished fire? Some champion may arise to cut with his sword the bonds that are being fastened on men and nations. Some orator may stand forth to waken servile and dormant souls again with the call to freedom. But whenever and however the day of deliverance comes, I hope, I believe, nay, I am sure that lawyers will be in the forefront of the fight."

## Determining Land Values

By JOSEPH R. CARROLL

UNDER the Single Tax, it is often said, the selling price of land will tend to disappear. In the absence of this market price, which now serves for guidance in this field, how will the public authorities determine the share of taxation to be borne by each respective land owner? This question arises in the minds of all students of Georgeism who pursue the subject very far. It is difficult to find satisfactory information on this point in our literature. It should be recalled, in this connection, that, in speaking of taxation on account of land values, Henry George meant values with respect to time, or annual land values; not the capitalized, selling-price values which are used as the basis of such land value taxation as we now have. The annual value of land, unlike its selling price, will not tend to be extinguished by taxation.

Basically, this problem of what would have to be done in the assumed absence of selling-price values, is only one of several which exist because of underestimation of the scope of the Single Tax proposal. The Single Tax is a proposal to solve the economic problem of land by means of a solution that is primarily political rather than economic. It is primarily in the political rather than the economic field that society is breaking down. The land problem exists only because of the failure of political government to function normally. The great and growing disorder which civilization must cure if it is to continue, is the problem of stateism, of which land monopoly is an outgrowth. Basically, it is the question of the survival of the individual under the destructive force of the political power of the mass; a power exerted by the mass through its instrumentality, the state. The most far-reaching proposal ever made for curbing this destructive force, returning government to its proper channels, and thereby enabling the social organism to function naturally, is the Single Tax.

In the words of Woodrow Wilson, "The history of freedom is the history of limitation of governmental powers." It might be added that the history of despotism and decay is the history of increase of governmental power and activity.

Man's greatest advance toward freedom within historic times occurred in the establishment of the American constitutional system of society, with its stern restrictions upon governmental powers. The consequent release of individual powers into individual expression produced the greatest development of general well-being ever recorded so far. Even the American founders, however, did not go far enough in the direction of liberty. They left with government a weapon by means of which it eventually will be able, and is now proceeding, to nullify their work and establish old world economic and social conditions on this continent. This is the privilege, ex-

ercised by government everywhere, of taking from the individual, for public use, large amounts of the economic power that rightfully are his because of labor he has performed and labor products he has furnished.

Henry George's proposal provided that government be deprived of this privilege, and, in the matter of normal taxation, be left with permission to tax only such persons as owned land, and to tax these only to the extent that their lands had value from location with respect to population. Strictly in the spirit of American constitutionalism, this reform would, we claim, enable us to reduce the area of coercion and increase that of individual freedom and initiative to an unprecedented extent, and thus bring about a great new advance in material and moral well-being.

The bearing of all this upon the question of just distribution of the tax burden upon respective land owners, is in the fact that the authorities would be prohibited from taxing persons other than with respect to annual land values, perhaps almost as effectively as the thirteenth amendment has prohibited them from countenancing chattel slavery. The land owner, not being taxable for more than 100 per cent of his location value, could no doubt be counted upon to defend his rights if this limit should appear to have been passed. Perfection being humanly impossible, attempts to obtain contributions of just 100 per cent would be found impracticable. Therefore, annual contributions from land owners probably would be somewhat less than 100 per cent of annual values. It is significant that Henry George suggested around 95 per cent.

This would mean that the selling price of useful land, after all, would never quite disappear. And the small remnant which would survive would serve as a proper and sufficient guide for the authorities in their work of justly allocating the tax load amongst the owners of advantageously situated lands. Any tendency of market prices of land to disappear would serve as a warning that taxation was approaching too near to the legal limit; and, similarly, any tendency of selling prices to reach substantial amounts would indicate inadequate assessments, and would suggest the probability that improved public services could be afforded. In either case, the remedy would be obvious.

The public authorities would find themselves between two perhaps somewhat vigilant groups. On the one side would be the property owners, armed with the legislation limiting their contributions to 100 per cent of economic rent. On the other would be the public, solicitous for improved public services and, presumably, aware of the basis of its right to them, and more enlightened than now as to the significance of changes in land prices, as such changes would be revealed from time to time in the real estate market. It seems not unlikely that the resultant of these two opposing influences would be annual assessments tending persistently to amount to no more, and to not much less, than annual economic rent.

## The Cult of the Insoluble

By JOHN HANNA

THE thoughtful reader of current literature on the subject of social reform cannot fail to be impressed by the prevalence of a desire to show the futility of such a movement, to cultivate a belief that most of it is unwise, misdirected or without reasonable foundation. It is discussed from many different premises, by men of widely different viewpoints—many of whom seem to agree in conclusion that a happier condition of society cannot be brought about by legislation or by any modification of the system affecting the distribution of wealth. In harmony with prevailing custom of describing as a "cult" any number of people, whether organized or not, who agree in the acceptance of certain beliefs, it is apparent that there is in this country a body of opinion which may be aptly described as the "Cult of the Insoluble."

We are told by some that the great need is a change in the motives of men, that the motive of acquisitiveness must cease to operate before any great improvement in economic relations can be achieved. Others tell us that proposals for social reform are of no avail; that our present system, although full of holes, is the best ever devised by man; that we should recognize that some problems are insoluble. One man of high position in the literary world tells us the cycles of boom and depression are in reality psychological cycles; that they are the "by-products of the workings of human nature." Another of high scholastic attainments tells us that we must continue to "feel and fumble"; that our only hope is to "provide such a curb on selfishness and greed as only a good education can provide." Clergymen tell us that when the heart of mankind is ruled by love, then—and then only—will the world be much improved. The "man in the street" has adopted this attitude, and we hear much of greed being the cause of the social and economic distortion from which the world is suffering. It is so comforting to blame it all on an attribute of human nature!

All of this makes one wonder if our knowledge of economics is in a period of thought comparable to the time when the world sought for the Philosopher's Stone. Everyone concedes the inadequacy of our knowledge in other matters, that we have much to learn about the universe, its composition, its forces, the energy of atoms and the cosmic rays, about earthquakes, floods and droughts, about diseases of mind and body. In this field alone, the field of economics, it seems to be assumed that we have built on an immutable and sacred foundation. There is much discussion of capital and labor, of wages and profits, of monopolistic greed, of economic royalists, of the great contributions of industrialists to modern progress, of the blighting effects of trade unions, and many other

surface phenomena. In respect to the basic factor in production—land—and our rules regulating its use, it is mentioned, if at all, as if in this we have reached the ultimate of human wisdom, the validity of which must not be questioned. Poor human nature only is at fault. We must make it over! This is the "Philosopher's Stone" of current thought!

To support the claim that these problems are insoluble, it is said that social science differs from the physical sciences in the fact that it deals with forces that cannot be weighed or measured; that it deals with unpredictable human emotions and reactions. Are they unpredictable? Hungry men have always sought food; when cold they have sought sunshine, fire or clothing; when exposed to storms they have sought shelter; when impelled by the procreative instinct they have sought a mate. Civilization in all its forms and all the culture of all ages have not removed these basic traits. Einstein or Rabindranath Tagore respond to the same stimuli as the cave man of the primitive world. Hunger becomes appetite and taste, demanding greater variety and finer foods; the protection of the body developed the desire for personal adornment and led to the making of innumerable fabrics; the need for shelter finds resort to the cave in the side of a hill and develops into the modern residence with air-conditioned rooms. When it comes to seeking a mate we find the same influences in greater variation but as surely predictable as in more primitive days.

After all, are not these "unpredictable human reactions" but symbols and shadows, phases and corollaries of the deeper law to which they may be traced as definitely as the subtle nuances of color in a landscape may be related to the spectrum and the law of optics? The fact that human desires, with respect to the part they play in the problems of society, and the nuances of color under the fleeting effects of light and shade in a landscape, cannot be submitted to any known method of mensuration does not impair the truth of the statement that they are related to a principle or law in nature and are subject to interpretation by sympathetic insight.

It is said that laws or principles applicable to a primitive condition cannot be considered of any force in this highly mechanized age; that there cannot be a law for all periods but that it evolves out of the conditions existing in each period of development; that life develops from the simple to the complex in all kinds of organisms, society being no exception to this rule. This is the argument advanced to rationalize the "social planning" of which we hear so much. Is this not another instance of confusing underlying principles with methods and processes? Controlling principles are found through all forms of life from the simple to the complex. Methods and processes are the outgrowth of physiological necessity and are built upon principles already established. They do not displace the principle, they use it. The principle of the circula

tion of the blood as the means of transport of new materials to the tissues and the removal of waste is the same in the lower and higher order of animals. The development of highly specialized organs, all our knowledge of hormones, of metabolism and of endocrinology has not, in the least degree, altered the importance of this basic principle common alike to the primitive and the complex orders of animal life.

The complexities of modern industrialism have not changed the underlying principles of economics, any more than the complex mechanism of the automobile and the innumerable "gadgets" that are now a part of it has changed the underlying fact that it is propelled by the explosive force of gas. Such use of this force exemplifies "Boyle's Law"; it does not supersede it. The industrialist makes skilful use of the forces available to him to bring about the desired results. He changes no law. He may not know the law. Great artists have produced great pictures without a knowledge of the scientific basis of such work. In all the changes from the work of the primitives, the old masters, to that of the modern impressionists, nothing has been done to change the spectrum or modify the law of optics. The pugilist is a master in the coordination of muscular movement for the accomplishment of a certain purpose but he may know nothing of the physiological law governing the coordination of muscular movement. This law may be well known to any teacher of physiology who could not stand before the pugilist for one short round. Under a just recognition and application of the underlying principle of economic activity, the intricacies of industry and commerce, the specialized processes of modern life, would not require control or manipulation by society any more than the mechanism of metabolism requires control by the individual. Meddling in either is harmful and confusing. "Know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

Is it reasonable to believe that in all the universe there is law save only in the field of social relations? The development of society is as natural as the development of the individual body. There is in the human body a group of nerves, the sympathetic, which act apart from any conscious control; it is to be thought that they have been acting in the same way from the beginning of animal life—before man knew anything about nerves they performed their function according to certain principles and for the good of the organism as a whole when not interfered with by abnormal living habits. Because men do violate the laws of health and disturb the bodily functions, are we justified in saying that it is all a matter of personal reaction; that there is no true principle which should govern? Physiologists do not so teach it.

If there is any meaning to the work of science, it is to show that law exists in all phases of life; that it does not depend for validity on obedience nor is it invalidated by

disobedience. The law operates: in obedience we benefit, in disobedience we suffer. The Persian Poet stated not only a concept of oriental fatalism but a profound philosophic truth when he wrote: "The moving finger writes and having writ moves on; nor all your piety nor wit shall lure it back to cancel half a line, nor all your tears wash out a word of it." James Harvey Robinson has said, "It is the determination of these 'laws' and the seeking out of their application to which the modern scientific investigator devotes his efforts, whether he be calculating the distance of a nebula or noting the effect of light on an amoeba; he is convinced that the natural laws have been found to work regularly in every instance where they have been observed carefully."

But without waiting for the exact determination and acceptance of these natural laws, a reasonable effort in "humanizing knowledge" would develop an insight which would inevitably point the way to an application of the remedy for some of our social maladjustment. Pasteur did not wait for full and exact demonstration of the principle underlying his methods; his perception of the principle was more the result of an understanding insight; experiment and demonstration followed and is still being carried on, the principle applied in numberless ways. An earnest effort to find, to formulate and to promote the recognition of natural laws in social relations would go far to combat the demand for "social planning" with all its inconsistencies and superfluities, its interferences and artificialities. The law of gravitation was not invented by Newton, nor the circulation of the blood by Harvey. The method of science has ever been observation and logical deduction leading to a working hypothesis, the hypothesis either discarded or leading to the establishment of a principle or law. It has been the experience in every field of human activity that the development of a principle has been the surest method of progress. To mention a few from history—

In Astronomy: The law of gravitation put an effective stop to the involved and fantastic attempts to account for the movements of the planets and made possible far-reaching and sure deductions where before there was utmost confusion. Observation and deduction were greatly accelerated because they had a guiding principle to direct them.

In Medicine: When the germ theory of disease was even partially accepted, observation of pathological conditions became clarified, diagnosis surer and resultant treatment more certain of success, further knowledge of this principle opening up illimitable vistas in therapeutics and surgery. The so-called discovery of the circulation of the blood was not so much the discovery of a phenomenon as it was the establishment of a principle of physiology; a principle, the knowledge of which clarified the entire range and concept of physiological functions. These principles became the guide-posts along the way which

workers in medical science must travel. Although there were many trials and many errors in the treatment of human ills, it was these guide-posts which ultimately led to the most outstanding achievements in therapeutics and sanitation.

In Government: The principle imbedded in the United States Constitution that there shall be no duties levied by any state against the importation of goods from any other state of the Union, has been of incalculable benefit in the development and prosperity of this nation. Never before in history has there been free and unrestricted trade over so large an area with so great diversity of climate as in the United States. This provision of the Constitution has been accepted so complacently that its great influence in promoting our prosperity and unity of interest has been overlooked. Other provisions of the Constitution have been questioned, amendments proposed and adopted. In this one phase of our growth "trial and error, feel and fumble" have been eliminated. Imagine, if one can, our condition if this principle had not been recognized and fixed in our basic law—forty-eight states, if they had ever grown to that number, with their forty-eight varieties of "trial and error." We are getting a slight insight into such possibilities by the effort that some of the states are making to discourage the purchase of goods made in other states by the imposition of "use taxes" and by the restrictions being placed upon some of the movements of freight by truck, in interstate commerce. If it were not for the profound influence of this principle of the Constitution, this tendency to set up barriers would be much more serious.

Much of the foregoing seems so obvious that statement of it seems superfluous, but as Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said, "We need education in the obvious." As the "Cult of the Insoluble" is so widespread, and some of its leaders men of high position, it would seem that any effort to chart a course away from this Sargasso Sea of social thought would be justified.

\* \* \*

One of the outstanding contributions in support of the idea of insolubility was an article in *The Atlantic Monthly* for May, 1935, "So Conceived and So Dedicated" by Professor William F. Russell. In compliance with his own suggestion of "free, frank and open discussion" and because of some statements which can only add to the bewilderment of the average reader, it seems fitting to offer some comment affecting the general theme.

Giving the historical background of the ideal of liberty, Professor Russell evokes an impressive list of the world's great thinkers from Roger Bacon to Adam Smith. His background of the ideal of equality begins with John Ball, Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. Later it was dignified with the names of Locke, Helvetius and Rousseau. "In America it had a home only on the frontier and in the minds of a few leaders like Thomas Jefferson." Much

of the argument provokes the question: Because the idea of liberty is advocated at one period of history or by one group, and the idea of equality at another period or by another group, is it any evidence that there is any essential antagonism or incompatibility in them? Is it not rather that they present two facets of the gem of truth varying in brilliance for different observers, each reflecting the light of its own time and circumstance? Many of these names could be included, with perfect justice in both lists. Jefferson's work in many of the movements of his time could be arrayed under the banner of liberty as well as that of equality. It is apparent that many of these thinkers believed the two ideas to be interdependent, that they rise or fall together.

Periods of extravagant living and corruption on the part of those in high places, when contrasted with the debasing poverty of the lower ranks of society, have always given rise to the demand for greater equality. This was the condition which led to the "Peasants' Revolt" in England. It was the condition which led to the French Revolution. Both were the occasion for demands for certain rights and liberties for the lower ranks of society. These demands have a reasonable place in the name of liberty, equality, justice, or just plain righteousness. It would seem that any distinction is no more than an arbitrary distinction. *A privileged class restricts the liberty of others; if it were not so, there would be no advantage in privilege.* The plea for liberty is an attack on privilege. The plea for equality is an attack on privilege. In both is involved the demand for justice.

Wat Tyler opposed the Poll Tax which expressed the only equality the rulers were willing to recognize; for the purpose of this tax all men were equal. In this very practical sense the rulers were the equalitarians. Wat Tyler demanded the repeal of the "Statute of Laborers" and the abolition of serfdom. In this he was a libertarian. The same conjunction of ideas prevailed in the French Revolution. The stumbling block seems to be the assumption that "whatever is, is right"; that existing privilege is right and that any attempt to change the system must be considered as artificial leveling—when in fact, the system of privilege is the artificial condition the removal of which would tend to restore the natural order.

Professor Russell says we could "trace the idea of liberty in industry, agriculture and commerce by following the Physiocrats, Quesnay and Turgot." In another paragraph, speaking of organizations in the United States which prefer equality to liberty, he classes together "Coxey's Army, I.W.W.'s, Non-Partisan Leaguers, and Single Taxers." If the Professor could trace the idea of liberty through the Physiocrats, Quesnay and Turgot, how did he lose it in reaching the Single Taxers? The Physiocrats are the Eighteenth Century prototype of the Nineteenth Century Single Taxers. Their proposal was, in principle



the same; their "Impot Unique" is the Single Tax. Professor Russell's idea of the Single Tax must have been gained by a fleeting audience with a soap box orator; it certainly could not have been obtained by a reading of Henry George, for nowhere in all literature can be found a purer call for liberty, letting equality develop as it may, than in the works of Henry George.

Professor Russell tells us that our only hope is to "provide that curb on selfishness and greed which only a good education can provide" and that "we must continue to feel and fumble as we have for a hundred and fifty years," implying that in those years we have learned something. It must be apparent that in matters of taxation, which is the very core of every economic question, we are in a worse mess than at any time in our history—the National Government, the State Governments and every other taxing unit with their hodge-podge of income taxes, sales taxes, excess profits tax, taxes on use, taxes according to ability to pay, taxes and license fees upon everything without any knowledge of what the effect will be beyond the collection of a fund. The "incidence of taxation" is never considered. No principle is recognized. Such a condition is the inevitable outcome of a policy of "feel and fumble" which makes the plea of one group as effective as that of another; and in obtaining revenue with the least irritation of Mr. Voter, the opportunist who says "Let's try this" will oftentimes win in opposition to the one who says "Let's try that," and by the time the error is discovered they are ready to advocate another trial. It may be truly said that this only shows the inability of the average voter to conduct the affairs of his government sensibly. This may be true but it does not excuse our leaders of thought for seeking to rationalize such a system and for promoting a belief that there is no better way. If we must feel and fumble, let us do so with an intelligent desire to find a principle to guide us or a bedrock on which to build, instead of trusting to the shifting sands of political expediency or commercial and blind selfishness.

It may be pertinent to inquire why it is that the nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" has achieved no more of these ideals. Can it be that in the feel and fumble, the rough and tumble of a hundred and fifty years they have killed each other? It is more likely that the reason for this failure is that from the beginning the emphasis has been placed on political liberty and political equality, with little thought or no understanding of economic liberty or equality. It was thought that by abolishing the rule of kings and prohibiting titles of nobility, liberty of action could be achieved, equality before the law and equality of opportunity maintained. The fact was overlooked that by keeping the economic system of the Old World they were keeping the foundation for an aristocracy of wealth instead of birth. They did not see that the owner

of a large part of Manhattan Island would have as much power and would levy as much tribute as if he were called "Duke of Manhattan"; that such conditions prevailing over this continent would restrict life, interfere with liberty and put as many obstacles to the pursuit of happiness as any titled class could.

The method of trial and error reminds one of the medieval polypharmacy when the Theriac was prescribed in the treatment of disease in the belief that some of the three score or more ingredients would surely effect a cure! As the Theriac was superseded by methods in which the forces of nature were recognized and reinforced in the cure and prevention of disease, so it would seem to be reasonable to place less reliance on trial and error and seek to bring about a wider recognition of natural law in social relations, with more effort to bring those relations into harmony with natural forces. The greatest advances the world has ever made have been by learning to utilize the forces of nature, varying as much in efficiency as the heliograph and the radio. The man or nation that works in harmony with the laws of nature enlists the aid of a force that works with him and achieves the highest possible results.

Had Colonel Gorgas been satisfied to "feel and fumble" instead of using acquired knowledge, the Panama Canal could not have been built at that time. When he undertook the task of making the Canal Zone safe from the ravages of yellow fever, the knowledge of the disease gained by the work and sacrifices of Walter Reed and associates was available to anyone capable of accepting a new truth, but the attitude of the Canal authorities was another instance of the "unintelligence of the educated." Colonel Gorgas knew what measures to adopt for achieving his purpose but his superiors in office, insisting on old time-honored methods, almost nullified his efforts and possibly would have done so had he not been able to enlist the active support of the President.

Of course, we must expect to have agnostics in economics and dilettantes in social theory as in other phases of life. Some minds would hesitate to accept the validity of a chemical formula on the ground that the atom has not as yet been divided; that if and when the atom is divided the formula may have to be rewritten!

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Dr. James Truslow Adams in an article in the *New York Times* entitled "Parties and Panics, What Link?" tells us that the cycles of boom and depression are psychological in origin and will change only as human nature changes, that they are the "by-products of the workings of human nature" in its desire for speculation. Would it not be reasonable to say that the desire for speculation is the by-product of a system of law and custom which makes speculation profitable? Such "workings of human nature" are but the inevitable response to the oppor-

tunity to get "easy money"—reflex action in social affairs. The psychology which did not become adapted to such a system is unthinkable. From earliest colonial times there has been continual, oftentimes feverish, speculation in land. Of this early period one historian says, "The whole colonial country was land-mad. To the people of that time land was like stocks and bonds in the United States in the years 1926 to 1929." The same opportunity and the same response have operated all through our history with many manifestations unsavory and disastrous—the Yazoo Land Company, the Teapot Dome Scandal, the Florida Boom—and in every growing city. Land speculation has always been the lure to "easy money." It has always led to a period of depression. It has always involved the collapse of banking institutions, with all their attendant evils and miseries.

Dr. Adams also says, "Human beings are immensely adaptable." Therefore, is it not reasonable to expect that by removing the opportunity, one might say incentive, for such speculation there could be effected a change in psychology relating to this field of human behavior? This may be achieved without resorting to the "complete strait-jacket of governmental control" of which Dr. Adams speaks. It can be done in conformity with the best traditions of American life. Instead of more strait-jackets, it would remove some that now harass and restrict productive enterprise. If the distinction between productive enterprise and non-productive speculation were kept clearly in mind, much confusion would be avoided. Granted that some supplementary rules may be required to protect the lambs from the wolves in the stock market, there would still remain ample opportunity for indulgence in games of chance but by no stretch of the imagination could they bring a whole nation to the low point of the "business cycle."

When we learned the cause of epidemics we did not wait for any change in human nature, any advance in psychology, to ensure the public health. Sanitary regulations were promulgated and enforced. Such measures have within the memory of people now living brought about a change in habits of thought, a psychological change, in matters relating to the maintenance of health.

Surely the development of America affords ample opportunity for the study of those forces which are responsible for the chaotic condition of society today—the movements of population, the production and distribution of wealth, the play of ambition, and the part that honest industry and special privilege have taken in the history of the continent. The history of the United States, of its many recurrent periods of prosperity and depression, its waves of expansion and migration, of the growth of every industry based upon the exploitation of natural resources, the growth of any city of importance, all provide guides for the student of economics as definite and valid as the body of fact which led to the establish-

ment of many of the laws of physics and chemistry or of those that helped Jenner or Pasteur in their early work.

The fog which the Prophets of the Insoluble spread over the subject is not the worst feature of it, but the attitude of corrosive indifference and apathetic complacency which is promoted by their pronouncements. After a draught of such learning, one can see Mr. Average Man when confronted by a social problem wearily placing it on one of the unused shelves of his mind, saying, with a resigned shrug, "Oh, well, we must wait for human nature to change. There is nothing we can do about it."

Interpretation of facts involving the human equation requires a fine blend of sympathy and intelligence as well as emotional appeal. Quoting John Dewey, "The emphasis that has been put upon intelligence should not mislead anyone. Intelligence, as distinct from the older conception of reason, is inherently involved in action; moreover there is no opposition between it and emotion. There is such a thing as passionate intelligence, as ardor in behalf of light shining in the murky places of social existence, and as zeal for its refreshing and purifying effect. The whole story of man shows that there are no objects that may not deeply stir engrossing emotion. One of the few experiments in the attachment of emotion to ends that mankind has not tried is that of devotion, so intense as to be religious, to intelligence as a force in social action."

Our civilization is not the "Jungle" that some would have us believe. In the early part of the Nineteenth Century a great highway was surveyed by David Ricardo but through ignorance and neglect it has become overgrown with error. Ricardo's Law of Rent is essential in any rational consideration of human activities growing out of the use of land. In other words, production and distribution of wealth cannot be intelligently considered without taking into consideration this Law of Rent. This law is as true today as when promulgated. It is as true in urban population as in agriculture. It is as true in the complex, mechanized civilization as in the primitive. It has been accepted by leading economists the world over. An ever growing number of thoughtful observers and students of economics have come to believe that this law permeates and influences all our social relations—not only the direct and throbbing arteries of labor and industry but the more remote, but vital, capillaries of commerce and the ductless glands of social position. They claim, with a force of reasoning not yet successfully refuted, that a recognition and application of this law would assure to every element of our people its just share in the benefits of our civilization; that it would remove much of the confusion and uncertainty now prevailing and make other adjustments possible without resorting to the artificial interferences now advocated.

A just consideration of this Law of Rent in all its mani-

stations would do much to eliminate the Cult of the Insoluble and its "feel and fumble" and "change in human nature" philosophy.

It may require another hundred and fifty years to remove the blight of former error, but with a highway built on a foundation of justice, illuminated by the knowledge of those laws which are both natural and divine, the journey upward will be safer and brighter, ultimately leading to that time when the rhapsodies of the Prophets and the "American Dream" may become living realities and mankind may truly practice that simplest and shortest of the creeds: "To do justice, to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God."

## Tower of Babel

By T. E. McMILLAN

HERE is no keeping up with the flood of foolish ideas that gush forth once men fall away from the solid earth and the moral values. Mephistopheles tells Faust that the private appropriation of the land rent, the social wage, has nothing immoral about it; the shrewd ones get after the rent quite naturally, that being their way of satisfying their desires with the least exertion, quite in accordance with the first dictum of economics. In keeping, it must also be quite permissible, in terms of economic science as taught by some, to sandbag a man in the head and rifle his pockets—so long as you are not found out.

Faust falls for the seductive sophistry of Mephistopheles and blames his religious upbringing for having been blind so many years to the scientific fact that his "rent racket" is no racket at all, but merely scientific economics. Poor Faust, he has long been, if not blind, at least afflicted with a decided squint on moral issues. He holds that morality is merely a matter of conduct between individuals, but just how he distinguishes between Smith's conduct toward Jones, and toward the two thousand millions of others who inhabit this globe is a mystery known only to himself. The fact is that Natural Moral Law is our sole infallible guide to just relations of all kinds between man and his wife, his child, and every other person on earth, and all of them together. All of man's conduct and activity is properly referable to Natural Law alone, and Natural Law is the only law, all else being merely human rules and regulations, not law at all, and it is laid down by the most eminent jurists that the closer these human rules copy Natural Law the better and more just they are. Bear in mind that nature has her laws for all our states of existence; that if we choose to live the jungle life, nature has her laws of the jungle; that as we develop to higher and higher states, so we find loftier laws suited to our advancing condition. Cooperation is the law of progress.

One of the greatest of Americans, Abraham Lincoln, scornfully refused to acquire sections that would rise in

value, and thereby reap where he had not sown. But then Lincoln, poor man, was a sheer nincompoop—according to ultra scientific economics!

The fundamental facts of the matter are these. There runs right throughout nature two forces, those of production, and of parasitism, respectively. The development of parasites, or parasitic proclivities, actual or potential, seems to be nature's way of punishing the creatures who become slothful, and fail to exert their powers adequately. The private appropriation of land rent is the first fruit of the blasphemous assumption that the earth can be "owned" by man, either individually or collectively, for what can really be "owned" collectively can be sold to private persons, it being then human "property." The moral failure to maintain the earth as the property of the Creator—"The land is Mine"—is primarily responsible for the permitting of that form of parasitism under which the social wage, the value "attaching" to land, is stolen from the people. The receivers of the rent are parasites, thieving, battering leeches; the masses are the victimized hosts, and when they undergo a moral and spiritual regeneration, they will arise in their wrath and sweep the whole fundamental iniquity away. And those who spurn the moral issue will also be swept away, dispersed like those other would-be builders who wanted to get too far off the earth; already their language is confounded, and they speak divers tongues. Such men are dangerous, beware of them, for they but build a modern Tower of Babel.

## Semper Fidelis

UNDER date of June 7 we have just received from Australia a letter directed to Joseph Dana Miller. It is from a most devoted friend, an adherent and worker for the cause and a reader of LAND AND FREEDOM. At that date he did not know of Mr. Miller's death but expressed deep concern over his illness.

We quote parts of this unusual letter. Referring to the coming Henry George Congress and hoping it will be a power for good he said, "If the good friends from all over the world will each bring a fire stick and put them all together I am sure the good Lord will blow upon them and there will be a great blaze of enthusiasm *which will not go out when they go home.*" (italics are ours)

We further quote, "I was reading LAND AND FREEDOM with my daughter yesterday. She remarked, 'LAND AND FREEDOM, that is a good slogan, the best of any of your Single Tax papers.'"

In enclosing a money order to pay for an extra copy of LAND AND FREEDOM, which he had just received, he added this postscript:

"Since writing the above, I took a two mile walk on a cold night along a dark road to see if I could get a year's subscription, using my spare copy of LAND AND FREEDOM. I failed to get the subscription although I sold the spare copy."

## A Plea For Action

By JOHN LUXTON

ONE summer day a few years back the graduates of the Henry George School of Social Science were assembled on the banks of the Mahwah River at Suffern, New York, to listen to words of wisdom and exhortation from the veterans of the Georgeian movement. The most eloquent of the pleas for continued march of the movement came from the late Joseph Dana Miller. The gist of his message was that we, "who are living upon borrowed time" can not carry on indefinitely and that it behooves the younger soldiers in the campaign to keep up their courage and be prepared to meet all vicissitudes of time and the general stupidity of the human race without regard to personal comfort if they wish to see that liberty to which their forefathers dedicated themselves established firmly in America.

Since that afternoon much water has trickled through the Mahwah and many ideas and movements alien to the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence have fouled the threads of our social fabric. Mr. Miller has liquidated his debt to eternity with interest compounded many fold and the younger generation can no longer look to him for inspiration. It is now high time for all who have taken to heart the meaning of the message of Henry George as interpreted by Oscar Geiger and Joseph Dana Miller to get into the front lines and fight as they fought, without thought of self but of the greater whole, mankind. Where shall the fight begin? Right here, where ever you are, and now. A corporal's guard of those who have attended the classes of the Henry George School of Social Science in every town and hamlet where such classes have been held would make up an army formidable in the fight against privilege and greed. In the time that has elapsed since Oscar Geiger started his great adventure enough volunteers should be found so thoroughly imbued with the principles of democracy and liberty as to confound the purveyors of Communism and Fascism.

Is there as much need of vigorous and unstinted action as the writer suggests? Look around you in the world and see. Democracy is flouted, even in our own country. In "Not Peace But a Sword," an American novelist and newspaper man, Vincent Sheean, despairs of democracy which by blundering has caused the tragedies of Czechoslovakia, Spain and China, and looks with favor upon the Fascist idea of government. The United Christian Front is born, not to forward the principles of Christianity, but to foment racial and religious hatred, choosing to believe that the present depression and unemployment are due to those who control the money of the world and that these banking interests are in the hands of the race to which Christ belonged. The youth of the high schools and colleges are urged to unite in a national youth move-

ment, a very good idea if intended to work for a better democracy and for true liberty, but, we find that it becomes a cradle roll for a movement which by no stretch of the imagination can be called democratic. Ten or more millions of men are out of work and the best that can be done by our Executive and Legislative departments is to employ them on part time at various projects, some useful, some otherwise, and pass the bill on to the innocent unborn generations. That this method offers no hope of our getting out of the depression and that consequently the future generations will also have the added burden of their own unemployment and depression problems seem not to have entered the minds of our representatives. A clergyman, depending upon his religious cloak, rant over the air and in a weekly publication about the evil of the money powers, and stirs up racial hatred by attacking the Jews. That another gentleman of the cloth, Father McGlynn, advocated the only method which would insure justice to all, seems not to be known to the reverend gentleman from Michigan, and to many of the most violent of his supporters the names of Henry George and Father McGlynn and what they stand for are as unknown as the origin of the Sphinx. Nazis and Deutsche bunde soldaten parade in stormtroopers' uniforms, swastikas and all, behind hedges and stockades of Bund camps and inculcate in the younger generations of natural born American citizens a contempt for democracy, and a love for all that Hitler represents.

In addition to the above symptoms of discontent to be seen all about us we have violations of the Constitution which forbids the imposition of taxes or imposts by one State upon the products of another State, and these violations are upheld by the courts because they are disguised by legal subterfuges such as quarantines, labor and insurance regulations, or motor vehicle laws. Sales taxes are increased and all sorts of nuisance taxes are imposed to get revenue while revenue continues to shrink and business stagnates. Man's right to labor if he can find a job is interfered with by government's surrender to the worst forms of unionism. Pickets on public highway assault the eardrums of passersby with raucous cries and talks or interfere with the comfortable and easy use of the citizens' own sidewalks and the police are afraid to restrain them, so great is the power of the union. Late dissatisfied members of the community have taken to picketing the homes of members of Congress who have voted according to their judgment, which in absence of a specified mandate is what we expect Congressmen to do.

In closing let us consider one more evidence of the need of action on the part of the followers of Henry George of this generation. From the pulpit and the professorial chair come doctrines which are tinged with the fallacies of Karl Marx. Man as an earthly animal, bound to the earth from which come the very elements and compounds that make up his tissues, is ignored, and in his place we

have a composite thing, a social creation, a cog that fits in a machine. Private property ceases to exist under such doctrines and the machine becomes the thing to worry about. This leads to the overemphasis of tools which men have created to facilitate labor. So men's energies are to be devoted to schemes to control banking, production and distribution, parental care of the young, the mental and physical growth of the young in a pattern to fit society instead of the individual, and the recreation and enjoyments of the adults. All of which is contrary to the natural law which has decreed that there are no two individuals alike, and to the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy. Some of these attempts to force mankind into a mold are called Fascism or Nazism, two ideologies which oppose Democracy and personal liberty, and another one, Communism, has the impudence to call itself Democracy. All three are insidious attacks on all that Georgeians uphold as the ideals of mankind.

So, you followers of Henry George, who have drawn your inspiration from Oscar Geiger, Joseph Dana Miller, and all the great men of the past who led men to battle for liberty and justice, arm yourselves and prepare to battle that "this world may be a better place to live in." As a battle cry what could be more appropriate than "a fair field and no favor."

## Robbing Peter to Pay Paul

WITH the adoption of the new State Constitution by the voters last fall, New York became the first of the forty-eight states to undertake assisted housing.

The Legislature authorized the state to incur a debt of \$150,000,000 for loans to municipalities for the purpose of clearing slums and using the sites for the construction of housing within the means of the lowest income groups. The state is also authorized to make grants and give subsidies to the municipalities; so as to keep the rents within the means of the poorest families. All housing projects built by loans from the state must be on sites cleared of slums, and the occupants of the buildings who must move are to have the first choice in renting the new dwellings. All loans by the state are to be repaid within a period of fifty years and amortized annually. The interest and principal must be guaranteed by the municipalities.

The grants and subsidies must come out of the current budgets. In order to realize funds for this purpose, the state and municipalities are permitted to impose special taxes upon the people, the sum total to be used to meet the interest and amortization of the loans and to reduce the rents to a point which the lowest income families can afford. We are robbing Peter to pay Paul.

The same pressure groups that were behind the Wagner-Steagall Housing Bill in Washington are the ones who are responsible for forcing through this legislation in New

York. The "dervish" movement is on. This is nothing new, for we have had experiences along other lines when groups undertook to get something from the government. All one has to do is shout for it. The Bryan Silver Movement of 1896—the Greenback Movement prior to that—the Prohibition Movement—the Protective Tariff—all resorted to cries and shouts without reason.

When the assisted housing movement began a few years ago, stress was laid upon the fact that millions of families were living under slum conditions, and that all the diseases that man is heir to are caused by people living in what are now euphoniously called sub-standard houses. In New York we still call them slums—a report made in Boston, however, stated there are no slum houses in Boston, but that it does have a large number of "sub-standard" dwellings. According to the definition of a slum, in Webster's dictionary, "it is a foul street of a city, especially one with a slovenly, often vicious population; a low neighborhood." The pressure groups, however, define a slum dwelling as one not provided with cross ventilation, heat and hot water from a central point and mechanical refrigeration.

There is of course no end of this sort of thing, once it gets under way. For instance, there is now pending in Congress an amendment to the Wagner Bill which will appropriate \$800,000,000, with an additional \$45,000,000 a year, for subsidies. Subsidies will come out of taxes collected by the government. It is an illustration of the "haves helping to support the have-nots" under the government pressure groups. In many instances, the taxpayers will continue to live in dwellings of a lower standard than those families who are fortunate enough to get quarters in subsidized houses.

An amazing situation has arisen in this respect—we find many newspapers who have been considered as a conservative press supporting the movement. College professors, generally, are also behind it—but we cannot expect much from college professors. They don't have to reason—they just go along with the crowd.

There is no doubt that there is much bad housing throughout the country—and there cannot be any objection in denouncing the owners who are permitted to rent them. People, however, do not live in slum houses because they like the houses. They remain there because of their poverty. If they could afford better quarters, they would gladly move. Instead of government officials undertaking to wipe out a cause, they proceed to treat a symptom. A house in itself is not a slum—it is made so either through the neglect of an owner or the slovenly habits of the occupants.

Boards of Health are continually asked by their Mayors who favor assisted housing to give them reports on the cases of tuberculosis caused by people living in the old tenements. There is no such data—tuberculosis is not a result of bad housing per se—but one of congestion—

it is spread by coming in contact with persons who have this dread disease. People congest themselves in small quarters because they have not the price to pay for larger ones.

The President, the Governor of the State of New York, the United States Housing Administrator and the Mayor of New York, are vociferous in their statements that while subsidized housing will be a heavy expense upon the taxpayers, in the last analysis it will be a saving through reduced cost of hospitals, police and fire departments, courts, jails, etc. Not one of these statements will bear analysis. For instance, so keen an observer as Robert Moses, the great park and bridge builder of New York, gave it as his opinion, some time ago in an address in New York (which was to be broadcasted, but was taken off the air at the direction of the Mayor) that even though all the slums were cleared, instead of the cost of government being reduced it would go up.

The leading exponents of subsidized housing undoubtedly also know better—but they are politicians hungry for office—their statements do appeal to certain classes in the community, particularly the poor who live in old tenements.

What is really being done in the erection of these new dwellings is the creation of glorified and ornate poor-houses. These buildings are exempted from taxation. The occupants become a preferred class of citizens, who contribute relatively little to the support of government, yet they vote and their votes count. In Cleveland, Ohio, low rent dwellings built by the Federal Government are provided, not alone with baths, heat, hot water, mechanical refrigeration, but also with garages. The new projects in New York are equipped with self-service elevators. Here, we have an illustration that there is nothing too good for the poor. They give the politicians their votes and keep them in office.

It is not the intent of this writer to criticize the poor, but to point out that while some of the poorer families will be benefited by living in dwellings at a price way below the cost of construction and maintenance, others will have to struggle along as best they can, for there is not enough money of course to subsidize all the families who cannot afford decent habitation, under the standards set up by the United States Housing Authorities. The standard of housing in most of our cities and even in the rural sections needs to be raised materially, but this can only be done through increasing the earning powers of the people.

According to the present set-up, a family whose total income in New York is more than \$1,500 a year cannot get space in one of the new projects. In other words, his earnings must not exceed five times his rent, unless there are more than three children, then, it may be six times the rent. Therefore, if the rent is \$25 a month, he may not earn more than \$1,500 a year. If, however,

the income of the family should increase as much as \$2.00 a week, he would be asked to leave the apartment. Under the circumstances, a man with a family will not ask his employer to increase his wages, for if he had to leave the subsidized dwelling, he could not get a similar one for less than twice the amount. We then have a situation of what was intended to benefit the families really going to the benefit of employers, who will continue to pay the lower wages.

While it is difficult to tell exactly what the amount of the subsidies will be, since many of the costs in Federal projects have not been made public, we know, in a general way, what the cost of construction has been. That is a contract price—but much of the work in clearing the site was by WPA labor. Likewise, the interest on the money during the course of construction is not figured in—neither are the expensive offices maintained by the United States Housing Authorities made a part of the cost.

In private enterprise, however, every penny of cost that goes into the construction of a dwelling, must be added into the rent or selling price.

An illustration of what it costs the government for an assisted house can be readily seen by the largest development so far completed, in Williamsburgh, Brooklyn, N. Y. The dwellings are of fireproof construction, four stories high, financed by the government and turned over to the local authorities. The rents, including bath, heat, hot water, mechanical refrigeration and electricity average inside of \$7.00 a month a room. The cost to government, however, is about \$19.00 a month a room. There are 1,622 families living in the project. A family living in four rooms is thus seen to be subsidized to the amount of \$48.00 a month.

We sometimes wonder whether the brain-trusts who sold the idea to the President have the slightest conception of the science of political economy. They are always shouting that the reason they cannot keep costs down is because of the high price of land, yet they cannot be induced to study the reform proposed by Henry George.

The banks are bulging with money, but they cannot take a chance on making loans on new construction when the Federal, State and Municipal Governments are competing with them, and making up the losses through taxes on the people. These housing projects are tax-free. Their exemption from taxation will throw an added burden upon those families who have invested their life's earnings in a little home for themselves. The idea of a higher standard of housing is excellent, but as it works out, only a limited number of fortunate families will enjoy them. Many families on relief are now living in the assisted houses. Here we have an illustration of subsidized families in subsidized houses. They never will try for a job. We will succeed in creating, developing and maintaining a low income class of citizens. This is the way to ruin.—THE STROLLING REPORTER.

## The Law of Rent

A COMMENT ON THE VIEWS OF  
W. R. B. WILLCOX

THE rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application (of labor and capital) can secure from the least productive land in use.

The foregoing is known as Ricardo's law of rent. Henry George says of it—"Authority here coincides with common sense, and the accepted dictum of the current political economy has the self-evident character of a geometric axiom." This is not to say, however, that George was unaware of the exceptions which had been taken to it by some economists. For that matter, George himself, as a result of independent analysis, pointed out the error of Ricardo in limiting the application of the law to the extractive mode of production. He showed that it held as well in the case of industrial, commercial and residential sites as in the case of farming and mining lands. He also exposed the fallacy in the reasoning which supported the so-called derivative law of diminishing returns in agriculture. But the fundamental character of Ricardo's principle he deemed unchallengeable, "its mere statement having all the force of a self-evident proposition."

In an article appearing in the March-April issue of LAND AND FREEDOM, a correspondent, Mr. W. R. B. Willcox, offered what he believes constitutes a new refutation of Ricardo's law. He contends that it is based on a false assumption, viz., that "since the processes of nature are independent of human exertion, mankind acquires the results of these processes independent of human exertion." Mr. Willcox continues: "This of course is not true. Mankind's acquirement of these results 'costs' human exertion; and rent, which is compensation for the human exertion required to provide social and governmental advantages cannot be a free gift of nature." To quote him further—"Under a scientific economic system, rent would not be an 'unearned increment,' a 'free gift of nature,' either to individuals or to mankind. Rent would consist of compensatory payments made by individuals to society, through the latter's agent the government, for the advantages of social and governmental contributions to the utility of provisions of nature."

The writer has given Mr. Willcox's definition a careful study, but finds that at best it is no more than a restatement of the Ricardian version, containing nothing fundamentally new. My reaction was as follows:—Mr. Willcox speaks of *social* and *governmental* advantages (with seeming emphasis on the latter). I take it that by governmental advantages he means the result of those services which are administered by an organized political state, and by social advantages he means the benefits

which flow from the unconscious cooperation of the individuals comprising society.

If we examine the idea of *governmental* functions, it will be seen that they are but the result of a specialization or extension of the ordinary social services, being different only in degree and not in kind, and represent what might be termed a conscious cooperation of society. It would therefore seem that in the definition offered by Mr. Willcox, only the concept of "social advantages" is significant. As for "governmental advantages," i.e., such things as public schools, streets, fire, police, and sanitary departments, they merely derive from that economy which comes from the principle of cooperation and the division of labor. In truth, governmental advantages are included in the classification of social advantages.

It is perfectly possible to have rent in the absence of governmental services. I can easily imagine a time when all the individuals in society might engage private tutors, and singly or in neighborhood groups, lay their own streets and hire their own watchmen and fire brigades. Indeed, there is a growing body of opinion that in a better society many of our governmental functions would be replaced by private management, thus putting them in the category of social services, as distinguished from governmental services, if we use the terminology of Mr. Willcox. The essential thing to remember is that despite their desirability or undesirability, governmental services in the ways spoken of are not strictly necessary, and as a matter of fact there have been innumerable instances where a community started without them.

The presence or absence of *governmental* services, *per se*, have nothing to do with the concept of *rent*. In the settlement of the savannah, for instance, in "Progress and Poverty," there was *rent* just as soon as two immigrants looked longingly on the same piece of land, before government of any kind had been established. Whether a government is available to collect it in such cases is beside the point, for a philosophic conception of rent recognizes its existence irrespective of any agency for its collection. That is not to say, however, that no one would pay rent except under authority of the police power, inasmuch as ethics and justice would be available, even as now, to equalize the differences in natural opportunities. I merely wish to refute the logic of that part of Mr. Willcox's statement which supposes as necessary the existence of government in order to equalize the benefits of social and "governmental" advantages. The *agency* for allocating rent is purely adjective. It has no proper place in a substantive consideration of rent.

Rent is a social *product*, being the "excess of its produce, etc.," as per Ricardo's definition. Of course this social product is brought about by "the advantages of social and governmental contributions to the utility of pro-

visions of nature," as Mr. Willcox so effectively, even though unwittingly, paraphrases Ricardo's law.

It would appear, however, that our friend does not recognize any such thing as a "social product." That is unfortunate. To me, society means something more than a mere arithmetical summing up of men, women and children. For it is not just aggregation, but *integration*, that breathes life into its body. As a separate existence, society has its own peculiar attributes, duties and rewards, notwithstanding its only claim to existence is the greater welfare of the citizens who comprise it. Nor should it be difficult to imagine society as one of the parties to production. This concept once grasped, it follows that society actually adds to the production of the wealth of its individual members. To hold otherwise is to fuse two separate existences into one. The idea of an identity, however, connotes a failure of perception to recognize things as they are.

If then, society and social advantages are the important concept, nothing essentially new has been added by Mr. Willcox to Henry George's treatment of Ricardo's law of rent. George repeatedly points out in "Progress and Poverty" that it is the amount and quality of social activities that make valuable the land to which they come, giving rise to the differential or "excess of produce," which we denominate rent. This differential is the *resultant* of the social activities.

Nor can rent be kept apart from the various sites to which it attaches. I mention this latter phase for the reason that some Georgeists insist that land has nothing to do with rent. But the moment we try to keep rent apart as a thing unto itself, the thought arises, "Rent of what?" and of course the answer must be, the rent of land.

Is rent a gift of nature? This is a matter of words. I am inclined to agree with Mr. Willcox that, from a strictly scientific viewpoint, the expression is an unhappy one. To the writer, however, there should be no objection to its employment in an allegorical sense. I can see no purpose in laboring this trivial point.

Is rent unearned? When retained by the individual, it most certainly is. Unearned increment, if an ethical view may be imported, is the immoral gain resulting from the pocketing of society's rent by individuals. Henry George made it clear that rent is a social product and belongs therefore to the social body whose activities produce it. If perchance he failed to add that society *earns* its rent, we can cheerfully supply the omission.

I am not overlooking the basic production of the individuals comprising society. And with respect to the individual's own labor, I allow that he is entitled to the maximum return made possible by the increased knowledge or power which comes to him by reason of a progressive civilization. But over and above the wages of the individual (leaving aside capital and interest), he receives, when above "marginal" land, an additional

return depending on the social advantages brought to his location. The sum total of the returns to the factors in the production of wealth will ordinarily be collected, for the moment at least, by the wage earner. But so much as is due to the advantages of the site, he is obligated to return to the social body which created them, i.e., he must return so much of the *social product* as was delivered to his land. The amount to be thus returned will be determined by the intensity of the demand for the various sites. In that way will the inequalities of opportunity for production be ironed out, and each wage earner in addition to his own production, will receive, in common with the rest, his just share of the social product, rent. For of course society, as such, has no interest in or enjoyment of the rent save as it is employed for the betterment of the members composing the social body.

Mr. Willcox states that under the existing economic system rent "would be an unearned increment to society if the latter did not compensate those whose individual labors are expended in making the social and governmental contributions." There is no quarrel with that. It accords with the thesis of George, that in producing and exchanging their goods and services, the individuals so engaged receive a gross income consisting of a return to their own labor and to the social advantages at their several locations. Continuing, Mr. Willcox says—"However, under a scientific system, rent would not be an unearned increment . . . to any one, either to individuals or to mankind." This statement itself lacks scientific accuracy. For rent is rent, whether manifested under a "scientific" system or not, now or in the future.

In speaking of what would happen under a scientific system, however, it is well to point out that "potential" rent would tend to disappear. The collection by the community of the entire annual land value would soon force the holders of idle land to relinquish or use it. In the latter case, true economic rent would be earned by society to the extent of its contribution to the total production thereon. In the former case, if the land were relinquished and remained out of use because no one was willing to pay society for its use, it would fall into the category of marginal land. "Potential" rent is a pathological symptom of present day society. Under normal conditions it would disappear.

In conclusion, let it not be thought I am criticising any rephrasing of the law of rent if by so doing we can expedite the acceptance of our philosophy. There is no doubt that some people can be more easily reached by presenting it in a different dress here and there. Mr. Willcox is probably doing very effective work with his method of approach. His and our version of the law of rent is the difference between tweedledee and tweedledum. To my mind "Progress and Poverty" still provides the perfect formula for the cure of the problem we are most interested in; the abolition of poverty.

C. J. SMITH.



## Causerie

By THOMAS N. ASHTON

POWERS OF DARKNESS

**N**EARLY sixty years ago the author of "Progress and Poverty" laid down a pen from which had flowed a volume of thought destined to foreshorten the days of parasitism on the products of labor. Though this foreshortening may not appear, fifty-nine years later, to be appreciable, the fact remains that without the advent of the powerful paragraphs of "Progress and Poverty," under one title or another, all our boasted arts, sciences, culture and religion would have been in vain—society would have been doomed to a perpetual hell upon earth.

The public reception of "Progress and Poverty" was various, and naturally so in a realm now long known as "The Land of the Almighty Dollar." Many people—many minds, and the individuality of the human mind necessarily promises more conflict than concord. Only as several minds agree upon the moral view of a question do the several minds agree upon the truth thereof. Individual morals, therefore, largely determine one's acceptance of the teachings of Henry George and whether or not one shall *do* something about his teachings.

Let us not flatter ourselves, however—we who accept the moral findings in the pages of "Progress and Poverty"—that we are holier-than-thou because of original virtue. What man begets his own virtue? What man begets any thought from within? Is it not that unto some are given, by Divine dispensation, the power to perceive and to grasp a truth? Are not some given this power—not as favored children of the Creator—but as agents commissioned to spread simple truths? We have been chosen, not as recipients of future celestial degrees, diplomas and medals, but as employees in a factory assigned to carry out, mayhap, a heart-breaking, arduous task with no reward except to see, at most, some fruits of our labors. Virtue is its own reward—trite, true, tasteless and without the fragrance of a single rose—virtue naturally in consequence—the maximum pay for him who holds truth first.

We are not to be surprised, therefore, at the various public receptions accorded to "Progress and Poverty." We may be surprised at the rapidly cooling morality manifested by practically all of Henry George's caustic or kindly critics as they completed their reviews of the early edition of his treatise.

At least two score and one of the foremost newspapers, periodicals and magazines editorially stated their opinions, between 1879 and 1881, of George's book. Of these forty-one molders of public thought nine were condemnatory—"essentially unsound—no wilder theory was ever broached—the most pernicious treatise—wild and impractical—premises false and its reasoning fallacious—a mad doctrine—a sweeping confiscation—and we cannot

admit the remedy." Yet some of these rabid reactions generously included damnation by faint praise for the honest purpose of Henry George.

Thirty-two other editorials circumspectly acknowledged the thought-provoking proposal of the author. Thirty-two editors, out of forty-one, caught the moral tone of George's utterances and answered accordingly, but it is now evident, after half a century, that the morality of these editors immediately cooled as fast as the ink dried on editorial columns. Their moral duty ended with an admission of George's logic.

Three generations mark a long period, as measured by man, in which the editorial views of this nation easily might have molded public opinion ten times over in expounding the unanswerable analysis laid down by Henry George. Easily this nation might have avoided the sordid misery born in the economic chaos which now is without parallel in degree in the annals of our nation.

Nine editors mocked the logic of Single Tax. Thirty-two contemporaries, benignly agreeable, turned back to the routine publication of taxation complaints, charity "drives," murder, robbery, rape and arson, cultural thought, collegiate profundity and labor rows—catering always to that old alibi "what the people want."

Though the inescapable consequences, dug from history and forecast by Henry George, lightly have been dismissed by his ostensible peers, the cancer of parasitism on labor and capital has grown apace until panicky thoughts now dominate shallow intellects in the halls of erudition and of statecraft, in the land "where wealth accumulates and men decay."

The Powers of Darkness quiver.

Yet the answer is . . . Henry George.

## TAXING TAXES

In the Land of the Pilgrim Fathers—where the hills come down to the sea—where the ocean's surging waters seek the quiet of a lee—where Boston beans and succotashmeet fish cakes once a cod—where Johnny cakes and corned beef hash raised culture from the clod—a tax upon taxes was conceived.

It's this-a-way:

The New Year scarce had found its way through slithery sleet and snow to Beacon Hill, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven, when "The Great and Honorable General Court of Massachusetts" (Legislature to you) in its wisdom solemnly marched—with measured step and slow—into its sanctum sanctorum and softly closed the door. Amidst sagacious nods and sober miens, portly pods puffingly pushed the Legislative machine into motion. The mills of the gods-and-culture began to grind.

In no time at all—as measured in terms of eternity and on May twenty-ninth, to be exact—two hundred and eighty fish-fed cerebra of legislative sapience emerged

from a huddle and muddle to tack up an edict—tacking a tax onto taxes—prominently and publicly where all and sundry may read as they run to pay their income penalties.

After amputating the Gordian knot of legal verbiage we are able to learn that if you were guilty of netting eight hundred dollars during the last fizzle year, the statutory handicappers send you a bill in the sum of \$12; and upon this \$12 tax there is taxed a tax of 10 per cent which—according to Einstein's theory of relativity, in amendment of and in addition to section nine of the recipe for clam fritters—amounts to four shillings and tenpence, par value.

The tax of \$12 on your \$800 net serves you rightly for being "able to pay"; whilst the 10 per cent tax on your \$12 tax is a second warning which should be sufficient if you are wise.

This new statute was working slicker'n goose-grease until someone discovered that Section 5 provides that "Section 2 shall apply only to property or interests therein passing or accruing upon the death of persons who die in the calendar year nineteen hundred and thirty-seven."

Widder Hen Pecker, who lives "daown the rud a piece," filed a writ of hokus-pokus setting forth that her late husband Hen died in the fizzle year 1936-37 and that the calendar year of this danged Act didn't fit him no-how and that, without prejudice to her case, she haint had no calendar since Hen's insurance policy ran out.

Civic leaders now anticipate grave complications. The widder is a fighter but what of the rest of the Bay State suckers. Ever since the Civil War they have paid tax upon tax and then some. Culture raised from the clod or any other source has made them think that they are thinkers. Maybe, but not on the subject of taxes which they pay according to their ability, every year meekly and unquestioningly. Yet there are a few who have remonstrated and tried to convince the rest that the rule of "ability to pay" should give way to that of "benefits received." Sounds like common sense but such "cranks" hardly get a hearing. Pay only a single tax on land values? Never! So, as their forefathers did, they pay taxes on everything according to the tax bill and continue to drive both brains and industry out of the state.

#### LOOKING BACKWARD TO THE GOOD OLD TIMES

It was January, 1852.

The *London Times* felt constrained to commit its annual summary to the record. The *Times* felt at peace with the world inasmuch as a few minor incidents such as famine, fever and emigration having wiped out 2,000,000 Irish producers of wealth for absentee British landlords—a British colony in South Africa getting onery with the Motherland—over-due reforms in the courts—"a disagreeable and unaccountable incident" (no further

explained) with the United States—were climaxed by the repeal of a "barbarous tax" on windows, thereby balancing all losses and gains and prompting the *Times* to announce that the year 1851 "has just quietly expired."

Quiet expirations are a blessing.

Dying in silence is the last act of fortitude ever displayed by man, woman, child, bird, beast or fish.

When a barbarous tax expires it is time, indeed, for great rejoicing—until the same tax under a new name slips in to fill the revenue gap.

The years, however, have a way of just quietly expiring. Perhaps they should end with more commotion, such as a rustling of the last calendar-leaf, or a chaotic jumble of the thirty-one numbers on the sheet until sequence looks like our tax system as handed down to us from the day the *Times* was born. Human events have no physical or spiritual connection with the pages of the calendar, the latter confines its work to marking the order of events, and the former giving no heed to either birth or death of the years nor to the passing of old calendars. But the *Times* opined that a commemoration of the first death of the year 1851 was in order, and there is no accounting for editorial notions on what is of importance behind editorial desks.

Of these notions the most important one was that the year had quietly expired. Two million lost, strayed or food-famished Irishmen, unto death, easily might be replaced by two or more millions of newly born Irish babes in the not far-distant future.

It is January, 1853.

The *London Times* again sits at its desk and all is well.

Except for a few small affairs, such as "the festering quarrel in South America, the East Indian war, the death of Wellington, the malcontent Protectionists' piffle, more over-due reforms in the courts, a diminishing in the nuisance of idle labor and an increase in harassed employers, unprecedented emigration to Australia, Providence butting into the distribution of wealth by spewing up gold from the bowels of the earth, much-needed metropolitan improvements at a standstill, convocation stirring up a devastating debate. summer's intolerable heat and drought and autumn's inconsiderate rains and inundations—all was well. In fact, the year "closed on an all but universal tranquillity."

It is a wise old year, 365 days old usually, which knows when the right moment arrives at which to fade from tranquil scenes, or from any sort of scenes for that matter. But the years are like that. They come and go without pride, purple or political palaver published by old Father Time. The times and the *Times* mean little to the old codger. He leaves scenes of sighings and sorrow with the same nonchalance as he does those of tranquil tax-torture.

The year's universal tranquillity stands out perhaps because nary an onerous tax, worth noting, by the *Times*

was repealed and removed from the labors of Britain's impoverished toilers.

It is January first, 1854.

The record of '53 is not so hot, or, as the *Times* puts it, closed with a "chequered and cloudy aspect." Providence has been butting in again, during the twelvemonth. Prosperous artisans took on the "self-imposed misery of strikes." The auspicious opening of '53 "ran out" on the nation. The great and grand Gladstone politically was born, however, to save the times. The Succession Duty successfully stymied the real-property feudalists, in logical (?) converse to the Corn Law's prohibition of discriminatory taxation. An unrepealable impost takes the place of the Income Tax. The Irish Income Tax hides under an expression of principles rather than as a means for revenue, though the revenue was not sneezed at.

The India Bill put an end to proprietary racketeering. Political and parliamentary jobbers no longer sold state-service jobs. The Charitable Trusts Bill clearly distinguished between public and private property without messing into Land Tax, site values, et cetera.

Providence insisted upon upsetting Gladstone's 2½ per cent stock scheme by returning poor harvests, short crops, and increased demands for food from prosperous "working-classes" until prices of corn exceeded the wildest hopes of the Corn Law advocates. Britain's wise ministers left the people to distinguish between "a scarcity caused by the act of an all-wise Providence and by the blind and short-sighted meddling of man." The empty stomachs found physical results to be identical; the full stomachs found financial results to be in the same category.

The "Lancashire strikes" brought home the *Times'* conviction that all wealth and prosperity depend upon the will of men "too ignorant to understand their own interests, or to listen to any argument save that enforced by the wretchedness to which they are reduced by their own folly."

The demand for general education gained force because of the need to educate these too ignorant wretches, but the educational scheme did not include the principles of Single Tax and economic freedom. It was an educational scheme which, aided by a steady flight of emigration, assured a tranquil tax-torture state once more.

Thus ended the year 1853. Thereafter came 1854, '55, '56, and all the other years, in a sequence which quietly occurs whether or not taxes are repealed or imposed upon man and his industry. And the quietness of this sequence is equalled only by the silence with which the site-value exploiters annually collect the unearned increment even 'til today.

#### MODERN DICK TURPIN

The highwayman of ye olden dayes was a man beyond the pale of the law. He was an uncouth usurper of

private rights to private wealth, or he was a romantic radical who believed in getting to the roots of fully filled wallets and in redistributing the coin of the realm to the poverty-stricken objects of his pity and brotherly love. His activities brought financial disaster to lone wayfarers, at most, and the industrial life of the community pursued the cliched even tenor of its way.

It wasn't until the art of highway extortions was enlarged in scope to include special-tax shakedowns that the activities of highwaymen became of widespread concern and alarm. To make matters worse, our modern highwaymen are not uncouth, lawless operators. On the contrary, they function from resplendent suites in governmental buildings and under legislative authority sustained by legal adjudications—togged out in tonsorial perfumes and tailored tapestries. They began to operate upon a nation-wide scale in 1916 when the first Federal Highway Act became effective. In the ensuing twenty years, through 1936, federal aid expenditures have amounted to the ten digit sum of \$2,079,086,000.

*But*, during the same period the government has collected from special taxes on highway users the sizeable sum of \$2,252,487,000. In other words, at the end of 1936 there stood to the credit of Uncle Sam a surplus of \$173,401,000 which represents the excess in what he took out of the nation's highway users over the money he put into modern turnpikes.

In the one year of 1936, alone, the federal government in this manner realized a net revenue of \$80,914,894. The average annual "take" during the ten-year period amounted to \$86,700,500 net, or a mortgage load of \$1,734,010,000, at 5 per cent, upon the highway users over and above the mortgage load of \$41,581,720,000 capitalized from the original cost.

The pickings gleaned from the same highway users by towns, cities and states are not included in these statistics, nor are the unearned increments accruing to the owners of the land along the way—unearned increments which amounted to probably an equal or greater sum than the total highway investment capitalized at a rate limited only by the victim's "ability to pay."

The ramifications of extortion, originating in the use of highways, has multiplied in excess of the number of tentacles tacked to an octopus—and this branch of taxation is but one of the many forms, phases and fancies used in exacting tribute from the least shackled freeman in the world, His Royal Joblots Peter U. S. Public. As men measure time it is a far cry from Dick Turpin to the Federal Highway Act of 1916, and the intervening years have revealed that our boasted progress of civilization—our arts, science, culture and erudition in general—has added to, rather than lessened, the financial hazards hiding in wait for the one and every traveler who foolhardily fares forth upon the town turnpike.

Official hi-jacking of the highway traveler must, of necessity, continue as long as our governments need revenue

whilst *failing to collect* the ground-rents arising from the public's creation of site-values. As long as our government permits land titles privately to pocket public wealth, official highway robbery must grow apace.

Stand and deliver!

## Steering for 'the Rocks

(A Reprint)

**I**N the erection of the Department of Labor Building at Washington, work was delayed for months by a silly dispute between unions presumably composed of grown men. It was whether laying of a tiled floor "belonged" to the carpenters, the cement workers or the tile setters. While wrangling over such a matter it is not to be supposed the members had time or inclination to think of why opportunities for work had become so scarce that they would seriously engage in a fight of that kind. Yet it is in such squabbles that the time and strength of organized labor has been wasted while questions of fundamental importance have been neglected.

For over half a century the American Federation of Labor has devoted its energy to such trivial matters, to wrangles with employers, to striving for legislation to prohibit this, regulate that and generally aim at hindering of opportunities instead of increasing them. Organized labor in other countries has done practically the same thing and the Federation should take note of the results. Dodging of fundamental issues while engaging in futile treatment of superficial symptoms has let fundamental wrongs continue undisturbed until economic conditions became so bad that the people lost confidence in democracy, and in Italy, Germany, Austria and elsewhere allowed dictators to seize control. Then these dictators promptly suppressed organized labor. Nevertheless the American Federation continues in its obviously suicidal course. It still refrains from demanding and insisting upon removal of the causes of unemployment such as land monopoly and taxation of industry. It holds as more important the question of whether a carpenter or cement worker should lay a tiled floor. Its leaders have excused its course with the statement that the organization holds it more advisable to strive for some trivial thing that can be obtained now in preference to an important object that may not be had for a long time. Not even a great world war or a worldwide depression resulting from neglected fundamental evils has taught these leaders better. They still urge devotion of effort to the small immediately attainable trifle. They stick to the road that in Italy and Germany has led to disaster. It is time that the rank and file woke up.

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## Thinking Would End Depressions

By HENRY J. FOLEY

**E**VERY man on earth is engaged in the one great purpose of hunting prosperity—wealth: things to eat, things to wear, a house to live in, and things to make life enjoyable, the luxuries. Even when he aspires to the nobler things, music, and painting, and learning, and love, these things are impossible without a foundation of material wealth, prosperity.

The animals also need prosperity, wealth, material things, and they do enough thinking (or whatever their substitute may be for thinking), to assure themselves of the wealth necessary to live. The herd of buffalo finding themselves in a depleted pasture, move to more promising fields. The wolf pack, in a blizzard, will forsake their usual haunts and follow the game. Animals which failed to study the problem of prosperity would quickly die, and they think very seriously on the matter—all but man.

Some plants in my window were recently brought from the garden, where they grew upward toward the sun. They are now streaming in horizontal lines towards the window. It would seem that they had thought out the problem of their prosperity, and of where wealth was to be had. But men in distress do not even think of where they should look.

The problem of prosperity in man should be an easy one. Man has at his disposal the earth and the fullness thereof. He has all the abilities of the animal for the making of prosperity, plus a million abilities which no other animals possess—hands to fashion most effective tools for the production of wealth; a brain to organize; science, machinery, and division of labor. But prosperity for men is more elusive than the black cat to the blind man at midnight. The "thinking animal" has ceased to apply to the problem of prosperity the thinking which furnishes to the buffalo and the oyster a supply of the good things of life.

In the matter of prosperity, men have adopted the plan of following leaders and slogans, and have abolished thinking. Two hundred million Russians followed Lenin into Bolshevism. Fifty million Italians followed Mussolini into Fascism. A hundred million Americans followed Hoover into "rugged individualism" and then followed Roosevelt into regimentation. Possibly one of these methods could be right, but certainly all these opposites can not be right, and none of them has yet succeeded in bringing to mankind the prosperity of the oyster.

"Fifty million Frenchmen can't be wrong"—if they think. But fifty million Frenchmen can be woefully wrong if they follow a leader who is headed for perdition. There is no magic which automatically selects for men the leader who will take them where they wish to go.

Unless men think where they should go, and pick out a leader who is going there, leadership means nothing except a grand march to destruction.

Jean Henry Fabre describes a caterpillar, the "oak leaf processionary," which has the instinct of following a leader, and he made an interesting experiment with them, by starting a leader around the rim of a pail. When the rim was full the leader was immediately behind the last arrival and proceeded to follow him. The troop was then engaged in an everlasting march to nowhere, just like the human race in the eternal march to prosperity, and they continued until each one fell from starvation and exhaustion.

If men applied to the problem of prosperity the amount of thinking employed by the oyster and the gorilla, it is inconceivable that they could not secure the prosperity of the lower animals, multiplied a thousand fold. The glaring fact is that men have ceased to think, not on all subjects, but only on the subject of making a living. Men think of their particular trades. The shoemaker studies the making of shoes, but not why the shoe trade is flat. The farmer studies how he can grow more crops, but not why the crop must be plowed under. Ten million men in the United States spend their days searching for jobs, but not a moment in searching for the reason why the insects can make a living and the lords of creation can not; why the wolf released at the city limits and the fish thrown into the stream would make a living, but a man on the earth is as helpless as a fish in the desert.

I am not a believer in human stupidity. The child thinks of his problems and works them out more or less successfully. Some one has said that the problems of the man would have been answered if men had not silenced the questions of the child; but the child who seeks to know learns that one subject is taboo—the question of why men are poor and hungry and helpless in a world of plenty. No child, without the promptings of an adult, would think out the proposition that a man or a nation gets rich by going deeper into debt; that a nation could borrow itself out of debt; that a man who has no place to work can be prosperous; or that people can get more for their money by the raising of prices on what they buy.

This lack of thought can not be because men are incapable of thought, and certainly it is not because they do not wish a solution. There must be an outside reason. If a starving horse will not go to the manger it may be that he is tied out of reach; or it may be that he has seen the head of a serpent in the hay. What can be the reason for the refusal of men to look intelligently at the problem of prosperity? There are two good and sufficient reasons:

The making of a living has become so heart-breaking, if not impossible a task, that there is no time nor energy left to think. The rabbit pursued by the fox is not thinking of the lettuce patch, and the man worn out with labor and anxiety is not forming plans to improve world condi-

tions. Men are in a depression because they can not think, and they can not think because they are in a depression. What a diabolically vicious circle! The depression could be ended by the kind of elementary thinking done by the grisly bear, and this amount of thinking might be induced even among men in a depression; but it would be futile to expect anything beyond elementary thinking.

The second reason is that men have been sold the idea that, in the matter of prosperity they have no ideas, they never can have ideas, and no one else will ever have ideas. Prosperity is an elusive thing to be prayed for or experimented with, and a man may only choose whether he shall shout for Hoover, for Lenin, for Mussolini, or for Roosevelt. These men know that thousands of books have been written on the subject of prosperity, whose writers had no method of securing prosperity. They know that dozens of plans, bolshevism, fascism, communism, socialism, have been tried without bringing prosperity, and how can the ordinary man ever hope to think correctly about prosperity, and why should he engage in a hopeless effort to think!

This article is not written to point out the path to prosperity, but only to introduce prosperity as a subject for study. If the human mind is unable to solve the dark mystery of prosperity, perhaps man could find a solution by watching the angleworm or the blind mole, who have solved the problem successfully. This is merely an effort to point out that men could find prosperity if they would only look for it, and use the intelligence which the Creator gave to them and denied to the lower animals; but unless the "thinking animal" can be induced to apply his thinking to this most important of all problems, prosperity will be forever beyond his reach.

There is a third reason why men have ceased to think. Every man with a genuine reform becomes saturated with an enthusiasm to examine it in all its ramifications, and to tell the world about it in books of many volumes, and large words. He becomes an unintended ally of the men who have sold to the world the idea that prosperity is a mysterious subject on which thinking is fatal, that prosperity is a subject beyond human intelligence; and these apostles sometimes branch out into endless and unrelated subjects.

Then we have the case of aimless thinking. For instance, there were two men who had thought out the proposition that men who were not allowed a place to work would be poor; they proceeded to tell the neighbors of the discovery, and they built up a following which promised to bring the end of unemployment. Now one of the two discovered that interest was a bad thing; the other reasoned that interest was not only good, but necessary. They argued before their listeners, who also went deeply into the subject, haunting the libraries, and writing books. They are still writing books, the two

leaders have died in a duel, the movement has faded out, and the problem of unemployment is still unsolved.

There was never a genuine reform in the history of the world,—religious, political, or economic, which was beyond the intelligence of a child. Any reform which needed the services of a university was not a reform, but an effort to justify some exploitation which would have been evident to a child unless the child had been trained to follow leaders instead of to think.

The Great Reformer said "Suffer little children to come unto Me." And He also said that the Creator had hidden His wisdom from the wise, and had revealed it to little ones. His reform, the most stupendous project in history, was spread over the earth by twelve illiterate fishermen. The child and the savage know justice and fairness beyond the ability of all the presidents and emperors to clarify, and justice would solve every problem which has ever tormented the world.

## Mid-Summer Report of Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

PERHAPS the presence of the World's Fair in New York has had something to do with our extra large number of summer visitors. Among those we have had the pleasure of greeting are: Judge Jackson B. Ralston of California, en route West after a winter in Europe; Percy Williams of Pittsburgh, W. E. Clement of New Orleans, Dr. Freyermuth of South Bend, and David Gibson of Ohio, Dean of newspaper editors in that State. Mr. Gibson told us about a recent interesting experience, the details of which, however, he did not relate. The story starts when he found himself in conversation with a bright-eyed, elderly man, and noting his companion's lively interest in economics, Mr. Gibson inquired: "Do you know anything about Henry George?" The man smiled, "I should say I do," he replied, "I'm the train conductor who gave Tom Johnson 'Social Problems' back in 1883." From train conductor, Mr. Frank Brown told Mr. Gibson he had progressed to wholesale coffee merchant. He is prosperous and in good health, living now in Indianapolis, Indiana. Throughout his life Mr. Brown has continued to work for the Georgeist Cause.

During August we shall offer for sale two books of great importance. One is a new edition of "Democracy versus Socialism" by Max Hirsch. Mr. Hirsch, as many will remember, created a revolution in political thought in Australia where he was the acknowledged leader of the Single Tax Movement. His book, "Democracy versus Socialism," published in 1924, attracted world-wide attention. It is a scholarly work—perhaps the best exposition of the claims of Socialism ever made. The book is divided into five parts: (1) "An Examination of

Socialism," (2) "Economics," (3) "Ethics," (4) "The Outcome of Socialism," and (5) "The Single Tax." The Foundation will distribute this new cloth-bound edition at \$2.00 per copy, postpaid.

The second of these new books is a brand new work by Albert Jay Nock, entitled, "Henry George, an Essay." Through his career as foremast-boy, gold prospector, typesetter, job-printer, journalist, orator—on to the writing of "Progress and Poverty," Mr. Nock traces the career of Henry George. "Here," says Mr. Nock, "you have a man who was one of the first half-dozen of the world's creative geniuses in social philosophy, yet in this capacity he is preeminently forgotten." It is towards a redressing of that balance that "Henry George, an Essay" has been written for the year of George's Centenary. The book has a strong literary flavor—it may irk with its candor—but it cannot fail to hold you with its absorbing interest. The regular cloth-bound edition copy is \$2.50, but a special paper-bound edition has been prepared for the Foundation to be sold at \$1.00. We urge our friends to place orders now, for only a few hundred copies of this special dollar book are available.

A new printing of 1,250 "Social Problems" came off the press recently. Another 2,000 "Science of Political Economy" are being printed now. Before the end of August we shall place our order for 10,000 more "Progress and Poverty." Let us think for a moment what this means: about 15,000 books by Henry George are being printed and sold each year. Not many books enjoy this circulation. It is highly probable that no other series on economics has this tremendous distribution.

Our recent summer campaign was very well received. With orders still coming in, one-hundred-and-ninety odd books have been sold plus a thousand pamphlets. Some people chose to purchase direct from their book-dealers, and many more orders came in from stores all over the country. By special request, we are again listing the combinations on the back cover of this issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

A display of early and rare editions of George's books has been arranged at the New York Public Library during the week of the centenary celebration. The Foundation will also have a book stand at the Hotel Commodore during the congress session, and, if present plans mature, we shall have on display many interesting mementoes of Henry George's life, loaned by Mrs. Anna George deMille, and a collection of first editions and original documents borrowed from other friends.

V. G. PETERSON, Executive Secretary.

## May-June Issue—In Memoriam

WE have extra copies of the Joseph Dana Miller Memorial issue. On request of our subscribers, copies will be furnished at the usual rates.

## An Appeal

By HENRY J. FOLEY

I APPEAL to land reformers for the formation of clubs or forums to develop elementary thinking in the nation, and through this thinking, to produce action which will end depressions; and I suggest the following programme:

1. Reduce the reform to its elemental facts. The elemental fact of land monopoly is that it bars men from a place to work, reducing them to helplessness; and those who find employment must compete for wages against millions of starving other men, hammering wages down to the minimum.

2. Ignore fine spun theories, elaborate proofs, and side issues. The fact that men are reduced to unemployment or low wages should be enough to damn the land monopoly system.

3. Land reformers should organize to form a nucleus, to spread their gospel and to leaven the mass. At the beginning, the literature should be of the most elementary kind.

4. If men can be convinced that land monopoly is the cause of their wretchedness there should be a ready response to calls for funds necessary for the work. If the hearers can not be brought to this point it is conclusive evidence that the work has been defective. The financing of land reform in a nation by the contributions of a few enthusiasts is an impossible task.

5. The natural ally of any reformer is the man who is suffering for the reform. The ally of the land reformer is the man out of work, the man on low wages, the taxed-to-death manufacturer and business man, and every man who is living by his work instead of by privilege. In an autocracy, the poor are helpless to effect a reform, and reform is almost impossible. In a democracy these men could effect a reform at the next election if they understood the facts—if they could be induced to think. And they are the only ones who can effect a thorough-going and permanent reform. If a reform could be effected by a few men through some lucky accident without the cooperation and thinking of the majority it would be speedily upset by the next demagogue with a silver tongue. The only possible hope of permanent reform is in elemental and widespread thinking.

6. From this forum work there should be a rigid exclusion of side issues, learned excursions into higher economics, and anything beyond the facts which the people already know but have neglected to apply. There is ample room for economics and the philosophies of land reform in the colleges, and in the "land reform" schools.

7. If people are properly interested in land reform they will speedily get into action, and the nucleus of land reformers should take steps toward a broader organization. Men who are convinced that they have been banished from the earth will not be slow to advise their legis-

lators that they want their rights in the earth, not doles, relief, and regimentation.

8. Once a solidified interest has been enlisted it will be possible to have legislative bills introduced. If such bills fail of passage, a huge amount of publicity will be secured, and land reform will become a live issue.

## From Editor Beckwith's *Forum*

JULY 6, 1939

### ROBSON PUTS HIS WORST FOOT FORWARD AND SO LOSES CREDIT

His article in LAND AND FREEDOM is a much better article than appears on its face.

A CORRESPONDENT writes to ask what the editor makes of the article by Ray Robson, entitled "The Paramount Issue," pages 92 and 93 of LAND AND FREEDOM, for May and June.

He quoted Robson's statement:

Land is but one of the factors of production and the interference with economic freedom caused by the private appropriation of rent is but one of such interferences. Other interferences are equally unjustified and may at times be even more harmful.

He then lists the hampering of Capital by discriminatory laws, the interference with labor by ill-advised labor laws, and concludes:

Our country and the world have suffered long enough from attempts to prevent the operation of economic law, attempts made alike by the so-called friends of Labor and by the so-called, rather the self-styled economists, whose knowledge of economics is limited to a knowledge of some of the details of that science based upon no comprehension of its fundamental principles.

Those who truly understand economics know that the efforts of this class of political leaders to lead the way to a better life have only resulted in leading us into a deeper mire of depression, and that these so-called friends of Labor are really the worst enemies of the laborers as well as of society in general.

This is the first article by Robson that has come to the notice of this office. It has some splendid material. His discussion of Labor, of relief, and of natural law in the economic realm is excellent.

But that introductory paragraph alarmed the correspondent referred to; for this correspondent could see how that paragraph could derail the thought of many—perhaps of the majority of his readers.

He was completely up-set by the statement that the private appropriation of rent is "but one" of the interferences with our freedom, and that "other interferences may at times be even more harmful."

He could see that this is like saying that Atlas, the giant who stands on a turtle and carries the world on his shoulders, carries more weight than the turtle.

That reference to other interferences is most unfortunate; and the comparison of the harmful effects is a compound misfortune.

The fact of the matter is that neither Labor nor Capital would be hampered by restrictive laws, if it were not for the private appropriation of rent; nor would Labor be organized for collective bargaining if it were not for this private appropriation; nor would there be any need for relief.

It is true that the Unions and the Relief fiasco and the meddling with business by legislators and by Congress are more in evidence than the private appropriation of rent, just as Atlas might be easily seen by some who would entirely overlook the turtle on which he stands.

And, while it is true that alert students would understand Robson, it is also true that others might be misled by his statement.

Had Robson pointed out the connection between the private appro-

priation of rent and shown that these more conspicuous and more talked-of interferences with freedom are themselves the result of the private appropriation, his article would have been a gem.

Unfortunately, the uninitiated have to have these connections pointed out. They cannot be trusted to discover them for themselves.

## Henry George School of Social Science

THE able and energetic Society for Long Island Georgeists, of which Dr. S. A. Schneidmann is moving spirit, gave another graduate dinner in Jamaica on Friday, June 23. Several of the graduates made very fine speeches. It was a pleasure to hear them state that what they had learned in the classes was of such value to them in their business life that they knew they could "carry on" and show others the fundamental truths expounded by Henry George.

Besides the graduates, Charles Johnson Post, Spencer Heath and Frank Chodorov also spoke. The Long Island Georgeists' classes are held under the auspices of the New York School and are arousing considerable interest in that part of the country. The speeches of the graduates showed an encouraging enthusiasm to spread the gospel further, and to be of use in interesting others, not merely to learn but to carry out as far as possible, in their public, community and business life, the principles laid down by Henry George.

The final commencement exercises of the Henry George School of Social Science in Greater Boston were held on the estate of John S. Codman, 57 Quail Street, West Roxbury, Mass., on the evening of June 22. The affair was conducted as a garden party.

## Activities of The Manhattan Single Tax Club

PRESIDENT CHARLES H. INGERSOLL has had his sixth call as guest-speaker at Commencement Exercises of major Henry George School extensions:—Philadelphia, Hudson, N. Y., Hartford, Waterbury, Jamaica and Pittsburgh.

Mr. Ingersoll's original and simple methods of presenting Georgeian economics is particularly welcome to the student-graduate whose academic training needs an abundance of ways to apply economics.

It has been Mr. Ingersoll's aim for over five years in his current events economic broadcasts (of which there have been over 4,000) to utilize things that happen every day and familiar personalities, to give point to simple basic economic truths.

### PITTSBURGH HGSSS COMMENCEMENT, JULY 7

Graduating over 100 students from the half dozen classes in the city attracted all the latent interest from every quarter to the Banquet and Commencement Exercises, over 200 being present. Mayor McNair presided and engaged in many good-natured altercations with the guest-of-honor. Besides many short speeches from graduates and teachers, several prominent Georgeists addressed the grad-

uates. Mr. Ingersoll besides his inspiring talk gave many illustrations of his unique radio messages, and answered questions for nearly an hour.

### FOURTH OF JULY BROADCAST, STATION WMBW

This was a very unusual thirty-minute broadcast in which Robt. C. Bowers and J. C. Weaver interviewed Mr. Ingersoll. First on his personal and business achievements; second, they led him into an exposition of his Georgeist current events; and finally they heckled him on a wide range of Single Tax theory and practice. Much comment was heard on this broadcast at Mr. Ingersoll's subsequent five meetings.

### EVANS CITY KIWANIS CLUB, JULY 5,

Mayor McNair arranged meeting; 60 present; double the expected number due to interest in the guest-speaker. Mr. Ingersoll's presentation to business men is most effective, as proven by one and one-half hour's quiz in which nearly everyone took part.

### ELLWOOD CITY ROTARY, JULY 6

Mr. Weaver arranged this dinner-meeting which duplicated yesterday's in large attendance (about 85), close attention and intensive questions, which Mr. Ingersoll is a past master in answering.

By the way, he says a meeting is not one without plenty of questions. Then these, in and around Pittsburgh, must have pleased him.

Here less than an hour was available after his effective half-hour talk, as he had to be hustled to his next meeting.

### MEETING EX-CONGRESSMAN ECKERT'S FRIENDS, JULY 6

At Beaver, Pa., 9 P. M. The Congressman was chairman and led both the speaker and audience into very intimate discussion of many phases of economics. About 60 present. A happy combination of laymen and students that speaker Ingersoll expertly assimilated.

### HENRY GEORGE CLUB LUNCHEON, JULY 7

Arranged by Secretary Percy Williams. Chairman was Hon. Geo. E. Evans. Though club closed for the season, this announcement brought out double the usual crowd—about 60—including three representatives of Mayor Scully whom Mr. Ingersoll called on in the morning. The speaker's admirable address to this unusual audience was well received, and especially the forthright answers to an hour's questioning.

### MR. INGERSOLL'S BROADCASTS

#### WEEKLY SUMMER SCHEDULE

Sunday, 3:15 P. M., WOV (1000 watts 1100 KC); 8:45 P. M., WBIL (5000 watts 1100 KC) *Public Service Forum Hour. President Ingersoll, Chairman Director.*

Monday, 10:30 A. M., WVRL. Thursday, 8:15 A. M., WLTH. Friday, 12:45 P. M., WDAS (Philadelphia); 3:15 P. M., WSNJ (Bridgeton); 7 P. M., WTNJ (Trenton).

### EXCERPTS FROM RECENT INGERSOLL BROADCASTS

BASIC MONOPOLY IS PLAINLY DISTINGUISHABLE AND NOT TO BE DENIED. Can anyone deny that the earth was designed—no matter how created—for the use of those living on it? Can anyone deny that those living on it give it all its value? Can it be denied that these values—equalling all labor-capital-created-wealth—are the only right source of taxation? Can it be denied that taxing of labor-capital products makes their cost high, production low and hence disemploys millions? Can anyone deny that we have such taxes only because basic monopoly is largely untaxed? Therefore, is it not obvious that attacking basic monopoly—by shifting all taxes to it—would not only disturb a negligible number, whose major



interest is in such values, but would benefit probably 98 per cent of the people—and business and capital whose customers and employees they largely are?

WHAT IS COMMUNISM? A question uncovering vast psychological weakness, or ignorance. It is the philosophy of Karl Marx; just as are also socialism, bolshevism and fascism. They all mean domination of the individual by the state, through regimentation and bureaucracy. The variations are only in detail, in spite of the fact that they do not recognize each other always, and therefore fight to the death.

THE ISSUE OF INDIVIDUALISM VS. COLLECTIVISM IS PERHAPS AS ALIVE IN RUSSIA AS IN THIS COUNTRY, though we are supposed to be exactly opposite to them. But we neglect to properly define and defend our individualism while they are in trouble over their collectivism because it goes against human nature and natural law. The Soviet is supposed to have collective farming, and has elaborate plants organized collectively. But the peasants, even working under the tyranny of the Tsars, don't like the tyranny of collectivism much better.

"WHAT IS THIS 'SIMPLE TRUTH' YOU CREDIT MR. SO AND SO WITH; but which he and his few friends are so slow in getting across?" "It is the answer to the riddle of the sphinx; why we have poverty when there is plenty." "And what is that simple answer?" "It is that about half of all we earn is taken from us by basic monopoly." "That is indeed simple! Is the proof also available?" "Yes, (1) this monopoly amounts to as much as all our wealth, \$200,000,000,000. (2) It is untaxed because we put all taxes on our wages, capital and wealth." "And the cure—is that also simple and obvious?" "Yes, to reverse the cause by just shifting all the taxes off industry and onto monopoly." "I give up," says the Heckler, "you have won your case of simplicity; but I am not so sure it fits into this world of barbed-wire entanglements."

## Mr. Kellogg and Unemployment

(Reprinted from *The Churchman*)

To the Editor of *The Churchman*.

I READ in my copy of *The Churchman*, July number, that in his keynote address before the 5,000 social workers gathered in Buffalo for the National Conference of Social Work, Paul Kellogg, distinguished editor of the *Survey* and president of the conference, minced no words about relief. "Any one" (said Mr. Kellogg) "who thinks mere business recovery is going to get us out of the woods of public assistance is blind to what is afoot." "He begged the social workers who were his hearers to do everything possible to make clear that the advances of science and world changes were responsible for unemployment."

Well, there you have it: there you have solution of our social problem.

But let us do a little thinking in reverse under the aegis of factual logic. A satisfactory conclusion demands that we do this: If, then, there had been no scientific advances and no world-changes since the time of the root-grubbers and shell-grabbers, would there be no unemployment today? Certainly there would not be, any more than there is unemployment, or relief, or bread-lines among the animals, the birds of the air, or the fishes of the sea. Our world would have continued unto this present as delightfully static for the human race as for the tadpole and the mosquito. Very surely there would be no such thing as what we call civilization.

So, following out the logic of Mr. Kellogg's solution of the unemployment problem, our only recourse is to scrap all the scientific advances of the struggling centuries of human existence, and fall on our knees and try to persuade a guiding Omnipotence to decree forthwith a static, changeless world!

Fortunately, there is other logic than Mr. Kellogg's which it may be well to heed. This logic tells us that it is not "scientific advances," but human stupidity-plus-iniquity in not making proper use of scientific advances that is responsible for unemployment and destitution. If a relatively few super-elephantish elephants, or super-tigers, or lions, or leopards managed to corral the only available forage grounds that could provide sustenance for their fellow elephants, lions, tigers, leopards, demanding that these forage for them, their over-lords, as well as for themselves, how long before there would be gaunt and hungry elephants, lions, tigers, leopards, thousands, maybe, millions, of them begging for relief? The instinct of the lower creatures, it would seem, is wiser than man's boasted intellect; wherefore there is among them a common fatness, a common well-being; none millionaires in any animalish sort of way, none degraded to what we know as "the level of the brute"; nothing like unto London or New York slums, or Southern share-croppers. The four-legged animals have never been led by their God-given instinct to grab the choicest portions of the productive earth for themselves, demanding tribute of those who would apply to it their productive labor. They have never been dominated by a benevolent government which fulminated against monopolies in general, but was stubbornly, strangely blind to the giant monopoly confronting it on every side; the *land monopoly*; the monopoly of the ultimate *source of all wealth*; of all that feeds, clothes and shelters human bodies.

Give men access to land, make its productive capacity as available to all as to some, and Mr. Kellogg will not then need to worry about scientific advances; for they will but serve to make human labor more effective in procuring in greater abundance the things that minister to the welfare of their life.

New Orleans, La.

QUINCY EWING.

## In Palestine

I HAVE been much interested in recent editorials on Palestine. I have been there twice in the past twelve years and naturally became interested in the situation.

I could not go to Damascus because there was fighting going on between the French and the Syrians. As I gathered from various observations there was a general feeling that the English mandate in Palestine was working much better than the French mandate in Syria.

My information was that the Arabs outnumbered the Jews in Palestine four or five to one, and that the Arabs resented the fact that their land might be passing from them. There seems no doubt that the present trouble in Palestine comes from the land question.

The word land reminds me of a personal incident which I may be permitted to relate. On a train going one day from Jerusalem to Joppa I happened to be in a compartment with an American engineer in the employment of the British Government. He was a graduate of Cornell University. During our conversation he suddenly asked me if I had known anything about Henry George or his plan for the taxation of land value. I told him that I had known Mr. George very well. He said that in America he had regarded the George movement very lightly, but that since he had been in Palestine he had come to the conclusion that this theory might be the solution of the trouble between the Jews and the Arabs.

To show how wide-spread are the problems of the land

question in Palestine, my friend on the train informed me that two-thirds of the Province of Galilee is subject to absentee landlordism. It is not easy to compare areas in the old country and the new. The drive from Haifa through Nazareth across Galilee to Tiberias is about like the drive across an average county in most of our states. Roughly speaking I think we may say that the size of Galilee is about two-thirds that of an average county in Virginia.

—J. H. DILLARD in *The Washington Post*.

## New Zealand and the Recent Vote

OVERSEAS readers of *The Commonwealth* will be well advised not to jump to the conclusion that the people of New Zealand have gone over to Socialism, for that interpretation of the general election results would be far from the truth.

Our version of what happened is this:—The electors, for the most part, came to the conclusion that they had to choose one out of two evils—Socialist soothing syrup, or castor oil and concentration camps. In these circumstances they plumped for the soothing syrup, and in so doing they were keeping company with one of the clearest-headed of the older eminent English political economists, John Stuart Mill. Readers of his "Principles" may recall that Mill, in dealing with Communism, said that if it were a choice of Communism or the present state of affairs, where parasites reap the greatest rewards and the useful people the least, Communism would be infinitely preferable. Fascism is an attempt in the first place to stabilize the unjust conditions prevailing, though it later becomes solely the political tool of the political gangsters in office.

The writing is on the wall; if the people of means and education will not fight for the Justice the Cooperative Commonwealth League stands for, then the end will almost certainly be a triumph in New Zealand for Communism. Free cooperation is the only alternative to some form of collectivist slavery, such as Socialism, Communism, Fascism, and the like. Fight for the Cooperative Commonwealth!

Jan.-Feb. *Commonweal* of New Zealand.

HAVING accepted his appointment as Minister to France, Jefferson went to Paris before the revolution began there. He was well received from the start. The tall slender American was an impressive figure. "You replace Dr. Franklin, I hear," said the French minister of foreign affairs. "I succeed him," Jefferson replied, "nobody could replace him."

ON July 23 last, Benjamin W. Burger spoke over radio station WBIL on *The Elements of Democracy*. He advised his listeners to buy George's books.

## The WPA Strikes

By STEPHEN BELL

It is hard to say which is the more absurd—the WPA strikes or the WPA programme itself. Here we have a great, rich country with unmatched natural resources which, intelligently handled, might be made a garden, a land of happy, prosperous homes, but which by mishandling and maltreatment has been made a land of *disemployed*, unhappy and miserable people.

We boast of being a land of the free, while ten to twelve millions of us are not free to make an honest living, for, with all our boasting, our thinking and planning are aimed at domination and control, the very opposite of freedom. Thus have we brought about a condition in which these matchless resources have been made the private property and possession of a comparatively few, who utilize and develop them only as it is profitable or suits their private purposes.

That the nation and the world is suffering the natural consequences of destructive taxation is no secret. There is scarcely a man or woman in the country who will not admit that vicious and mischievous taxation is in some way connected with this the greatest and most prolonged depression in our history. Yet what does our government do about it? Astounding as it may seem, it *increases* the amount and variety of the already multitudinous and multiform taxes which *caused* the depression, in order to raise funds to cure or alleviate it and bring about business recovery. It even "borrows from the future" to raise funds for this purpose and has thus added more than twenty thousand millions of dollars to the national debt.

It has created no new purchasing power by such means, at best it has only shifted purchasing power from the people to the government, and much of it has been lost in the process.

Of the public works projected and carried through to "make work" for the unemployed, such as those of the WPA, many of them have been economically useless, and I fear that most of this "work" has benefited only those who owned lands taken for, or adjacent to the improvements. Especially is this true of the great motor highways which have been and are being constructed.

That the whole system of relief, both direct and by way of "made work" is reeking with "graft" is a matter of general belief if not of general knowledge. Never yet have governments provided opportunities for "graft" without attracting an army of grafters to work it for all it is worth, and the opportunities for graft inhere in the system. Our recent labor legislation has provided further opportunities along this line, and some of our labor unions have taken full advantage of them. No doubt they are motivated by a desire to get "theirs" too. Our whole fabric of morals and honesty is being shot to pieces.

The crowning absurdity, it seems to me, is the action of certain of the "WPA" unions in invoking the "strike" to maintain and strengthen their grip on the system. Utterly failing to see that business has been crippled and paralyzed by taxes in order to maintain "made work" ideas, they wish to perpetuate the absurdity. In what are essentially charitable employment enterprises, they will not accept the "employment" except at "regular" rates!

Such a state of mind is the outcome of the so-called liberal view of things. But who and what are the "liberals" of whom we hear so much? They are a nondescript collection of people who think "liberal" means "generous," and are extremely generous—with other people's money.

It would be interesting to know in what direction these "liberals" have extended human liberty. Certainly they have not extended economic liberty, the liberty to earn an honest living and enjoy what one has earned. Nor will they while the masses regard as "liberals" those who use the name to wage new restrictions on economic liberty. They live on other people's earnings and strike for more.

Where will these folks be at the day of reckoning? It is evident they have no heed for the morrow, when retrenchment comes, as come it must.

## Will of John B. Sharpe

UNDER the will of J. B. Sharpe of Pittsburgh, who died last December at Atlantic City, his half million dollar estate is left to the "United Committee for Taxation of Land Values, Ltd.," of London, England. The will provides that the interest from the estate and one twenty-fifth of the principal each year are to be expended using Henry George's book "Progress and Poverty" as a guide.

Mr. Sharpe will be remembered as the author of "The New Political Economy."

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE HUDSON

BY CARL CARMER

Cloth. 434 pp. \$2.50. Farrar & Rinehart, N. Y.

Carl Carmer, after three years of browsing around in libraries, historical societies, and talking to people, up and down both sides of the Hudson River, has produced a book titled "The Hudson." The author has presented his material in so craftsman-like a manner as to hold the reader's attention from beginning to end.

To Georgeists, however, the most interesting part of the book consists of about fifty pages, mostly in a chapter headed "Without Indecorum of Behavior" and another chapter headed "Tin Horn Rebellion" containing much information that can be used in the Georgeist cause.

Carl Carmer's work, coupled with the "History of the Great American Fortunes" by Gustavus Myers, together with facts buried away in histories of Colonial America and of the early days of the United States, is the sort of mental dynamite by which the hardpan of the American mind may be broken up.

The realistic ideas contained in "The Hudson" provide a marked contrast with some of the notions appearing in the American press. The *New York Times*, for instance, in a Fourth of July editorial among other things goes on to state: "On Independence Day no one, except a traffic policeman, tells us what to do." The *Times*' writer was forgetting the cigarette tax and the sales tax. Continuing, the editorial states: "But no observer unfamiliar with our ways should be misled. It is still an American belief that 'all men are created equal'—not equally intelligent or equally tall but equal in their rights as citizens." For the benefit of this *New York Times*' editorial writer and others, Carl Carmer's book, Gustavus Myers' book referred to and Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" show conclusively that never since 1776 has there been in America any such condition where all citizens had equality of rights.

The chapter in Carl Carmer's book headed "Without Indecorum of Behavior" is a perfect gem of a plot for a Georgeist movie or play. Nine years before the Revolutionary War there occurred an episode in the vicinity of the Hudson River, which remained for Carl Carmer to give proper emphasis. The story is as follows:

A young Irishman by the name of William Prendergast married a Quaker girl by the name of Mehitabel. Prendergast was a tenant farmer on the land of Frederick Philipse "who owned not only the Prendergast farm but thousands of acres near by, tens of thousands in Westchester County, and a great manor house overlooking the Hudson at Yonkers."

When Prendergast's third child was about to be born he ran into hard luck. His crops were poor and he was behind in his rent. The general supposition among Americans is that in the era preceding the Revolutionary War there was plenty of land for all comers. There was plenty of land, but not for all comers, for all the usable land had been parcelled out by the royalty of England and their governors to a

handful of great landed aristocrats like Frederick Philipse. Prendergast therefore had one of two choices, either to be a tenant farmer or take a chance of being killed by the Indians by settling on Indian land.

Visiting Yonkers, Prendergast had occasion to observe his farm landlord holding manorial court as was his feudal right, sentencing tenants who were behind in their rent with corporal punishment and imprisonment. What aroused his ire and hatred was the information that all Frederick Philipse paid the British crown as an annual quitrent for his vast holdings was exactly the amount that he himself had to pay as annual rent for the land of his little farm.

When sheriffs in the vicinity of Prendergast's home jailed two farmers for not paying rent, Prendergast could contain himself no longer. He became busy as a leader in organizing the farmers to resist the landlords. He led a thousand farmers through the manors of the Hudson River valley and declared manor rents abolished. They almost invaded New York City. Finally a regiment of soldiers was sent after them. Prendergast was induced by his wife to surrender. He was indicted for high treason.

The trial was held at Poughkeepsie. Prendergast was found guilty and sentenced to be hung, but was saved by the action of his wife, who after a most remarkable horseback ride all the way to Fort George, New York City, obtained a reprieve from Governor Moore, then rode all the way back, just in time to save her husband's life. "In less than three days she had ridden a horse a hundred and sixty miles, won the governor's favor, written the petition, obtained the reprieve—all these after the trial ordeal of twenty-four sleepless hours."

Those who believe that the common people obtained equal rights after 1776 will be disillusioned on reading the chapter headed "Tin Horn Rebellion." In that chapter there is told of another uprising of farmers against the landed aristocracy of the Hudson River valley led by a young doctor. The date was 1844.

Wherever else the cradle of liberty may have rocked, it would be erroneous to think that the Hudson River valley estates had anything but contempt for the rights of man. That part of the country was ordained at an early date to be the seat of landed privilege, the arch foe of freedom throughout the centuries.—H. E.

THE Henry George School of Social Science has published a new edition of "Democracy vs. Socialism" by Max Hirsch. This book (492 pages) was first published in 1901 and is a critical examination of Socialism and an answer to Karl Marx. The school is preparing a syllabus for the use of teachers and will conduct special classes on the subject matter contained in the book, which it will use as a text.

## Legal Note

On advice of counsel, please take notice that any bequests intended for this journal but made before May 8, 1939, may have lapsed by reason of the death of our predecessor, Joseph Dana Miller, on that date. LAND AND FREEDOM is a proprietary name, and in order to insure against the lapsing of any bequest or legacy, the testator's Will should be re-executed and the bequest drawn in the following form.

### FORM OF BEQUEST

I bequeath to Clifford H. Kendal and Charles Joseph Smith (or the survivor), doing business under the name of LAND AND FREEDOM, the sum of \$..... (or other property).

## Correspondence

### A CORRECTION

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

May I venture to call your attention to a misprint in the May-June number of LAND AND FREEDOM. On page 83 in the fourth paragraph of my brief appreciation of the late Joseph Dana Miller the last word makes the meaning a complete contradiction to my intent. For "selfishness" please read "selflessness."

Northport, N. Y.

EMILY E. F. SKEEL.

LAND AND FREEDOM continues to receive letters of encouragement as to its continuance, in many cases accompanied by checks. One of our enthusiasts, enclosing his subscription, writes: "I hope you may be able to keep LAND AND FREEDOM going as it is a beacon light in a crazy world."

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

May I add my tribute to the memory of Joseph Dana Miller. He was a loyal and devoted friend, a warrior bold in the great fight for human freedom and justice, a gentle and kind-hearted man, a considerate antagonist in polemics, and withal a lovable character.

His clear and vivid exposition of the Philosophy and Economics of Henry George left little to fear that our cause, so long as that mind lasted, was in competent hands.

Few knew the dark days that LAND AND FREEDOM weathered, when a little ready cash would have eased a tormented and harassed mind.

Some day some affluent subscriber to LAND AND FREEDOM will gather the writings of Comment and Reflection and put them in book form and they will be treasured and valued for their wonderful story of progress along the lines as laid down by Henry George.

When we were downhearted and despaired at the seeming slowness of progress, we were cheered and heartened by reading from all over the world, welcome news of gains and of soldiers of the cause, taking renewed strength in fighting for the greatest cause in the world, namely, the abolition of poverty.

Joseph Dana Miller has gone, yet he lives in the minds and hearts of those he inspired to accomplish the work of Henry George.

New York City.

MORRIS VAN VEEN.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I am glad you are going to carry on. We just couldn't do without the publication. You are keeping up its standard so far and I have no doubt you will continue. Much success to you. But I shall miss Mr. Miller. We all do, of course.

Arlington, Va.

ELIZABETH M. PHILLIPS.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

As I have not the pleasure of knowing you personally, I address you in your official capacity, and have pleasure in enclosing remittance. . . . I trust that Mr. Miller's death will not affect the publication of your excellent periodical.

Judge's Chambers, Wellington, New Zealand.

P. J. O'REGAN.

### FROM THE EDITOR OF *Land and Liberty*

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Here's wishing LAND AND FREEDOM the greatest success in carrying on the Joseph Dana Miller tradition, with a largely increased subscribers' list also.

London, England.

A. W. MADSEN.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In renewing my subscription to LAND AND FREEDOM (check inclosed), I can not forego expressing the feeling that it is a real sense of loss that I am no longer to have the mental gratification of read-

ing Joseph Dana Miller's "Comment and Reflection" columns. To me these comments were the best conceived and the most penetrating in relation to current problems and proposals, and in pointing out the futility of accomplishing any worthwhile advances in economic betterment by superficial processes, appearing in LAND AND FREEDOM. Though I had few personal contacts with Mr. Miller there was, nevertheless, between us that endearing personal touch that grows out of many years of sympathetic mental understandings. He was among the last of the Old Guard emerging in the early days of the George movement, and carried the torch of truth faithfully and intelligently through all the years.

Trusting that LAND AND FREEDOM may have many more years of usefulness.

Indianapolis, Ind.

JOHN F. WHITE (Age 86).

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

No amount of eulogy could picture Joseph Dana Miller so vividly as your article in the memorial number of LAND AND FREEDOM. It warmed my heart to see my husband's name in the story of that intimate group of comrades. My blessings to those who carried on during Mr. Miller's illness and who propose to keep carrying on the great work founded by him. "Founded" is the word. I well remember the meeting of the Manhattan Single Tax Club at which the matter was discussed. There were other Single Tax papers. *Justice*, edited by Arthur C. Pleydell, was the best of them. Frank Stephens, too, pleaded for *Justice*. But Miller would have none of them. He stood firmly for a dignified paper that would have on its exchange list other high class magazines. Yes, "Founded" is the correct word, founded on faith, hope, vision and brains. He had said, "There is no problem of interest." (I love that.) It also seemed to him that there was no problem of money. LAND AND FREEDOM will always mean Miller to me. To the new Editors I say, "The Lord be with you. May you hold high the torch of truth as he did and keep the flame burning that he lighted in 1901 in the name of Henry George."

London, Canada.

CHRISTINE ROSS BARKER.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

When I received my copy of the May-June, 1939, issue of LAND AND FREEDOM yesterday, I learned for the first time of the death of Joseph Dana Miller on May 8, 1939. The news of his death came as a distinct shock. I sincerely hope that the work he started, and to which he devoted his life, will be carried on by others, and, particularly, the continuation of the paper, LAND AND FREEDOM, which I think is a distinct asset to the Henry George movement.

Saint Paul, Minn.

JOSEPH F. COWERN.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I received the memorial copy of LAND AND FREEDOM.

It would be a calamity if LAND AND FREEDOM were not continued in publication. This movement needs a magazine that will cover all the different activities impartially.

New York, N. Y.

H. C. MAGUIRE.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

It will be a long time before we shall accept the death of Joseph Dana Miller as a certainty. As the mind of man is part of the "eternal and infinite intellect of God," so we come to believe that such men as Joseph Dana Miller cannot perish.

He will be greatly missed. His was the clearest mentality, the bravest spirit, the skillful pen, the prophetic voice.

It seems to us that Joseph Dana Miller was a voice crying in the wilderness just before the advent of the better day. For wherever we turn we seem to catch the whisper of approaching fulfillment.

but victory will come only when we, who carry on the battle, will renew the conflict with even greater determination and more effective action.

So "Fight on!"

With kind greetings and very best wishes from Cincinnati friends.  
Cincinnati, Ohio.

RABBI MICHAEL AARONSOHN.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

LAND AND FREEDOM is well worth \$2.00 to me. I trust you will keep it going. We do not expect a continuance of J. D. Miller, but we hope for great things from his successors.

With best wishes and with thanks for the fine work you—all—are doing.  
Ottawa, Canada.

A. C. CAMPBELL.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The latest issue was splendid—but infinitely saddening to me. I have known Miller personally—and affectionately—for thirty-five years. He is among ten of those dear to me who have gone in the past year.

Always so able, nothing more able and penetrating, in my opinion, has come from his pen than the article "Lost—the Individual." It should be printed in folder form, and it occurs to me if so, if placed in the hands of preachers, it *might* stir them out of their religious slabbetry.

With warm good wishes for you in your work.  
Kansas City, Mo.

VERNON J. ROSE.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Congratulations to LAND AND FREEDOM on the courage and honesty shown in publishing Ray Robson's remarkable article in the May-June issue, entitled "The Present Paramount Issue."

Norfolk, Conn.

JOSEPH R. CARROLL.

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In the *New York Times* Book Review of July 16, 1939, there was a long review on Franklin Walker's recently issued volume *San Francisco's Literary Frontier*. Miss Anita Moffett, the reviewer, gives an interesting survey, with comments, on the names most generally known throughout the country, which naturally include those who were not California-born. But of added interest is what Miss Moffett wrote as the last paragraph, summing up her criticism:

"Strangely enough, of all who observed these two decades in which the new society was born and grew to rapid maturity, Henry George, almost alone, tried to understand the forces which had made the new community develop only the more rapidly the evils of older societies, to learn why poverty increased with wealth and property gravitated into fewer hands, and Bancroft alone conceived and executed in one working lifetime the immense project of collecting, while there was yet time, the source material, preserving it to be drawn upon by those who should, in the future, seek to study it more intensively."

I trust this may be of interest as a straw blowing in the wind.

Northport, N. Y.

EMILY E. F. SKEEL.

## NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

MASSACHUSETTS is being hard pressed to find things to tax. In consequence Governor Saltonstall has advocated increasing taxes on liquor, cigarettes, etc. The Committee on Taxation of the Legislature has been holding hearings on the suggestions and that gave opponents of the things that were to be taxed higher an opportunity to register a vigorous protest against the proposals. The sales tax has advocates and an army of opponents.

John S. Codman and a group of associates sent a letter to the Gov-

ernor outlining a system of taxation which it was claimed would solve taxation problems. The Governor turned the document over to the taxation committee and so the following got into the papers:

"Arguing that a distinction should be made between land and improvements on land, such as houses, Codman said the real estate tax should be levied on the actual value of the land, which is called 'ground rent.'"

"We are entirely in accord with the idea that home owners and all other owners of well improved property are at present tremendously overtaxed with results that are disastrous, and we believe that the taxes on improvements should be greatly reduced, if not abolished. On the other hand, we believe that adequate payment for the privilege of owning the locations on which homes are to be built or industry is to be carried on, constitutes the natural revenue for any municipality and is quite sufficient for the purposes of revenue."

June 29, 1939

To His Excellency the Governor,  
State House,  
Boston, Mass.

My dear Governor:

Your secretary, Mr. Daniel J. Lynch, has informed me that you will be glad to obtain any ideas which I may have in regard to the problem of public revenue, the solution of which is so desperately urgent. You have already expressed your opinion that economy in public expenditure, although necessary, will not prove to be a solution of the problem and, therefore, that some action must be taken to modify our methods of securing state and municipal revenues; and in particular that new ways of obtaining revenue must be found in order that the load of taxation on "real estate" may be lightened and thus our homes be made more secure and our state be made more attractive for industries.

I am fully aware (and so are those who have associated themselves with me in the sending of this letter to you) that the assumption of over-taxation of "real estate" has been accepted by many as a fact beyond dispute, and that in consequence it has been seriously suggested that our Constitution should be amended so as to limit the tax rate on "real estate" to a definite figure, probably as low as \$25 in a \$1,000. It is this very assumption which we venture to call in question as a half truth and as such exceedingly dangerous as a guide. Nevertheless, the matter of obtaining public revenue from "real estate" is, we believe, the crux of the question. Both the amount to be obtained from it and in particular the manner of raising it are questions of vital consequence.

You will perhaps have noticed that in using the term "real estate," in this letter we have presented it in quotation marks. We have done this for the reason that the term is not one that we like to use because of the fact that most of the confusion over our revenue problem arises directly from a failure to understand just what the term means. The term "real estate" is misleading because included in it are two things essentially different in character which must be considered separately if the discussion of how to raise revenue is to be intelligently carried on. These two things are first the land, the possession of which represents *opportunity*, and second, the buildings and other improvements upon the land which are the result of the *use* made of opportunity. To levy a tax on the value of the land is to require part payment for an opportunity afforded to the owner by the community. To levy a tax on the improvements made by the owner is to discourage the proper use of such opportunity, that is, to discourage the employment of capital and labor in building homes and carrying on industry. For purposes of raising public revenue from "real estate," we believe that it is essential to separate "real estate" into its component parts as above stated, and that failure to do so results in proposals and actions which are highly unintelligent.

We are entirely in accord with the idea that home owners and all

other owners of well improved property are at present tremendously overtaxed with results that are disastrous, and we believe that the taxes on improvements should be greatly reduced, if not abolished. On the other hand, we believe that adequate payment for the privilege of owning the locations on which homes are to be built or industry is to be carried on, constitutes the natural revenue for any municipality and is quite sufficient for the purposes of revenue. We therefore, submit for your attention a statement "Ground Rent, The Natural Municipal Income," which indicates clearly, we believe, that we ought to secure immediately more nearly adequate payment for the privilege of exclusive possession of the opportunities afforded by titles to land, and thus make it possible to reduce greatly or to abolish the taxes on home owning and on industry.

The names of the individuals associated with me join in requesting that you give this matter careful consideration.

Yours respectfully,

John S. Codman (and 14 associates.)

NOTE.—The letter entitled "Ground Rent, The Natural Municipal Income" is omitted as it covers technical ground familiar to Georgeists. It would be an excellent model for similar use. We know of no state where the situation differs from that of Massachusetts.—ED.

MR. AND MRS. JOHN H. WAMBOUGH of Suffern, N. Y., announce the arrival of a son on May 31—John Howard, Jr. Mrs. Wambough (nee Annette Kaufmann) served the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation as executive secretary for many years. She also has a charming little daughter.

THE Georgeists of Philadelphia will celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Henry George by giving a dinner in his honor on Saturday evening, September 9, at 7 P. M.

They extend a most cordial invitation to all to be present that evening at Kugler's Restaurant, 15th Street, north of Chestnut.

They have a very interesting programme and are looking forward to the largest affair of its kind ever held in Philadelphia. They will feature an unexcelled dinner, fine speakers. There will be an entertainment and awarding of certificates to recent graduates of the Henry George School of Social Science.

MISS HELEN DENBIGH has sent us a letter from Mr. Emil Knips of Fairhope, Alabama. Mr. Knips expressed his deep regard for Joseph Dana Miller and a marked appreciation of the Memorial Number of LAND AND FREEDOM, noting in particular the tribute by Mrs. Emily F. Skeel and the article Economics vs. Atheism, by Mrs. Minnie Adams. Mr. Knips is nearly eighty years old and signs himself "a Georgeist on the job."

MRS. MARY J. MCCracken PURDY, wife of Lawson Purdy, president of the Schalkenbach Foundation, passed away on July 2 after a long illness. She was seventy-seven years of age.

Mrs. Purdy was the daughter of John and Anna Pamella Sanford McCracken. Her father, a relative of Chancellor McCracken of Trinity College, was the pastor of American Episcopal Churches in Germany and Italy, where most of Mrs. Purdy's early childhood and youth were spent. She was a woman of exceptional brilliance and culture, a linguist and devoted to the arts. After their marriage in 1885, Mr. and Mrs. Purdy spent two years in Europe. From then on they resided in New York. Through Mr. Purdy's interest in the teachings of Henry George, Mrs. Purdy became an ardent advocate of the Single Tax.

Funeral services were held on July 5 at the Chapel of the Inter-

cession, Trinity Church, New York City. Burial was in Christ Church Ground, Ryc, N. Y.

ANOTHER of the veterans has departed from our midst. Edmund K. Greene of Clear Lake, Iowa, passed unto the rest eternal on May 22 at the age of eighty-six. This leaves only one of the large family of eleven children, a brother, who resides in Middletown, New York. All of the Greene family were Single Taxers, possessed fine minds and were at all times outspoken advocates of the philosophy of Henry George.

HARRY W. STONE, for thirty-six years general secretary of the Y. M. C. A. of Portland, Oregon, died at his home in that city, Monday, June 19, 1939, at the age of seventy-one years. He was ill for several weeks prior to his death. His active career in Y. M. C. A. work ended in July, 1932.

Harry Stone's death removes one more of the active and conscientious workers in the Single Tax movement of the early part of this century. From 1909 to 1912 he was treasurer of the funds of the campaign for the enactment of an initiative Single Tax measure in the state of Oregon, being directed by W. S. U'Ren and financed primarily by the contributions of Joseph Fels. Harry Stone suffered personal obloquy for his connection with the movement. The prejudice stirred up against him became so pronounced that it was a question of his resigning from active participation in the Single Tax movement or of sacrificing his life's avocation. He did not resign, however, until after the campaign was over.

Those who are familiar with the depth of animosity that was stirred up throughout Oregon when the success of this campaign for the taxation of land-values was imminent, will appreciate the depth of the sacrifice which such men as Harry Stone and W. S. U'Ren had to make. It is a privilege to pay tribute to them for their personal contributions of heroism.

Harry Stone was born at Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, November 7, 1868. Of his immediate family, his widow, two sons and a daughter survive him.

IN a news item in the *London Telegraph* appeared the following:

When Viscount Snowden, the village boy who rose to become Chancellor of the Exchequer, died last year, his ashes were scattered on Ickornshaw Moor, near Keighley, Yorkshire, the countryside he knew as a boy, and for which he retained an undying affection to the end of his days.

Yesterday a Cairn was dedicated to his memory on this very spot, and the unveiling ceremony was performed by Viscount Sankey, a former Lord Chancellor, who was an intimate friend of Lord Snowden, throughout his political life.

Lord Sankey paid a warm tribute to his friend as a statesman who pursued his ideals with dauntless courage and as a man of unblemished life.

"Philip Snowden's great gift," he said, "was the gift of burning earnestness. You could see the man's soul shining through his face, the habit of a stainless life and of enthusiasm for high ideals. You felt you were listening not to a politician, but a prophet. He never hesitated to take the *unpopular* side if he thought it was the *right* one."

"This Cairn," Lord Sankey added, "will proclaim to all who pass by, the memory of a man who did a great work for England and whose records show that those who come from the humblest homes may take their share in guiding the destinies of our Empire."

"And so we bid him 'Hail,' but not 'Farewell.'"

"His spirit still lives on, and as long as our country can raise up men like Philip Snowden, England shall yet stand."

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

## The Henry George Centenary International Conference

THE celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the birth of Henry George will be held at Hotel Commodore, East 42d Street and Lexington Ave., adjoining Grand Central Station, New York City.

AUGUST 30 *to* SEPTEMBER 2

An outstanding program has been arranged. Georgeists from all over the world will attend and honor the memory of Henry George at the New York World's Fair on

### “Henry George Day”

This event will take place on September 2 at the Fair Grounds of the “World of Tomorrow.” Information concerning reservations and transportation may be obtained by communicating with Mr. David Targ, 30 East 29th Street, New York City.

*Let's all be on hand to answer this muster call*