

November—December, 1939

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

Concepts of Rent

John R. Nichols

Taxation Without Representation

Raymond V. McNally

The McGlynn Case

P. J. O'Regan

The Man Who Invented Plenty

A. C. Campbell

Season's Greetings

"We must conform to the Golden Rule
if we would secure the abundance of peace."

—Henry George

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LAND AND FREEDOM

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

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

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

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

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

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

Please Make Subscriptions and Checks Payable to LAND AND FREEDOM

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

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Comment and Reflection

THE forces of ignorance are best employed when masquerading in the company of idealism. As their insolence knows no bounds, we must not be surprised to find them offering their services at the altar of truth itself. For instance, nothing seems more capable of unadulterable thought than the concept of Liberty. Yet we venture to say her virtue has been not a little profaned by the attribution of a quality which is foreign to her genius.

OF frequent occurrence are such ideas as, "Let us be thankful for our freedom." The same thought is expressed, although rather gloomily, somewhere in the memoirs of Washington—"Those who are born after us will not appreciate how easily they came by that for which we have suffered. There will seem no need to cherish an independence they did not struggle to obtain." We wonder from this if the father of our country was by any chance thinking of independence and liberty as nothing more than freedom from foreign domination. It must be remembered that chattel slavery was in his day a recognized institution.

WE trust it may be now permitted to suggest that perhaps we have been thankful for something we don't quite have—and that gratitude, in the absence of understanding, may be a positive barrier to the attainment of the subject of our thanks. Can it really be considered a sign of freedom and independence that we are prone to think in terms of eternal vigilance only against the foreigner (witness our tariffs), or to "purge" our officialdom by merely "turning the rascals out" periodically? On the other hand, have we not exercised too scant a vigilance over dangers much closer to home than those seemingly supplied by foreign powers and even national politics? In truth, we have been neglectful of the fact that liberty, like charity, should begin at home, in the sphere of genuine economic tranquillity.

IT is not without a feeling of reverence that we undertake to seek clarification of why we are supposed to be thankful for the freedom we are allowed. For in look-

ing upon freedom as a matter primarily of freedom from foreign control and thanking our stars(?) we have a Democracy (*political* freedom), we suspect we are really catering to forces that are undermining it. If being thankful means thankful to some higher power, that power in truth cannot be our Heavenly Father—it is blasphemy to believe that a beneficent Creator should desire us to thank Him that we are not bondsmen. For while there are infinite ways in which gratitude and thanksgiving may be felt and uttered, is this to say we must be grateful for the right to be born as free men and to live as free men? On the contrary, we rather suspect that we have been tricked into the idea of offering this brand of gratitude, not in reality to God, but to those of His children who, through ignorance, have become the taskmasters of their brethren.

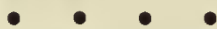
AT bottom, these prayers of thanksgiving for our freedom appear to be merely an echo of the idea that "things might be worse." This is only too evident in a world where things seem to be getting worse. If only men could understand that prayers of thanksgiving might well rest at that point where ignorance has been overthrown! To behold a free world, free in the sense that we might all be able to use the good earth, now restricted by the ignorance of men, is to indeed invoke a reverent spirit of joy that we should be part of it. If instead, we find ourselves barred from that earth, because we do not know or have forgotten what freedom is, might we not better give thanks to a Providence that now and then sends a man to teach us the real meaning of freedom? Yes, we need teachers! Anyone doubting that should be asked if it is not a sad commentary that many people seem beholden to a Bill of Rights or other parchment as the *source* of their liberty, their freedom of speech and even of the right to worship in their own faith. That a Magna Charta should be hailed as a witness to the dignity of man sounds queer indeed to those of us who know what was in the minds of the enemies of King John.

LIBERTY is a property of man that normally belongs to him as an indestructible part of his being. It cannot be bought—that would involve a contradiction. By the same token, it cannot be the subject matter of

gratitude. There is a nobility in freedom, when understood, which frowns upon any attempt to engraft upon it the convention of "thank you." Nor have we overlooked that liberty is primarily an abstract ideal, and that it permeates a man's soul only as he is able to perceive its genius. If his conception is inadequate, he shall never fully enjoy it. Take, for example, the "freedom" which our southern slaves obtained when the shackles of their bondage had been broken. A much greater degree of slavery inhered in the political liberty they received in exchange for their relatively secure economic status under the old system. As Henry George said, they became free only to compete against themselves and others for employment at starvation wages. This of course had to follow, where the soil of their "adopted" country was fenced off by institutions which disinherited them from freedom more effectively than the slave traders who had snatched them from their native Africa.

PERHAPS it will be thought that we might at least be thankful that we in America do not now live in Europe. This is just another way of saying we are grateful not to be our unborn children. If what is inwardly felt is "after us the deluge," then it is indeed a false security we live under. Already we have confessed that in a few more years the few thousand miles of water between Europe and ourselves will not make much difference. Of course, we must be careful not to limit our concern to freedom from only military wars. War is but a generic term for crime, disease, misery, and unnatural death. And we know that the greatest toll of human life and happiness results not from military combat but from the worry and suffering that are associated with poverty.

HENRY GEORGE has supplied the world with a true definition of freedom as well as a formula for its attainment. When humanity comprehends the full meaning of freedom, they will make short work of all war. Until that time we honor liberty in but name and form. Its realization will depend on ourselves. When we are no longer "thankful" for "liberty," by that sign shall we know we have it.



WHERE Liberty rises, there virtue grows, wealth increases, knowledge expands, invention multiplies human powers, and in strength and spirit the freer nation rises among her neighbors as Saul amid his brethren—taller and fairer. Where Liberty sinks, there virtue fades, wealth diminishes, knowledge is forgotten, invention ceases, and empires once mighty in arms and arts become a helpless prey to freer barbarians!

Only in broken gleams and partial light has the sun of Liberty yet beamed among men, but all progress hath she called forth.—HENRY GEORGE

The Three I's

By JOHN HANNA

IGNORANCE, Indifference and Inertia impede progress in the twentieth century as they have delayed progress in all the centuries. Ignorance is not simply an attribute of the unlearned, the people who have not had the advantage of the thing we call education. It is found very frequently among the highly educated. *Ignorance* consists in the disposition to ignore the ideas advanced in disagreement with prevailing belief or custom. This has been true in all times. When Roger Bacon tried to establish or obtain recognition of the value of experimental science as opposed to the old system of authoritarian scholasticism he met the antagonism of the so-called educated; some actively interfered with his work, many more simply ignored his teachings.—The scene has changed.—Experimental science has become the order of the day; colleges and industrial plants have their research laboratories in a quest for new knowledge or for a better application of the old.

The Roger Bacons of the twentieth century are stirring the world with proposals for social and economic betterment.—History repeats itself.—These efforts are being ignored. This *Ignorance* is very prevalent among the people who dislike any disturbance of the established order. Such is the attitude of Ignorance.

Indifference is the natural child of ignorance and bears a strong resemblance to its parent. Indifference is negative in all respects except in that of standing in the light of others. Indifference to art never painted a picture, carved a statue or wrote a poem. Indifference to mechanical achievement never invented a machine. Indifference to sanitation or therapeutics never isolated a microbe or founded a hospital. Indifference to economic principles never solved a social problem, never even understood one. Men who are so indifferent to social and economic problems that they never read a serious book or listen to a serious discussion of them still feel competent to express an opinion on any proposal for social betterment or economic change. This feeling of competence is usually the product of political or business affiliations and is governed by them; allaying any desire for a deeper knowledge of the subject. Such is the attitude of Indifference!

Inertia in the sphere of human conduct bears the character it has in the physical realm, a tendency when at rest to remain at rest and when in motion to continue in motion in a straight line unless acted upon by an outside force. Human inertia is a compound of ignorance and indifference. How often one hears "There has always been greed in the world and there always will be." "We have always had wars and we always will." Some take refuge in a quotation from Scripture, "The poor ye have always with you." Such inertia is sloth; had it prevailed

at all times we would still have the ox-cart and the sail as our only means of transportation, millions would still be dying in epidemics of cholera and yellow fever. Inertia in human affairs results in the retention of a bad system for no better reason than that of precedent. Such is the attitude of Inertia!

There is available a body of fact, in support of the principle of land-value taxation, which is as definite and as valid as any upon which the laws of physics and chemistry are founded. Someone has said, "Find the facts, face the facts, follow the facts." A good rule! But Ignorance never yet found a fact, Indifference faces fact and fallacy with equal unconcern and Inertia follows only precedent until acted upon by some outside force—Roger Bacon or a Henry George.

Impressions of a Georgeist in Switzerland

By PAVLOS GIANNELIA

[N the Swiss National Exhibition of Zurich, the section "Home and People" had an inscription, which looked inspired by Free-Trade:

"No fuel, no coal, no iron, no gold,

"If we were to depend upon our own raw material only,

"Our life would be similar to that of our lacustral ancestors."

A few numbers will illustrate this truism: The average value of a ton of imported goods is 175 francs (= \$44) and that of the exported ton 1,675, i.e., nearly ten-fold.

Without owning iron ore and without owning gold fields, Switzerland, notwithstanding, produces 70 per cent of all the watches produced in the wide world! The watch export of Switzerland represents a global value of 250 millions of francs a year, i.e., a quarter of all the Swiss export value, amounting to 800 millions in 1936 and 1,300 millions in 1937.

The import excess of 600 millions on the average is covered by touring and banking. Georgeians know very well that an import excess over export isn't a loss, but a gain. Who would suppose that under such conditions the Federal Government, instead of saving import from every hindrance by custom-duties, makes the tariff its largest source of revenue? Sixty-two per cent of a total federal revenue of 525 millions are custom duties, not only on luxuries as tobacco, wine and beer malt, but also on commodities like fuel, automobiles and metals, on necessities like sugar, textiles and food.

Henry George insisted in his "Protection or Free Trade" that tariffs are not the best means to raise revenue for the treasury. It has been proved also by Swiss economists that the burden that a tariff causes to the whole of the

economy is about thrice the amount of the custom-duty return. For Switzerland it is about a billion of francs in the year, or in the average 250 for every citizen, more than the average tax—and rate burden!

It seems to me that it would be a really patriotic act to open the frontiers for every sort of goods, so as to free the citizens from this terrible burden, but enabling also the treasury to dispose of a larger land value to levy a land-value tax. Being given that every tax suppression provokes a corresponding rising of land value, free trade would certainly be more patriotic than the "Buy Swiss products!" propaganda which incites to buying dearer, on the pretext that "money remains in the country."

In the federal budget you will vainly search for any land tax. Only in the cantonal budgets you see landed property and agricultural income taxed, but taxed at the same rate as every other property, consisting of houses and cattle, and like every other, industrial or professional, income. Nowhere is there a special land tax according to size, fertility, value or rent of land.

To contend with work-stoppage, Switzerland (communities, cantons, federal government, corporations and individuals) spent in the last six years nearly a billion (= \$250,000,000) for getting employment. The best means to get employment would be a sane land-value taxation in substitution of federal custom duties (325 millions) and cantonal rates on property and income (200 millions). But unfortunately neither the agricultural nor the professional or industrial population have up to today been prepared for Georgian ideas and the advantages of our reform. Not even the first step for such a fiscal reform is in evidence. There are no statistical data distinguishing between the land value and the value of improvements.

The fact that the Swiss cantons—like the single states of the U. S. A.—have fiscal autonomy and the right of referendum, would enable one of the 25 cantonal governments to make the beginning, by the replacement of its cantonal rates by a land-value tax. It must be emphasized that such a reform would prove all its efficacy only when followed by the suppression of the custom duties.

What Henry George Thought of Brickbats

HERE is an interesting item by Charles B. Rogers of Fort Atkinson, Wisc., which speaks for itself:

In 1893 I sat next to Henry George at the Single Tax Conference at the World's Fair at Chicago. He came in late and took a back seat. Mary Ellen Lease was the speaker. She began her speech by saying that she came from Kansas "where they raise enough hemp to hang all the landlords in Christendom." Henry George turned to me and said: "That is no way to make converts."

The Man Who Invented Plenty

ADDRESS BY A. C. CAMPBELL, AT THE HENRY GEORGE CENTENARY CONFERENCE

HENRY GEORGE'S "Progress and Poverty" has been spoken of as a book that marks an era. That is high praise, and true. But it is not high enough. This book made an era. In relation to matters in which we as Georgeists are interested, the history of mankind is divided sharply into two periods, the past, the era of scarcity; and the present, the era of plenty.

Nobody on earth knew—really knew—that the day of scarcity had passed and the day of plenty had dawned, until Henry George pointed out the fact. If any of you think I am wrong in that, I fear I shall have to leave you to hold your own opinion, except as the few facts that I shall give may possibly cause you to take a more favorable view of what I have said.

That Henry George intended to deny scarcity as well as to declare plenty is seen in the very title and subtitle of his book:

"Progress and Poverty"—An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth. The Remedy.

In writing the book he lost no time in making good that intention, for he began the very first page of his introductory chapter in this way:

The present century has been marked by a prodigious increase in wealth-producing power. The utilization of steam and electricity, the introduction of improved processes and labor-saving machinery, the greater subdivision and grander scale of production, the wonderful facilitation of exchanges, have multiplied enormously the effectiveness of labor.

There was the declaration of plenty for a beginning. But to give his view of what that plenty meant, he anticipates all the argument of the ten books, into which his work is divided, by a bit of prophecy, a vision, if you like. He invokes the shade of one of the great ones of the century before—"a Franklin or a Priestly," as he puts it, and presents to the reader what this great soul would have thought of the condition of the world which had before it so many great improvements in wealth-producing power. And this is the conclusion he found in that ghostly brain:

Plainly, in the sight of the imagination, he would have beheld these new forces elevating society from its very foundations, lifting the very poorest above the possibility of want, exempting the very lowest from anxiety for the material needs of life; he would have seen these slaves of the lamp of knowledge taking on themselves the traditional curse, these muscles of iron and sinews of steel making the poorest laborer's life a holiday, in which every high quality and noble impulse would have scope to grow. . . . Foul things fled, fierce things tamed,

discord turned to harmony. For how could there be greed where all had enough? How could the vice, the crime, the ignorance, the brutality, that spring from poverty and the fear of poverty, exist where poverty had vanished? Who should crouch where all were freemen? Who oppress where all were peers?

Now, if I may change the scene: Just imagine old George John Douglas Campbell, eighth Duke of Argyle, descendant of a line of Scottish chiefs, head of a great clan, owner of lands and palaces; statesman, scientist, philosopher, interpreter of religion; receiving a book as a present from its author as shown in a letter dated San Francisco. And when he opens the book he finds, by its bulk and style, that it is a long argument on political economy. And it begins with the outlandish suggestion that this is a world of plenty, and this suggestion immediately followed by a vision of the ghost of some illustrious departed who sees that all the people are to be rich and good and happy. And when he read on—as he seems to have done, however skipingly and with whatever apparent determination to misunderstand—and found that this spread of plenty was to be brought about by the unheard-of proposal to tax all landlords out of their holdings well, what could you expect? Of course you would expect what actually came to pass—His Grace sat down and wrote an article for a great British review in which he called upon his fellow-lights of literature to sympathize with one another in the infliction upon them of the wild, outrageously immoral views of people from everywhere. He patronizingly argued with this presumptuous person in San Francisco, Henry George by name, not with a view to convincing him, of course, but to show his own scholars and well-to-do readers how utterly foolish were the supposed arguments of these visionaries who would tread the shaded and orderly paths of learning. And, as if half-conscious that he himself was not doing so tremendously well in the argument, he fell to calling names—he dubbed George "The Prophet of San Francisco."

Of course, His Grace, the Duke of Argyle was wrong. But he was not the only one who read the message of Henry George with little understanding. I thought for years how much more clearly I read that message than did the illustrious head of the clan whose name I bear. Of late, I have not been quite so sure. At least the Duke recognized George as a prophet—false prophet, of course, but, nevertheless, outside and apart from the common run of men. I was very clear in my own mind that Henry George was right in everything he said, both in "Progress and Poverty" and in the article in which he answered his critic. But I did not realize what this man George said—said so plainly as I read it now—that the past of scarcity was the past, and the future of plenty had begun and was well on its way.

We are sixty years into that future since the year 1879.

I heard Henry George speak to an audience in Toronto

I had the honor to be an active member of the Committee of the Anti-Poverty Society that arranged for his coming to that city. Only one word of his as spoken on that occasion remains in my memory. With a gesture of hope and confidence, and in ringing tones, he declared: "Men and brethren, the future is ours."

I believed that then; I believe it more than ever today. But I should have been sad indeed had I thought that in 1939 we should see so much poverty, and, relatively, so little progress.

I honor all those devoted believers who have carried on the work that Henry George left to be done. But the very fact that such a company, such a glorious succession of great souls, could work through two full generations and yet find the world as it is today, compels me to believe that the Henry George movement has not carried on as it might have carried on. I make that statement in all humility, for I realize keenly, as one who early in life, and early in the movement, took up this great cause, that my own share of the work might have been far better done. As Shakespeare's most perfect hero, Orlando, says: "I will chide no breather in the world but myself, against whom I know most faults."

I hope you will not think me presumptuous in thus bringing my errors before you. You are not interested in these things. And neither am I, except as introducing what I hope may prove a suggestion for more work on a better line.

In the sixty years since "Progress and Poverty" was written, the logic of events has convinced many, many people who never heard the name of Henry George, that the word of Henry George was true:—certainly this present century has been marked by a prodigious increase in wealth-producing power. If George with the eye of a true seer, the inspiration of a true prophet, could declare that the few almost rudimentary inventions of his day enabled man to produce plenty, what shall we say of this very day and hour in which we live? Some people tell us that since the year 1900—or, to be safe, let us count from Henry George's date, 1879—there has been greater progress in discovery and invention than in all the experience of mankind up to that year. Consider: The whole world has been discovered or re-discovered in that time, not merely made known as existing, but mapped and scientifically described.

We have made vast new systems, little known and less used—if at all—in 1879:—hydro-electric systems; telephone and radio systems; air navigation systems; permanent highway systems. We have covered the earth with new forms of agriculture, of mining, of manufacture. But why attempt the whole catalogue? If, in Henry George's time there was plenty to be seen by the one man of clearest vision, the plenty of our time is mountainous, and actually obtrusive. It would hardly be

unfair to say that, threatened with overwhelming plenty we turn, as it were in despair, back to the old ways of shortage, scarcity, even if we have to seek that goal through the fires of world war.

Mankind in general now knows by sheer experience what Henry George knew sixty years ago by sheer prophecy—that this is a world and age of plenty.

My proposal is that we should use the advantage that this gives us.

My fellow Georgeists—I mean those with whom I am in closest contact—change the subject when I talk my everlasting talk of Plenty. They talk Single Tax. I realize that this is courteous in them, and I thank them for indicating that, having plenty and knowing that we have plenty, we should go ahead.

That is exactly what I want to say to these courteous people and to all other followers of Henry George. We should go ahead from this point of plenty.

Of these people whom we meet in everyday life, there is hardly one who does not know that plenty is the one great new fact of today. But, if you are to lead these people to the Single Tax you must first stand where they stand. No use to stand far ahead of them and ask them to catch up with us. We have read "Progress and Poverty" from the first word of the title to the last line of the index. But what do these people in the street know about what we have read? How are they to know whether wages are paid out of capital or out of the aurora borealis? What do they know about the cause of interest, or the difference between taxing land and taxing land values? They know only two things: They know that there is plenty, and they know that they want plenty. But the one big thing is the one thing they do *not* know. They do not know that, in declaring their belief in plenty, they declare themselves to be converts and followers of Henry George.

I would tell them that—I would tell them that they stand exactly where we stand and have always stood. Then I would invite them to come on with us. They are converts and followers of the man, who, sixty years ago, by almost unexampled powers of foresight and insight *discovered* the principle of plenty. But now they should know that this same man is the man who *invented* plenty.

Please consider a comparison.

Suppose a man—the man who first saw and realized, and perhaps proved, the expansive power of steam—suppose that he worked it out by an elaborate series of tests and comparisons. Then what? That would mean only one thing—in a practical world—that he was preparing for the coming of other men, especially a Scotsman named James Watt who was to consider all the science of the case, including the complete inventions down to his own time, and tie it all in with an idea of his own—and call the whole thing, when complete, the steam engine.

I have said, and I repeat: Henry George was the discoverer of plenty. I do not say that no person ever saw the principle of plenty before George saw it; I do not say that no man ever spoke or wrote about it before. We find both the idea and the very word itself in some of the most ancient books we know. But these things are observance of fact, merely casual and unrelated fact, just as a million men must have observed the fact of the power of steam before anyone ever thought of it as embodying a principle.

But Henry George did not stop with discovery. He invented plenty, just as definitely as James Watt invented the steam engine. We who are here know that the so-called Single Tax is not a mere unrelated suggestion. It is the means by which the principle of plenty is to operate as a force in society, just as the power of steam operates as a mechanical force through the steam engine.

Henry George saw it in that way. Over and over and over again, from the beginning of "Progress and Poverty" to its end, he presents this idea of plenty. He carries it through the statement of the Single Tax, he bears it in mind and refers to it in his demonstration of the correctness of the Single Tax in principle and the soundness of it in practical application; and he sees it as clearly as ever in the vision with which he ends the book. Here is what he says: "With want destroyed; with greed changed to noble passions; with the fraternity that is born of equality taking the place of the jealousy and fear that array men against each other; with mental power loosed by conditions that give to the humblest wealth and leisure; and who shall measure the heights to which our civilization may soar? Words fail the thought. It is the Golden Age of which poets have sung and high-raised seers have told in metaphor. It is the glorious vision that has always haunted men with gleams of fitful splendor. . . . It is the reign of the Prince of Peace."

It is a great thing to discover a new force at work in the social life of mankind; it is an illimitably greater thing to work out the details of a social mechanism that shall show mankind how that newly-discovered principle, instead of leading to undeserved poverty for many, undeserved riches for a few, shall spread, in beneficent nature's fashion, for the enjoyment of all; instead of breeding jealousies, divisions, antagonisms and world war, shall bring the day foreseen by the greatest poet of democracy:

"When man to man, the world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that."

This present meeting of ours is easily the greatest occasion of our movement. It declaredly is a century mark. I am confident that it is more than that. A century is only a period of time; the advance of public opinion cannot be marked in periods by the almanac. I have shown that all the world notes with wonder and with hope, the fact of plenty as turned out by modern methods and

machines. This means that at this time the learning, the institutions, the beliefs, of mankind are brought before the judgment seat of public opinion to be re-examined, re-appraised and re-arranged in accord with the new principle of plenty instead of with the old principle of scarcity. Instead of the old procedure of assuming that a man is a vagrant and a burden upon society unless he can show to judge and jury that he has his own means of support, it is now assumed that a man shares the world's plenty, both in making it and in enjoying it, until the contrary is proven:—and if proven, that case calls for readjustment in accord with the known principle of plenty.

I have quoted this great book of ours, "Progress and Poverty," to show that its one purpose is to prove and commend and apply the principle of plenty. But to whom is all this tremendous argument and more tremendous prophecy addressed? To all the world, of course. But to whom directly and specially? May I read this that I find between the title page and the first page of the introduction?

"To those who, seeing the vice and misery that spring from the unequal distribution of wealth and privilege, feel the possibility of a higher social state and would strive for its attainment."

Since that time there have been tens of thousands of men and women who have striven in this great cause. I have freely confessed that some of us have not done all that we might have done nor achieved our best. But, for one, I see in present conditions a new and most attractive opportunity. The truth of plenty that was seen, and declared, and proved, by the Prophet of San Francisco in his time, is accepted as a matter of course by millions of people today. The way to spread that plenty to the end of achieving the higher social state is to set in operation that finest economic device, the Single Tax on land values, which our leader invented and prepared for use by all mankind. The millions who believe today in the plenty which Henry George so clearly made known in 1879 await the leadership that shall cause them to understand and adopt this great invention.

We are a company of Georgeists assembled from all parts of the world. We are assembled in honor of the centenary of our leader. We are assembled in the great metropolis of which he became an illustrious citizen—the city in which his body rests and his monument is raised. We are here at a time of celebration of an idea, a sentiment, a vision such as our leader lived by and lived for—The World of Tomorrow. The world of tomorrow is a world of plenty. There remains the work of science, of skill, of goodwill, of brotherhood that shall translate plenty for all into plenty for each.

To that work we are especially called by the fact that we are followers of the Prophet of San Francisco, the man who invented plenty.

Governments and the People

By HENRY WARE ALLEN

IN every age of history there has been a strong contrast between the behavior of governments and the behavior of the people governed. As a result of the salutary influence of religion and culture upon the individual citizen this contrast has now, perhaps, become greater than ever before. If it be true that corporations have no souls, then it must follow that governments, the greatest of all corporations, having no respect for any higher power and no fear of punishment have been able to operate upon the premise that might is right. And it should be remembered that corporations are much more individualistic and therefore more personally responsible than are governments, particularly the larger ones. For corporations are in a great degree amenable to the rule that honesty is the best policy and society benefits accordingly. Their prosperity if not their very existence is regulated by the beneficent law of competition.

The case is different with governments, for they do not have to depend upon financial profits resulting from good management, they have to pay no taxes, and are not supervised with inquisitorial zeal by any higher authority. Governments do not keep their books by double-entry and have no concern over profit or loss. Their tendency is always toward greater expense and extravagance with resulting heavier taxes upon the people. Governments are not influenced by those considerations which apply in greater or less degree to corporations and to the individual for the regulation of good conduct and sound citizenship. Governments, on the other hand, have usually been guided in their destinies by rulers and diplomats with selfish ambitions and unscrupulous methods. The record of every known government provides ample testimony to this. History is replete with the records of bloody wars in which the participants not only had no rightful interest but no real interest of any kind.

Discipline is a necessary condition of survival in primitive and modern civilization alike and in consequence of this it is natural for all men to obey their rulers. Particularly where the government has been of a religious character as in the days of Moses or where there has been a union of Church and State, a peculiar sanctity has been added to all governmental edicts leading to the conclusion that the King can do no wrong. This has made it possible for tyrants to increase, insidiously, their power at the expense of the governed.

Considering the matter in its larger aspect we behold a world provided by a beneficent Creator with abundant natural riches of all kinds available for the use of man simply by the exercise of that intelligence with which he is endowed, with ample room for all, so that there is not today, nor has there ever been any valid excuse for the encroachment of one people upon another, nor for the

tyranny exercised by governments upon the people. It is therefore only reasonable to believe that the Creator assumed, in view of all that He had provided for the needs, the comfort, and the happiness of mankind, that men would naturally live together in peace and harmony, with goodwill toward one another.

Concentrating our attention upon the civilized world of today, composed as it largely is of men highly skilled in the arts and sciences and personally animated by nothing less than goodwill to their neighbors and actuated by the principle of live and let live, we find governments sacrificing their people in relentless warfare waged upon others for the purpose of securing by flagrant robbery and murder, territory and property which might have been legitimately secured by purchase with far less expenditure than was made necessary by warfare to say nothing of the frightful loss of life suffered on both sides, by men who otherwise might have been good citizens if not, indeed, men of distinction. Other governments, animated by equal tyranny, are today terrorizing and expatriating hundreds of thousands of their own peace-abiding citizens for no other reason excepting those of racial and religious bigotry, and at least one other great government is murdering thousands of its more intelligent citizens upon suspicion that they have been disloyal to or are planning to overthrow that government. In all these countries the unalienable right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness by the exercise of freedom of the press and of free speech has been denied, two great governments having also deprived the people of the right to worship God as they pleased, while between all these countries their governments have erected huge tariff walls having the direct effect of increasing the cost of all commodities, of depriving many of the necessities of life, and of creating intergovernmental antagonism, discord, and hatred.

But it is neither necessary to our contention nor is it fair for us to concentrate our attention elsewhere when there is so much to criticize and to remedy in the misbehavior of government right here in the United States. Our own government has been more or less guilty of most of the crimes which have appeared to us so great in other governments.

It has been truly said that every great institution is the shadow of some great mind. And it is equally true that as a rule, the employees of every business institution reflect the personality, the character and the attitude of the head of the firm. In line with this idea it is equally true that the character of any government is reflected in great degree upon the people under that government. To the degree to which the government is honorable and just will that influence be reflected upon that people, and if the government habitually breaks the moral code, the effect upon the people cannot be other than bad. An example has been set which naturally will be followed.

At a time, therefore, when crime is steadily on the increase may we not place a large portion of the blame against a government which systematically diverts public revenue to private individuals without compensation, and at the same time employs a system of taxation which is essentially a system of robbery from first to last.

We have only to make a comparison between the right way employed by individual citizens in their relations one to another with the method employed by governments to demonstrate how criminally wrong is the latter. For example, suppose merchants should fix their prices in accordance with the ability to pay, how quickly would the procedure be condemned as both wrong and absurd, yet that is precisely the time-honored method employed by governments in raising a large share of its revenue. The rule that should be followed is, of course, for the government to impose the tax, just as the merchant fixes a price, in accordance with the value of the merchandise or of the services rendered. Fortunately, this is accurately registered by land values.

Other comparisons may serve to illustrate the absurdity of many governmental practices. Suppose, for example, that Mr. Jones observes that his neighbor across the street is in an angry, sullen mood. He immediately provides himself with a big revolver. His neighbor across the street observing this, in order to be well prepared, provides himself with two revolvers. This goes on until both men provide themselves with a bodyguard whenever venturing out of the house. Most likely some violence will ensue although both men were good neighbors without any possible excuse for trouble until the irrational idea of armament suggested itself. Again, let us suppose that cities and towns should adopt from the federal government the absurd system of protective tariffs. All men would then be penalized for the crime of bringing wealth into their respective communities. Men would not be allowed to trade with others across the street but only with merchants in the same block. Commerce, one of the great factors for the creation of wealth by the simple method of transporting merchandise from where it has smaller value to where it has greater value, would then be stigmatized as unpatriotic unless the trading was limited to restricted areas. To provide for this accomplishment a new army of tax gatherers and inquisitorial inspectors to be supported by new taxes would have to be created.

The nearest simile to the operation of the income tax to be found in the daily life of the people is the philosophy and procedure of the highway robber. Like the government he does not pretend to give to his victims the equivalent of what he takes. His principal idea is to discover where there is wealth and then to go and get it, the only difference being that the highwayman takes all he can get while the government merely takes all that the traffic

will bear by permitting the victim to recoup himself for similar experiences in after years.

Double taxation is now paid, first to the landlord and secondly to the government. Ordinary taxes are the equivalent of just so many penalties upon the right to transact business. They act as just so much sand thrown into the delicate mechanism of commerce. It is exactly as though these taxes were imposed by some enemy of mankind who was aiming to destroy prosperity, and they have precisely that effect. It is necessary, therefore, in order that a government shall be properly reformed that its system of taxation shall be so changed that it will harmonize perfectly with the demands of ethics and that it be made to conform to natural law.

The evil tendency of government to appropriate to itself abnormal power was thoroughly understood by the founders of our nation and particularly by Jefferson, who more than anyone else was the founder of American democracy. More than anyone else he knew that eternal vigilance is the price of our liberty and he illustrated this vigilance during his first term as President when he reduced the number of Federal office holders fifty per cent. He demonstrated that the best government is that which governs least.

This tendency of government to exceed its normal function, to exercise tyrannical power, and to violate the moral law can be traced to a similar propensity in society where men have combined their united force in order to secure illegitimate results. Gangs of boys habitually commit acts of vandalism which no member of the gang would be guilty of as an individual, and groups of men comprising mobs will destroy property and take human life in complete disregard of the moral law which no member of the mob would think of doing or dare to do of his own initiative.

Religious organizations, family discipline and the other salutary influences of modern civilization have accomplished a fairly good task in training men to behave themselves with due regard to the rights of others. Governments, on the other hand, have not had the benefit of any discipline whatsoever. They have had license to do about as they please in accordance with the supposition that might makes right and that any means are justified by the desired end. It is to the founders of the science of political economy, such men as Adam Smith, Rousseau, Ricardo, Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill and Henry George that the world is indebted for having formulated for practical use the right rules for governmental behavior. It is to the disgrace of civilization that these rules have been so universally disregarded up to the present time by the Church, by our schools and colleges and by our legislators.

A frequently stated fallacy is the pronouncement of Christian ministers that men would be prosperous and

that peace would prevail throughout the world if men would only accept and practice the tenets of Christianity. This idea is true only if sound principles of political economy are applied in all the activities of government. In fact, the personal piety of individuals will count for little as a factor for social justice when compared to the beneficent effects of the right behavior of government under the dominion of political economy intelligently enforced.

A Sentence Explained

"WE MUST MAKE LAND COMMON PROPERTY"

BY FRANK CHODOROV

AMONG followers of Henry George this sentence is perhaps the most argued about, the most explained. And yet, not only is it italicized in "Progress and Poverty" as the only remedy for the social problem of poverty, but in one form or another the thought is repeated in all of George's books. It is known that even during his lifetime the discussion raged as to the appropriateness or advisability of so phrasing the remedy. And yet these arguments seemed not to have influenced his logical mind, for in his last book, the "Science of Political Economy," he again arrives at the conclusion that private property in land must be abolished.

Taken in conjunction with his theory of property, the firmness with which he clung to this conviction is easily understood. The only ethical basis for private property is production. Since land cannot be produced, title to it cannot be founded on ethical grounds, and can be explained only in terms of force, or robbery. Even the argument that private property in land is expedient must admit that social sanction is necessary to the existence of the institution, and that means force.

Now, ownership consists of the enjoyment of the exchange value as well as the use value of things. A soldier does not own his uniform because he has exclusive use of it while he is in the army; it is always government property. To say that I own the size, color, cloth and buttons of the shirt I wear, but have not the right to sell the shirt, is to say that I do not own it. Likewise, to say that I own land because I enjoy exclusive use of it is to employ a euphemism. The tenant farmer does not own his farm—which would be true also if his tenancy were based on a lease from the government, or upon the mere payment of annual rent to the community.

Only the one who has the right to sell a thing is the owner of it. Particularly is this so with a privilege, which has no use value whatsoever. If I have a patent which I lease out on a royalty basis it is the privilege of collecting this royalty that is the substance of my ownership of the patent. Likewise, the privilege of collecting rent, or the capitalized rent, is the essence of my owner-

ship in the land. To deprive me of that privilege is to abolish my ownership.

If the dividends on a bond which I hold are and always will be paid to another person, can I be said to own the bond? True, I can use it for wall paper; but in that case it is merely a piece of paper, not a bond, as far as I am concerned. Only if I receive some portion, if not all, of the dividends which are paid on the bond is it mine; in that case I can capitalize the yield and sell the bond.

Similarly, ownership of land consists only of the legal right to collect the rent it yields, which necessarily implies the power to transfer this legal right. When this privilege is denied to me my ownership of land ceases, even though my tenure in usufruct remains secure. The owner of a skyscraper on leased land does not own the land, even though he has a 99-year lease on it, because he cannot collect rent and he cannot sell the site. If he pays a fixed rent, and if this is less than its economic rent, to the extent that he collects this difference he becomes a part owner.

It is evident that public collection of rent is the denial of private property in land. Private use of land is quite another thing. And it can be conclusively shown that private use would be more secure if rent were publicly collected. But George's emphatic repetition, in one form or another, of the idea that private property in land is indefensible indicates that he clearly identified exchange value as the essence of private property in land.

Furthermore, if private property in land is unethical then the private collection of rent, which is the substance of the ownership, is likewise unethical. A philosophical question as to the right of society to rent then arises. If no one individually can rightfully claim rent as his own, can a group of individuals rightfully claim it?

The usual ethical argument for the public collection of rent is that it is a socially created value. To which comes the specious rejoinder, from collectivists, that all values are socially created. Which is not true. The discussion of the difference between privately and publicly created values hinges much on the meaning of terms, and is usually quite fruitless because both the individualist and the collectivist cannot agree on their definitions, having their separate conclusions in mind.

But, the argument that the public is entitled to the rent of land because rent is by its nature public property is irrefutable. The very fact that land is not produced by man gives it a character that nothing else in the world has. And, whether we accept the story of creation in Genesis or not, whether we identify God with Jehovah or with nature, our common ownership of the earth must rest on our common need of it. Public ownership of the land therefore is ultimately based on the fact that land is necessary to life.

Thus, public collection of rent is justified by the vested right of the public in the land.

Concepts of Rent

By JOHN R. NICHOLS

OUT of the West has come recently a new statement of the aims of Georgeists, couched in new terms or new uses of old terms. Like many a new idea, it has enthused its discoverers and exponents to the point where they cannot conceal their scorn for the older ideas it is intended to supersede nor for the adherents of the older ideas. This has been unfortunate for it has made difficult the acceptance of the new idea or even its impartial consideration by the older Georgeists. And yet, exponents of George's philosophy can ill afford to overlook any contribution of possible value in clarifying or advancing that philosophy. I propose to examine the new idea as thoroughly as the brief space of a single article will allow, to discover and appraise what may be found in it of value to Georgeists.

The new idea may be summarized as follows:

Since land is the free gift of nature it cannot have value. It is absurd to suppose that any free gift could have value. That which has value, that for which rent is paid is not land, but is "the advantages of social and governmental contributions to the utility of provisions of nature." "Rent is the market value of the use of socially and governmentally provided services—and of nothing else." Land, it seems, is to be regarded as something physical but devoid of value, and that to which value attaches, in a given location, is to be conceived as separate from land, something else than land, namely the social and governmental services which give rise to rent and to what is erroneously called land value. Accepting this view it follows that we should urge not "taxation of land value" but "public appropriation of rent." In this view it becomes clear that rent is payment for public services and must no longer be diverted to private pockets but must be used to meet the cost of the services. Since land value is non-existent any demand by landlords for compensation loses force. We will not ask of landlords an accounting of past rent, merely that private appropriation of rent shall henceforth cease. Other psychological advantages in the teaching of George's philosophy are alleged to flow from the new concept of rent.

Now let us see wherein all of this differs from the philosophy of Georgeists of the past decade. Land is, to be sure, a free gift of nature in its physical aspects, its space location, topography, climate and mineral content. And land is without value as long as population is so sparse that no two persons desire the same spot. But when, because of mineral deposits, fertility, growth of population, services of an organized community or any other cause, or combination of causes, a given piece of land yields more to labor and capital than the best land available without payment of rent or price, then rent arises and the land has value. It has then the quality which

economists call "scarcity" which gives rise to value. It is true, as our friends argue, that no piece of land, however rich in natural gifts, has value until two persons want it, that is, until there is growth of population. And growth of population is one of the social advantages to which is ascribed the rise of rent. The site of New York City was of insignificant value when the first settlers from Europe came there. And so far as nature is concerned nothing has been added to it. The enormous increase in value since that day is wholly caused by the "socially and governmentally provided services." Of course, if we stop to inquire what has caused New York's millions to swarm within her borders we shall have to admit that the harbor had something to do with it, a gift of nature. I suppose it has always been some natural advantage that caused cities to be located where they are. Still, most of the values attaching to urban locations are directly ascribable to the growth and development of the city, to the advantages which are, as our friends say, "social and governmental." In agricultural and mining districts the value of land depends more on nature and less on society. As a critic from the grazing country once wrote, "Better range commands higher rent," and nature disposes the better range. A bleak mountain with copper, silver, lead, or coal is worth more than one composed only of gravel, granite, or traprock, and here again nature is responsible.

In all this the Georgeists differ from the Neogeorgeists in that the latter ascribe rent only to social and governmental contributions whereas the former assert that nature also has a part. The difference is not supremely important, except in maintaining credibility for the argument, for an individual landowner is no more entitled to intercept and appropriate rent arising from a natural than from a social or governmental advantage. It does seem to us plain Georgeists a bit artificial to insist that nature adds nothing to rent or land value, when the only advantage is the increased emphasis on urban values. Such emphasis is no longer needed to offset the over-emphasis of the classical economists on agricultural land values. Modern economists are as aware of urban land values as Georgeists, even though they fail to make full use of their knowledge.

The second difference between the two groups is the attempt to sever "land" from that which has value and commands rent. It is a difficult feat of mental gymnastics in the first place. And where do you get with it? Suppose you have achieved the conviction, contrary to the impression current in business and professional circles, that land has no value. Then suppose that you would like to buy in some city a thousand dollars worth of that for which people pay rent, specifically, "the advantages of the social and governmental contributions to the utility of provisions of nature." Where will you find these goods and how will the right quantity be measured out to you?

Obviously, these advantages attach to land. They can be had and enjoyed only by the use of land. And the quantity of them that can be had at any spot depends upon the area of the land and the quality of its location. One cannot have these valuable advantages without having land, and one cannot have full title to valuable land without commanding the advantages that go with it, subject to taxes and a few legal restrictions. Then why the effort to sever land from value! You can't have either without the other. It seems most unreal to attempt it.

The reason, I think, lies in a dislike of the phrase "land value taxation" and a preference for "the public collection of rent." Without going into reasons, I think many of us will agree in this. At least most Georgeists that I know avoid the term "Single Tax" and advocate the public collection of rent and abolition of all taxation. My own preference is to seek the abolition of "repressive taxation" or "burdensome taxation," thus avoiding the irrelevant controversy whether the public collection of rent is or is not taxation.

These are the two major differences between these Neogeorgeists, on the one hand and the older Georgeists on the other. The differences are mainly in words and the only gain, achieved at the expense of considerable mental strain, is added emphasis on the social aspect of rent.

Even this gain is not net, for it is accompanied by two distinct losses. One of the losses comes with the proposal to "collect rent for public uses." This proposal leaves in doubt (as "land value taxation" does not) what is to be done with respect to the vacant valuable lot for which no rent is paid or accrues. It must then be explained that potential as well as actual rent must be collected.

The second loss comes with detaching rent from land and over-emphasizing the fiscal aspect of the problem. The public collection of rent and abolition of taxation will not of themselves raise wages or decrease unemployment. Wages depend upon the productivity of marginal land. Bringing valuable land into use and thus raising the margin of production will both raise wages and reduce unemployment. These will follow, of course, the public collection of rent, but it cannot be explained if we must pretend that land has no value and that rent is paid for something other than land.

On the whole, it seems to me, Georgeists would do well not to embrace too hastily these proffered innovations. The problem of poverty despite progress is one which has many aspects. Individuals and groups are prone to see different sides and to emphasize the side which they see most clearly. We should strive always for a more comprehensive understanding of all aspects and a fair appraisal of each. If our western friends, with the fine enthusiasm which their view gives them, can arouse interest in the problem and thus help promote its ultimate solution, older Georgeists should, it seems to me, give them all the encouragement they are willing to accept.

Taxation Without Representation

By RAYMOND V. McNALLY

AT a crucial period in history, Lincoln was inspired to invent the famous slogan, "government of the people, by the people and for the people," which instantly caught the imagination of a gullible populace. He had dramatized by a stroke, as it were, a concept of government that had been the dream of the American people from the time they freed themselves from the tyranny of an English government. They had envisioned a government that would be subject entirely to their will. How could there be tyranny, they reasoned, when the majority ruled?

Yet curiously enough such a political concept was anathema to the Fathers of our country. It was their earnest endeavor not to do any more than to "preserve the spirit and form of popular government," when they met to consider the adoption of a new body of laws for the nation. They were unanimous in the opinion that the evils the country was then experiencing had sprung from "the excess of democracy." James Madison asserted that there would soon come a time when the majority of the people would be landless and propertyless and would gain control of the government to the detriment of the public welfare and private property. Thereupon the Fathers set up checks and balances to restrain democracy and to give the masses of the people only a modicum of representation with the result that the Constitution is one of the vaguest and most confusing political instruments that has ever been conceived by the mind of man. Nevertheless, in spite of these precautions, what the Fathers feared eventually came to pass in the form of the New Deal.

Madison and his colleagues were practical men and realized that civilization sprang from the recognition and protection of property rights. For them, property rights and human rights were identical. But they were concerned only about certain kinds of property. They were not, for instance, concerned about the property rights of the agrarian interests and other debtor classes. The primary purpose of government, therefore, as they perceived it, was to afford a means whereby the classes whom they represented—bankers, merchants, manufacturers, mortgage holders and speculators in land and public debts—could gain economic advantages through legislation over other classes. These men contributed no new ideas of government, for the political system they favored was nothing else but the system that prevailed in Europe—a paternalistic bureaucracy. According to their views, economic life could not proceed unless it were regulated by government officials. They did not regard government as an organization for rendering services but as an agency for dispensing privileges. Even

Thomas Jefferson, great humanist and exponent of liberty, while favoring an easy, tolerant and inexpensive government, showed by his strong loyalty to the agrarian interests, both in thought and action that some privilege at least played a part in his political scheme. He was a firm believer in the power and wisdom of majority rule to establish equality, freedom and justice. Yet subsequent events proved that the majority could be just as selfish, just as ignorant and just as tyrannical as the minority.

The political history of the United States has been a continuous factional strife for the control of government. During the course of this strife, "machine" politics inevitably developed, and political power concentrated to an astounding degree into the hands of a few. The gulf between the masses of the people and the seat of government steadily widened. A veritable political caste grew up which had no other purpose than to perpetuate itself in office and to fatten at the public coffers. Under such conditions, government naturally became corrupt, and one class was played against another in order to solicit bribes or corral votes. The functions assumed by government steadily increased, and tyranny prevailed under the guise of democracy. With keen insight, Henry George in 1883 wrote, "Democratic forms may be maintained, but there can be as much tyranny and misgovernment under democratic forms as any other—in fact, they lend themselves most readily to tyranny and misgovernment."

How true these words are today! Government is steadily assuming more and more prerogatives and reaching out into almost every phase of our existence. The business man can scarcely turn around without bumping into some kind of governmental restriction in the form of a regulation or a tax. And to add to his difficulties, he cannot always rely on government to maintain law and order when his business is interrupted by a violent strike. Private property was never in a more critical position than it is today; and a steadily mounting public debt, a growing tax burden and increasing bureaucracy make the outlook far from bright. Yet in spite of this condition we are constantly having the virtues of democracy dinned into our ears. So long as they still retain a few liberties, many people refuse to concede that democracy has failed. All that has to be done is to create new parties or throw some men out of office and put others in. But we have been doing that sort of thing in this country for a hundred and fifty years. How much longer must we continue to do it in order to make it effective.

It does not seem to occur to most people to question the system; that perhaps our theory of government is wrong. Experience certainly does not justify us in assuming that a change of men can rid government of waste and corruption and deprive it of its despotic powers.

To whom are these men responsible? To the electorate? But to whom is the electorate responsible? There are some well-meaning people who believe that with more education the masses of the people would take a more intelligent interest in public affairs. Yet this belief is not at all warranted by the facts. Every year the colleges and universities are turning out more and more graduates. The craze for an education is so widespread nowadays that college degrees are almost as common as automobiles. But in spite of it, government is becoming worse. It cannot be due to a lack of public spirited citizens. We have more civic bodies, tax associations and voters' leagues than ever before. Most of them are almost as confused as the average citizen. They do not concern themselves with the services that government is supposed to render. They concern themselves with the privileges that government has to offer; whether they should approve or disapprove of a tariff, of old-age pensions, of subsidies or of labor laws. The average man also attempts to arrive at some decision on these questions a week or so before the elections, not by very serious thinking but by listening to the speeches of politicians. But a paternalistic government is not controlled by the masses of the people but by individual pressure-groups. Consequently the average man's vote is meaningless.

The evils of bureaucracy will never be abolished until the popular theory of government is replaced by an entirely different concept. The idea of paternalism must be replaced by the idea of service only. But even though a greater knowledge of economic science should lead people to perceive the stupidity of special privileges and to avoid all paternalism, it does not follow that they would then be competent to supervise the affairs of government. To be competent at a particular job, one must be trained for it. The average man spends at least eight hours a day making a living. The evenings he usually devotes to rest and recreation. The recreation may even assume the form of serious endeavor or an absorbing hobby. These pursuits during leisure moments differ with different individuals according to temperament and ability. Is it not too much then to expect the average citizen to employ his leisure in trying to master the problems of government and to supervise the actions of public servants? Can we reasonably demand that men work both day and night in order to live a civilized existence? It is conceivable that if men believed that they would receive some immediate return in a tangible form, they might be willing to devote some of their time to supervising the public servants; but they have no way of telling definitely if their particular efforts are giving them better public services and lower taxes or not. It has been recommended by some people at various times that the exemptions for personal income taxes be lowered on the assumption that this would make the masses tax-conscious to the point where they would take

a vital interest in public matters. This is mere wishful thinking, for even people who pay heavy income taxes are indifferent to the affairs of government. No amount of tax-consciousness will make men work for nothing at some job unless it happens to be something that they really love to do. There is nothing in our daily experiences to encourage us in the belief that some day men will be willing and able to give earnest attention to public matters. Nor is there any good reason why we should be disheartened by such an outlook. Let us rather accept human nature for what it is and attempt to adjust society in harmony with it.

It might be claimed that with all privileges abolished, government would be so simplified that the public would be required to do very little supervising. It is true that if government were streamlined down to the point where it would be a mere purveyor of services (as visioned by Jefferson in his more philosophic moments), such as police and fire protection, sanitation and highways, there would be far greater simplification, but government would still be too complex and specialized to require only the casual supervision of amateurs. In order to realize this we have only to consider the difficulty which stockholders of our large industrial corporations experience in attempting to exercise direct supervision over the officers and managers. The stockholders can vote, but not only is most of the voting done by proxy but it is done in connection with the financial aspects of the business, not with the actual operations. Only a few large stockholders are at all conversant with the affairs of a giant corporation, and the majority of the stockholders rely on their judgment and attention for the conservation and enhancement of their investments. But the stockholders of a corporation are in a stronger position than the citizens of a country, state or municipality. The citizens can only rely on the doubtful check of an ineffective vote for the conservation of their interests. They may feel that the costs of government are too high, but under the existing arrangements they have no way of determining exactly what the costs should be. The stockholders of a large corporation, on the other hand, are concerned with values and so can rely on the market to protect their interests. If they feel that their investments are endangered or that the returns thereon are inadequate, they can either sell their stocks or withhold further financing that the corporation may require. Consequently, there is a definite check on the management of the corporation to compel it to recognize its responsibility to the stockholders. It cannot be controlled by individual pressure-groups to the detriment of all or some of the stockholders. While it is true that there have been and still are abuses in corporation management and that financial history is replete with examples of the skullduggery of unscrupulous and short-sighted promoters, it cannot be denied that the rights of investors

enjoy the tangible protection of the market whereas the rights of citizens have no such protection.

The reason why the citizens of a political unit do not enjoy the protection of the market is because they have no investment in government; and they have no such investment because government, unlike industrial corporations, is not in the market—that is, it has no customers. According to the popular theory, the country, state or municipality is something like a club the members of which render services to themselves through an agency called government. The taxes they pay are regarded as membership dues. A little reflection, however, should convince us of the absurdity of such a theory.

The members of a club (social, athletic or business) pay dues voluntarily, and if they are dissatisfied with conditions as they find them, they are free to withdraw from membership. These dues are not levied in proportion to each member's wealth. Each member pays the same sum, for each receives the same benefits as the others. Furthermore, the dues are not levied in such a way as to increase the cost of other things that he may require. They are simply a direct payment.

Now if we consider the political unit—a "self-governing" community—we shall see that exactly the opposite conditions obtain. The citizens of a community do not pay taxes voluntarily, for if they did, no citizen would pay more than another. Taxes are levied and collected under compulsion, not in proportion to benefits received, but in proportion to one's ability to pay. When levied indirectly they increase the cost of other things, such as food, clothing, houses and other necessities, discourage the production of wealth generally and ultimately cause unemployment. Even income taxes, which are direct levies, discourage the accumulation of capital and so indirectly depress industry. Taxes, therefore, both direct and indirect, are unlike club dues if for no other reason than that they do not stay in one place. They are diffused throughout the entire community. In view of the foregoing observations, there is not the slightest justification for comparing a country, state or municipality to a private club.

Nor do the facts support the popular belief that we are living under a democracy in this country. We have been taught that the colonists revolted against Great Britain because of "taxation without representation." But the average citizen today enjoys no more representation in government than the early colonist did. He is merely permitted to go through the ineffectual gesture of casting a vote for candidates carefully chosen by a political caste—candidates who invariably break their campaign pledges under the pressure of individual influential groups. He can have no real representation when the taxes he pays bear no relation whatsoever to the value of the services he receives from government. Furthermore, political democracy is a dream, not a fact,

for democracy connotes a condition in which men do things together willingly without being coerced. For if the people graciously accepted the will of the so-called majority, the government would not have to employ strong-arm methods to collect taxes and to impose restrictions.

The only democracy that we enjoy is the democracy of the market where men do things voluntarily; where they buy and sell by free contract. No payment (except a free gift) is voluntary unless it is made by contract, implied or expressed. Therefore, taxes constitute a seizure of one's property. They are not determined by the bidding of the market; they are fixed by the cost of government which might run to any figure that is deemed necessary by government officials. Taxation is a brutal, uncivilized method of financing public services, for it does not involve the civilized technique of exchange. In discussing the origin and genesis of civilization, Henry George wrote these significant statements: "With the beginning of exchange or trade among men this body economic begins to form, and in its beginning civilization begins. The animals do not develop civilization, because they do not trade." . . .

Here then is the basic cause of the evils of bureaucracy with all their attendant disastrous effects on economic life: The body politic has failed to keep pace with the body economic. In other words, government is immature, uncivilized and undemocratic. It is still employing the savage technique of the jungle instead of the civilized technique of the market. Why men have tolerated such a system so long, when they have progressed in so many other directions, is probably due to three things: (1) The popular belief in a paternalistic theory of government. (2) The fact that at least part of the taxes collected go to finance the real services of government. (3) The failure to perceive the relationship between rent and government services.

Very few people realize that they can only obtain public services by paying rent at a particular location to which these services are delivered. And because they do not know this, they permit the public servants to seize their property in order to finance those services. Due to the failure to perceive the significance of rent, economists and students of public finance go to absurd extremes in order to rationalize and defend this crude system of financing. In fact, we even hear it frequently said that there is a science of taxation.

If exchange is the basis of civilization, then if we extend the technique of exchange to include government, it is not unreasonable to expect that civilization could rise to heights hitherto only envisioned by the poet. To accomplish this, the power to tax must be denied government, automatically compelling reliance on rent for financing public services. Rent, unlike taxes, is a voluntary payment. It is not determined by one's ability

to pay but by the bidding of the market, and this bidding is influenced by the quality and quantity of services offered. Henry George explained rent in this way: ". . . but in the modern form of society, the land, though generally reduced to individual ownership, is in the hands of too many different persons to permit the price which can be obtained for its use to be fixed by mere caprice or desire. While each individual owner tries to get all he can, there is a limit to what he can get, which constitutes the market price or market rent of the land, and which varies with different lands and at different times. . . ."

Rent does not constitute a seizure of private wealth. It is a payment made through the democratic process of exchange in which value is given for value. If government had to rely on rent for its income, it could not afford to be paternalistic, tyrannical, corrupt and wasteful. People would pay only what they considered the public services were worth to them, and their value would be fixed, as it is today, by the market. By replacing the savage technique of taxation by the civilized technique of the market, taxes would be transmuted, as it were, into rent. Democracy, in the true sense of the word, would be a fact then, not a dream, for everyone would enjoy representation in government through the medium of exchange. And people would not be exhorted by impractical idealists to "take more interest in public matters." The supervision of the activities of public servants would be automatically carried on by the market.

A Passage From Dante

By ROBERT CLANCY

THE Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri abounds in profound discourses and words of wisdom. There is a splendid example of this in Cantos, XIV and XV of the Purgatorio. In Canto XIV we find Guido del Duca, a fellow-countryman of Dante, atoning for his vice of envy. Guido exclaims:*

"Oh human folk, why set thy heart there where exclusion of partnership is necessary?"

In the next Canto, Dante asks his guide and master, Virgil, what Guido meant by that remark. Virgil replies:

"He knoweth the hurt of his greatest defect, and therefore let none marvel if he reprove it, that it be less mourned for.

"Forasmuch as your desires are centered where the portion is lessened by partnership, envy moves the bellows to your sighs.

"But if the love of the highest sphere wrested your

*The passages quoted are from the literal translation of the Purgatorio from the Italian, by Thomas Okey.

desire upward, that fear would not be at your heart; for by so many more there are who say 'ours,' so much the more of good doth each possess, and the more of love burnest in that cloister."

Dante is still puzzled:

"How can it be that a good, when shared, shall make the greater number of possessors richer in it than if possessed by a few?"

Virgil again replies:

"Because thou dost again fix thy mind merely on things of earth, thou drawest darkness from true light.

"That infinite and ineffable good, that is on high, speedeth so to love as a ray of light comes to a bright body.

"As much of ardour as it finds, so much of itself doth it give, so that how far soever love extends, eternal goodness giveth increase upon it.

"And the more people on high who comprehend each other, the more there are to love well, and the more love is there, and like a mirror one giveth back to the other."

In that passage is a truth that may be applied to affairs on earth as well as in heaven. Let us see how it applies, not *merely* to "things of earth," but *also* to them. Instead of "drawing darkness from true light," let us bring light to the darkness.

Let us not seek to share, says Dante (or Virgil), those things of which, when shared, each sharer gets less. Let us rather raise our desire to the point where that which is shared increases the more it is shared and the more sharers there are. In order for there to be increase, the sharers, by their very presence must increase the thing to be shared.

Now, the heavenly attribute of love, says Dante, attracts goodness to it. The sociological equivalent of love would be the value that people place upon one another's services. What is the goodness that results from, or is attracted to, this value?

Henry George teaches us that as society grows and flourishes, two values arise—an individual value and a social value. The individual value attaches to things produced by individuals—wealth. Every individual has a right to the wealth which he as an individual produces, and it ought to remain in his possession, and not be shared, as the Socialists would have. There exclusion of partnership is necessary.

But the other value—the social value—is a value which no individual by himself can create, but which exists in proportion to the existence of society. This value attaches itself to the land upon which the society is existent, and is indeed the rent of land. It always appears as society appears, and increases to the extent

that people place a value upon one another's services.

Here, then, is the economic counterpart of the good that is attracted to love.

Let us paraphrase the passage from Dante in economic terms:

That quality of rent speedeth so to society as a ray of light comes to a bright body. As much of social activities as it finds so much of itself doth it give, so that how far soever society extends, rent giveth increase upon it, and the more people there are who exchange with one another, the more closely knit is society and like a mirror one giveth back to the other.

Here is a new—or rather an old—argument in favor of the socialization of rent. Rent is the good that will increase the more it is shared!

Let us say in passing that Dante's norm of what should and should not be shared may also be applied to the question of dividing the land among the people. The more land were subdivided and parcelled out to individuals, the less would be the share of each. Henry George fully points out the inadequacy of such a measure.

The rent of land is the only thing that stands the test of increasing good the more it is shared. If this truth were more widely realized there would be a great many fears that "would not be at our hearts!"

Accurate Irony

By RICHARD W. B. LEWIS

A REPRINT

CONSIDERING the character and background of the present Prime Minister of Great Britain and of those who preceded him over a century and a half, many of us are impelled to realize that "*plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*" I have recently come across a description of Lord Liverpool by the late Lord Acton, which, with a few names and events changed, might well have appeared in an editorial in *The Nation*. It is quoted by his editors in the introduction to Lord Acton's "History of Freedom and other essays."

Lord Liverpool governed England in the greatest crisis of the war, and for twelve troubled years of peace, chosen not by the nation, but by the owners of the land. The English gentry were well content with an order of things by which for a century and a quarter they had enjoyed so much prosperity and power. Desiring no change they wished for no ideas. They sympathized with the complacent respectability of Lord Liverpool's character, and knew how to value the safe sterility of his mind. . . . His mediocrity was his merit. The secret of his policy was that he had none.

It would be hard to improve on what his editors call Lord Acton's "austere and accurate irony."

Causerie

By THOMAS N. ASHTON

REAL THINKERS

DAY in, day out, we read eulogies of the law profession, by lawyers, for lawyers. The columns of the metropolitan presses and modern magazines continually remind us of the prominent roles played by the members of the legal profession. Very recently a news item advised us that a judge who was addressing Yale graduates informed them that lawyers are the "real thinkers" in national life, but we could not learn as to what the lawyers were thinking.

Another source informs us that lawyers play the dominant role in civic affairs but, again, this source (as well as the lawyers themselves) is silent as to the responsibility for industrial chaos which can arise, and *has* arisen, only because of the acts of the nation's dominant force. To use a Choctaw expression, civilization is in "a heluva mess," and it is high time that we discovered the dominating force which has pushed willing workers into idleness—has turned fertile fields into idle acres—has chased mountains of capital into hiding—and has multiplied taxes until industry gasps for breath.

It is a matter of record that lawyers do dominate the legislative branches of government. It is in these departments that all laws, for better or for worse, are enacted, and under which the social order goes forward or backward in consequence of the results flowing therefrom and regardless of the theory under which the statutes are enacted. The national Congress is composed of about 60 per cent lawyers as against 40 per cent for all other trades and professions.

Domination of national life and thought, by any one profession, is not *per se* a disadvantageous situation. The results obtained thereunder are all that matter. If this nation had grown and flourished, from its inception until today, free from the pall of depressions, free from idle men and women all too willing to work, free from devastating taxation upon thrift, energy, and ingenuity, and free from monopolization of natural resources which for three hundred years have been the natural right and the natural property of all the people as a partnership, free from vice, crime and disease which have flowed from enforced idleness, from taxation upon honest industry, and from the private plundering of the aforesaid public, natural rights; if these results had flowed from the legal profession's dominance of civilization then the lawyers would be entirely entitled to compliment each other upon being the "real thinkers" of humanity.

The record and the results present an exactly contrary condition possibly stemming from the unquestioned dominance of law-trained minds. In viewing the obvious and calamitous conditions which today face civilization,

we do not include the daily news items pertaining to specific cases of lawyer and judge dishonesty which chronically pass in review as we read the morning and evening papers. We are concerned with methods, not with men. History is replete with cycles of misery and suffering brought about by the sincere and honest "opinions" resulting from judicial determinations affecting the very fundamentals of our social order. Erroneous, judicial "wisdom" has caused far more widespread suffering, over great periods of time, than has the individual cases of lawyer and judge rascality. The effects of dishonest deeds do not linger long, and affect very few, after the evil-doer dies, but that which passes as truth emanating from so-called "wisdom" long remains to work insidious consequences after the honest enunciator passes from this earth revered and forever respected.

It is the very respect and unquestioned dominance, enjoyed and wielded by the legal profession, which long has diverted from the members thereof all suspicion as to their competency to play the dominating role in civic affairs. It would be a simple matter, as to presenting evidence—although an arduous task to compile, to go to the textbooks upon the various subjects of law—and to the statute books which are the fruits of lawyer-dominance in legislatures—to offer conclusive data covering erroneous "wisdom" which has brought distress, suffering, vice, crime and disease upon civilization.

There is no need to prove obvious results. Conditions speak for themselves. Whatever profession really dominates our social order, the existing methods of disruptive taxation—the existing widespread unemployment—the fear of "capital" to engage in honest industry—and the widespread monopolies of natural resources which sorely are needed by those who gladly would create their own jobs in preference to governmental made-work, all these truly measure the competency of our dominating faction.

The legal profession proudly proclaims its civic domination and lays claim to furnishing the "real thinkers" of civilization. In claiming the glory, these "real thinkers" must accept the responsibility flowing from the dominance.

National conditions speak for themselves, ye members of the Bar. How do you *now* plead?

We suggest that you read Henry George's book "Progress and Poverty" before you again compliment each other on being the "real thinkers" of this human race. We suggest that you compare George's findings with your textbooks upon "real property." We suggest that you compare your much-vaunted theory of "ability-to-pay-taxes" with George's method for paying the costs of civil government.

We suggest less self-approbation among you, and more study and more real thinking about using only public-partnership assets for public expense, and more real thinking about collecting site-value rentals rather than to permit such common wealth to flow into private pockets.

When this has been done you may, indeed, become some of the "real thinkers" of humanity

THE FORGOTTEN PHILOSOPHER

In the opinion of Albert Jay Nock, Henry George today is "preeminently the Forgotten Man of Anglo-American civilization." If this be true it is a severe indictment of Anglo-American cultural veneer and its superficial sciences and of the mental shallowness of our intelligentsia, except, of course, where the forgetting of Henry George has been done with malice aforethought.

Personally, we cannot believe that Henry George has been forgotten in a natural manner. We do believe that the vast majority of Anglo-Americans have not, as yet, ever heard of Henry George, but the fact is of little import because the majority does not lead—it follows.

If it is true that George "was one of the greatest of philosophers, and the spontaneous concurring voice of all his contemporaries acclaimed him as one of the best of men," we are not persuaded that this acclaim came from naught but empty heads speaking as poll-parrots. If we are wrong in that the Anglo-Americans *are* a civilization of parrots and stooges, why is it that they have failed or forgotten to apply their powers of observation and deduction to other phases of social activities in addition to that of taxation?

When "Progress and Poverty" continues to be "even after sixty years, the most successful book on economics ever published," the forgetting of its author certainly has not been a natural consequence.

There is but one unavoidable inference to be drawn concerning the "eclipse" of Henry George, and this inference reflects most shamefully upon the cultured, artistic, scientific intelligentsia of these United States, in that the author met with clearer understanding and acquired more influence in England and in Ireland than he did in his native land. If, in forgetting Henry George, England and Ireland may be classified as moronic peoples, what are we? If British brains are so much jelly—if Irish hearts are so many pounds of pulp—what are ours?

Mr. Nock knows of no precedent for forgetting Henry George. We know of many precedents, after sitting in the legislative branch of government. Which of Henry George's predecessors equalled his accomplishment? Not one. He has no predecessors. Is the fiddler the predecessor of the violinist? The virtuoso is an artist for art's sake; the fiddler plays for a price in any alley which yields the most pennies; where is the parallel?

When our disillusionment had been made complete, in legislative halls, we had come to know many fiddlers from all walks of life—from universities, from colleges, from commerce and industry, from bench and bar and pulpit. All these fiddlers, when confronted with the

plain, simple and sufficient truths penned by Henry George, were skilled in producing precedents for avoiding the paths of right thought, right procedure and right results.

This world's records are filled with precedents—all legally established by our political leaders and their predecessors—for continuing the exploitation of the people.

The newspapers which made widespread comment upon the advent of Henry George's book, in 1880, have not forgotten him, but they have, perforce, drawn the curtain of silence. Our professional economists, who have read "Progress and Poverty," have not forgotten its author; but discretion weighs with them more than valor. A wage-paying job in hand is worth more than two soap-box platforms in the public park, and these job-holders know equally well how to apply the rules for reading and writing and arithmetic to taxation as they do to all other subjects within the ken of man. In the matter of failing to collect site-rents they appear to be parrots and stooges; in realities they are not.

However inferentially low Mr. Nock's essay has placed Anglo-American intelligence we are not persuaded that this amply demonstrated attribute, in the fields of industry and art and science, leaves suddenly bereft, when Single Tax thoughts are in order, those who formulate our laws and their enforcements. There is too much evidence, to the contrary, "behind the scenes" in civic leadership. Did King John sign the Magna Charta before he was compelled? Do parasites voluntarily cease their insect activities? Are not "wars and rumors of wars" age-old subterfuges for diverting mediocre mankind from its economic miseries?

There are plenty of precedents, among those who place power above truth, for burying Henry George in the pit of silence.

However, we offer no disparagement to insects. We make no analogy between insects and civic leaders. We simply aim to illustrate the point, by extreme example, that parasitism in man or insect exists in a degree depending upon individual conscience in choosing between the exercise of power and the furtherance of truth.

The insect steadily pursues his vocation. The civic leader is anxious and willing and ready to prove, by fiddling, that actual experience in expediencies, superficialities, froth and fizzle, lead nowhere but to miserable awakenings. By indirection and negation they will prove to each generation that nothing but truth permanently can succeed, just as the insect indirectly proves that sanitation and eternal vigilance are the price of good health and freedom.

Henry George no longer will be forgotten when the King Johns are certain that it is high time to sign the new Magna Charta and to lift the curtain of silence.

PILGRIMS' PROGRESS

What manner of men were our first immigrants—our

Pilgrim Fathers—who waded ashore at Plymouth Rock three hundred years ago?

How did they find employment with no Chamber of Commerce to greet them—no bankers from whom to borrow money—no taxi cabs nor subways to carry them uptown from the surf-swept shore of Plymouth—no WPA's to "make work" for them—no "going concerns" to offer them jobs—no captains of industry nor trade associations to raise "venture money" for them—no town welfare rolls upon which to rest, no old-age pensions, nor national youth-administrations, nor orange and blue credit stamps?

No pot of tea stood waiting upon a hospitable hearth, nor nary a candle flickered forth a welcoming ray from a tiny window pane.

What brand of brain and brawn were these pilgrims?

They landed here with little or nothing and from it built up this world's greatest democracy. Gracefully dying off they left to us a nation fabulously wealthy in resources, wealthy in towns and cities and states—they left to us a potential population of 130,000,000 manpower, millions of fertile acres, manifold modern inventions, new works, new ways, new machinery.

What have we done with all this?

They began with nothing and left much. We have inherited much and yet can do nothing to rescue ourselves from a mysterious "depression."

Our industrial intelligentsia are doubled up with economic cramps—our pedagogic power plants are stuttering, sputtering and fluttering—our statesmen are running 'round in circles—whistling in, the dark and Coueism in the day are current modes for keeping courageous and cool. High-pressure diagnosticians hasten hither and thither chanting of effects, causes and cures—lightly lilting words of cheer to "little business"—lustily booming at Big Business of "incentive, new ideas and money." Financial Goliaths are exhorted to play the economic "stymie." Dulled incentives are deplored—putting the brakes on speculative urge is decried—and the noseay nonsense of federal "fixers" bring squawks of disgust.

Meanwhile multiple taxation is mouthed as "the ability to pay," but no one proves the ability and, consequently, we pay whether or not our ability equals this accusation leveled at our incomes.

Why did not our old-time Pilgrims at once set up and send out "countless questionnaires" whilst waiting to reap the first harvest? Why did they not mobilize an army of "labor relations" snoopers, taxation detectives, and why did they not summon their members to be put upon the political, inquisitorial rack at the Capitol when times turned tortuous as the months wore on?

Having inherited a nation of enormous wealth and of billions of foot-pounds of energy—having fallen heirs to millions of idle acres which once were naught but heartbreaking, tangled wildwood obstructing the handi-

capped labors of our pioneers as they fought foes inch by inch back into the hinterlands—we now have bogged down into a slough of despair.

Meanwhile enormous rents have flowed—from publicly created site-values stemming from an ever-increasing population now grown to 130,000,000 people—into the bottomless pockets of site-value exploiters, whilst industry groans under an ever-increasing burden of multiple taxation. The idle lands, which once gave life, labor and love to all who could find no hire among their fellow pilgrims, today stand empty and hedged by the dead hands of legal custom, while ten millions of unemployed workers in vain seek jobs.

What manner of men were our Pilgrim Fathers, that they could create such a mighty nation from such virgin obstructions? What manner of heirs are we, that our inheritance should be our undoing? Where is our boasted knowledge, with its scientific marvels, knowledge which ne'er was dreamed of by our forebears as they builded an empire based upon naught but crude and limited learning? What of our vaunted statesmanship which has come to supplant the halting, homely and mediocre town-meeting of New England? To what straits has our streamlined statesmanship led us?

In the past quarter of a century our national cost of education has risen 400 per cent, though our student-body has increased only 200 per cent. Today we spend, annually, 2,500 millions of dollars for education, and yet our students know as little about economics as did the first school tots taught in a colonial cabin.

'Tis said that we Americans have the reputation, at home and abroad, of never doing things by halves. In the matter of taxation we uphold our reputation. We have scorned a Single Tax to take up in a great, big way, double and triple and quadruple taxation upon industry.

Our colossal culture, our stupendous science, our industrial ingenuity, all—added together—are equalled only by our suffocating stupidity in taxation.

We have idle men and women who are willing to work. We have idle acres fit to flower and to flourish with all that this nation needs. The Pilgrim Fathers had no more, yet they were successful. We have all that they had, plus the accumulations which have come down to us through the generations, yet we are helpless as we mooch and mope through our home-made "depression."

"What fools we mortals be."

OUR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Our estimable Chamber of Commerce of these United States has made several important discoveries. It has learned that taxes affect permanent jobs, taxes affect the consumer, taxes affect the retailer, taxes affect the employee, taxes are the cause of certain other effects, taxes affect posterity, taxes affect recovery, taxes today

are more devastating than taxes of olden days, and, more important, it has discovered that taxes are hidden. In toto, less taxes mean more jobs.

All in all, our Chamber of Commerce has discovered all there is to know about the destructive power of taxation. Unfortunately this body of national business men has not begun to discover how to cope with this "power to destroy." We are personally skeptical that the Chamber would be willing in convention assembled to listen to Henry George's age-old analysis of the identical enumeration of complaints, nor do we entertain the hope that the several officers of this national chamber would take the initiative and pore over the pages of "Progress and Poverty" to the end that Single Tax be once and for all time accepted—or rejected for good and sufficient reasons. This latter course is out of the question because the Chamber is still convinced that taxation upon industry is still the best policy—that "spending for recovery" is still very necessary—that we must buy our release from the tentacles of the depression.

The United States Chamber of Commerce wishes to return to the good old days when industry could afford to take taxes out of its profits while profits from *site-value speculations* went into *private pockets*. It would have us believe that idle capital is eager to work—to start new ventures—to "rehire workers," and to enlarge going concerns—but only under the old terms by which speculation (particularly in site-values) would continue rampant whilst the producer produced aplenty for the consumer to consume to the end that sufficient profits should accrue to cover reasonable wages and good rates of interest and ample amortization funds and all the other thanksgiving trimmings which add to their turkey dinner of economics.

In short, the United States Chamber of Commerce yearns for a return to static permanency of the very order of ancient ways which incubated the very condition now deplored by the Chamber's writers. Of course, the Chamber does not recognize the error of the old ways. On the contrary it places the blame for our present governmental policies upon the "handcuff legislation" which has come to pass openly and aboveboard rather than by hidden and devious ways. It recognizes this effect as a cause, and it proceeds to blame the cause (effect, in fact) as being the course of discouragement in reviving old, and in inaugurating new, enterprises. Having ingeniously confused cause with effect, it lists the ill effects of taxation upon industry and then prays for a return to the very method of easy-taxes which naturally grew into monstrous taxes.

The Chamber wishes to pull the trigger of taxation in an easy manner, so that the death of the victim may be made a transport of joy in which the body of industry spits out the bullets with a nonchalant smile as fast as the trigger-man from the assessor's office pumps the pills

into the victim's torso. This is the Chamber's idea of the science of political economy. Just enough taxational epicac to yield plenty of tax-revenue without upsetting the national stomach beyond repair.

We have no objection to the Chamber proving that wrong methods *can* produce right results. We should be happy to learn that, having failed to get right results from right action, we have the alternative of working for right results by means of wrong methods. Variety is the spice of life, even in ways which work just results.

As we read of civilization's statesmen urging a "moral rearmament" whilst tenaciously adhering to their one diet of taxes upon industry with an avoidable tax upon site-values, we are reminded of the European oil beetle which snootily refuses to eat aught but bee's eggs and honey. Our statesmen write laws directing assessors to feed civil government upon naught but the economic eggs and honey of industry. With parasitical persistency they creep into commerce and steep themselves in the sweets of production until, having gnawed the vitals into disintegration, they attempt to arouse the victims into a "moral" awakening. Let's be honest without disturbing the methods by which dishonesty fattens upon the fruits of labor.

Perhaps the Chamber's plan can succeed, but we shall need first to destroy the significance of words in the language of economic morals. When wrong methods are held up as the goal for right results, what sense is left in our sequence of words?

All this is the import of the "nation's business" as set forth in pamphlet No. 26 issuing from the United States Chamber of Commerce's files at Washington in the District of Columbia. No. 26 tells a sad story of taxes, wages and profits, wherein a "typical medium-sized business concern" enjoyed a wage bill of \$35,225 and a tax bill of \$1,824 in 1930, only to awaken in 1938 to a wage bill of \$154,850 and a tax bill of \$15,226 in a five-fold increase in business.

"Certainly we must spend for recovery," says the Chamber of Commerce, "but the kind of spending makes an awful lot of difference."

Amen, we murmur.

And this spending need not exceed one dollar for a copy of "Progress and Poverty."

Sweet Land of Liberty

A WOMAN was recently fined and then held for trial because she had "smuggled" cigarettes from New Jersey to her home in New York City. Let this be a warning to those who would escape paying the special cigarette tax "justly" owing to the City of New York. Oh well, people who do not know the real meaning of Freedom can hardly be expected to know the meaning of Free Trade.

Some Thoughts on The Legal Profession

THE West Publishing Company periodically issues a little pamphlet captioned "The Docket." And what has this to do with Single Tax? Let's see.

The primary purpose of "The Docket" is to entertain and to educate embryo lawyers who are in the stages of processing peculiar to law schools.

We like "The Docket's" attractiveness, illuminations, and entertainments drawn from real life with all its ramifications of sincerity, simplicity, complexity, stupidity, broad and narrow mindedness, comedy, tragedy, truth and error. It makes brevity beautiful, in marked contrast to the law profession's verbiage, surplusage, redundancy and wind-jamming.

It has had our early attention during our law school days and during our post-graduate work. It offers a refreshing respite from this hectic nation's current jitters over wars and rumors of wars, balancing budgets, tax reform, tax torture, tax treatises and tax tirades in a social chaos which these United States might well seek to solve.

As we strove to forget the daily economic headache—as we perused page after page of "The Docket"—we came upon the following eulogy:

"Lawyers predominate in positions of trust and honor in every community in our land. This outstanding expression of confidence in the legal profession by their fellow citizens is irrefutable testimony of the legal fraternity's integrity and its essential contributions to the nation's welfare and progress."

Elsewhere we have learned that lawyers constitute 60 per cent of our national Congress. Through experience we have learned that lawyers dominate the legislative branches of state government. Through experience we have learned that the profession's point of view prevails in trials regardless of a totally different scientific comprehension of a subject far removed from that of law.

There can be no doubt of the profession's greater influence, in shaping national thought and life, as compared with that of any other trade or profession. It is futile to deny that our confidence, in the past at least, has been bestowed upon lawyers. Their preponderance in number upon our public committees, boards, commissions, administrations, and what-not, attest to this.

In view of all this "predominance" and "essential contributions" to our national life, we pause to inquire from whence cometh our nation's civic jitters, tax torture, depressions, labor-capital rows, WPA'S, and the need for welfare alms, etc., etc. With a predominance of lawyers in key positions, then the predominant thought—in charting the social course—should stem from the profession's integrity, competency and concern over human needs—except if it happens that the tail wags the dog—except if the non-dominant forces run the steam roller over the dominant legal leaders. Such

exceptions at once destroy the significance of the eulogy.

By what miraculous manipulation—during three centuries—can a growing dominance of learned lawyers be rendered impotent by a non-dominant thought, force or faction? The profession is either dominant or it is not.

If "The Docket" is ready to amplify (or modify) its eulogy and say, in effect, that our learned lawyers have all the attributes contained in the eulogy, but have done a bad job in running this nation into its worst depression 'midst its greatest accumulations of wealth, then the national result contradicts the eulogy. If "predominance" has any significance, then the cause of our industrial chaos traces back to our civic leaders, be they mice, men, maids or lawyers; it traces back to our dominating thought, force or faction. If "consequence" has any significance, then, in the present instance, "The Docket's" eulogy merely is the tinkling of brass and the sounding of cymbals as white elephants, mad with pride, prance to the plaudits of a worshipping populace.

The "consequence" of economic chaos cannot fairly be labeled "Exhibit I—An Act of God" Or can it?

We must reconcile "dominance" and "consequence" if we are not to destroy the common import of our English language. If the one contradicts the other we are talking twaddle. We may accept the significance of the word "dominance," and if we do then the consequence lies at the door of that word no matter who attempts to wear it as a halo. We may accept the significance of social consequence in the present instance, and if we do, it means either (1) the lawyers do *not* predominate, or (2) they haven't brought the most essential contributions to the nation's welfare and progress.

In a future article we shall present evidence of a most serious nature relating to the fundamental laws in "real property"—laws from which flow most of the industrial chaos, poverty, vice, crime and disease now afflicting our so-called civilization. Those who have read Henry George's "Science of Political Economy," together with our modern and ancient text-books and case-books upon laws governing society, quite easily can read the fundamental cause of social ills which have come to overwhelm men, women and children. In the pages of "real property" text-books is exposed the "predominance" of the legal profession in its thought, force and faction. Herein lies its real contribution to the welfare and progress of a people now distraught. Dishonesty of lawyers, upon which our daily papers frequently comment, fortunately has nothing to do with the matter. Lawyers are as honest as anyone can be under the circumstances.

An accurate eulogy of the law profession remains to be written. We have had our fill of hearkening to our legal fraternity claim all the credit and glory whilst being painfully silent over the "consequence" flowing from "predominance." The future of civilization is in too precarious a position to permit professional pride to take precedence.

THOMAS N. ASHTON.

The McGlynn Case

BY HON. P. J. O'REGAN*

ALTHOUGH Mr. Stephen Bell's book "Rebel, Priest and Prophet" is a timely contribution to the literature of our movement, I venture to say that the title thereof is incorrect. Father McGlynn was no rebel, though he was denounced as such by his opponents, and doubtless there are certain of his co-religionists—some of them in high places—who still would so describe him. The McGlynn case is one of many similar controversies in the long history of the Catholic Church, though, as Newman has said, since the Reformation the Church has necessarily been obliged to maintain a defensive attitude, and so there has been less of internal discussion than in the earlier ages. There were many bishops who opposed St. Francis of Assisi, but he secured the approval of the Pope, became the founder of one of the greatest religious orders, and in due time was accorded the signal honor of canonization. When he opposed the pretensions of Henry II, St. Thomas of Canterbury found his most influential opponents among his fellow-bishops. Nevertheless it is the verdict of history that he was not merely a great churchman, but one of the sturdiest champions of popular freedom. More and Fisher found scant sympathy—active opposition in fact—from Court theologians when they opposed Henry VIII and the panders who acclaimed him as head of the Church. Like Thomas of Canterbury, however, they have long since been vindicated, and recently they were included in the great calendar of the canonized. History contains no name more magnificent than that of Las Casas, the illustrious Dominican who opposed the enslavement of the aborigines of Latin America. From the earliest ages the Church had ameliorated the lot of the slave, and finally she secured the abolition of slavery in Europe. Still there were churchmen who defended the enslavement of colored men. Las Casas, however, maintained that all men were born free and that heathen had natural rights which even their conqueror was bound to respect. Non-Catholic historians, like Robertson and Prescott, have extolled Las Casas and his work equally with Catholic writers like Chateaubriand. It remains a fact, however, that he had to face powerful opposition from co-religionists, though now-a-days no one would question the soundness of his teaching. Long ago the illustrious priest, Lacordaire, counselled his countrymen to accept the French Republic and to refuse the overtures of Royalist pretenders. Lacordaire found little support among

the French Bishops, but years later Pope Leo XIII gave the same advice. One of the greatest Catholics of the last century was John Henry Newman, the author of that monumental work "The Development of Christian Doctrine." Long after he had entered the Catholic Church Newman maintained that there was in reality no conflict between the teaching of the Church and scientific discovery, and that Genesis must be read in the light of modern knowledge, and the "days" of creation regarded as geological periods. There were critics among his co-religionists who called him a "minimizer of Catholic doctrine," and though he took little notice of them it is beyond question that he felt their attacks keenly. Newman had a matchless knowledge of history, and doubtless he was well aware that away back in the fifth century St. Augustine had said very much the same thing. The great Bishop of Hippo did not have the benefit of modern geological knowledge, but in his "Confessions" he pointed out that the "days" of Genesis could not mean days as we know them in that a day could not occur before the work of creation had been completed. The best commentary on the life and work of Newman is that he was raised to the Cardinalate. Today nobody questions his greatness, his insight or his Catholic orthodoxy, and he is well remembered while his critics are forgotten.

That Father McGlynn was no rebel is evident from the facts. After his excommunication he remained fully confident of the real strength of his position. He did not attempt to found a new sect. He did not have recourse to non-Catholic pulpits. That he had not merely a large measure of popular support, but the sympathy of not a few ecclesiastics and fellow-priests is clear. The huge procession of protest in New York and the protesting cable message from the Bishop of distant Florida is evidence of all this, and there are the crowning facts that after he had written a statement of his principles, the ban of excommunication was lifted by the Papal Alegate, that he had audience with the Pope and received his blessing, and that Monsignor Satolli himself was made a Cardinal.

But there is other evidence of the soundness of Father McGlynn's position, and soundness is incompatible with rebellion. Readers of this article will remember the Knights of Labor, one item of whose programme was a declaration that the whole of the unearned increment of land belongs to the community. Naturally there were many followers of Henry George who joined the Knights, hoping thereby to influence them in the right direction. Necessarily there were many Catholics in it, and in 1889 invisible but powerful forces got to work to have the Order interdicted by the Pope as being a secret society. As a matter of fact Cardinal Taschereau of Quebec had already banned the Order within his own jurisdiction. At or about the same time the same agencies got to work to have "Progress and Poverty" placed on the Index

*Mr. O'Regan is a prominent Catholic in New Zealand and for many years a follower of Henry George. He served six years as a member of Parliament and then took up the study of law. Thereafter he achieved prominence at the Bar and in 1937 was appointed President of the Court of Arbitration of Industrial Disputes.—Ed.

of forbidden books. Now, we know from their biographies, meagre as they are in this connection, that two doughty opponents of both proposals were Cardinals Gibbons and Manning. In the result the Knights of Labor were not condemned, Archbishop Taschereau was obliged to remove the ban in Canada, and "Progress and Poverty" was not placed on the Index. Assuredly, all this is relevant to the case of McGlynn, and is strong evidence of the validity of his position from a Catholic point of view. Incidentally, it is no mean tribute to Henry George that two princes of the church, particularly men so eminent as the Archbishops of Baltimore and Westminster, took such an attitude when it was sought to condemn his masterpiece.

Mr. Bell comments on the meagre records of the McGlynn case in the Catholic Encyclopædia. This reminds me that there seems to have been so far a studied attempt to minimize the case and to obscure it. There is a lengthy reference to it in the biography of Cardinal Gibbons, whence it is plain, though the fact is not emphasized, that the Cardinal did not approve Archbishop Corrigan's conduct, and notwithstanding that the final vindication of Father McGlynn is mentioned, it is dismissed with a couple of sentences! A two-volume biography of Cardinal Manning—little better than a caricature in my opinion—has been written by Purcell, wherein no mention is made of the McGlynn case. The author does record that Henry George had an interview with the Cardinal, but he omits the fact that he was introduced by Wilfred Meynell, a distinguished Catholic publicist, and he betrays his ignorance of George's principles by calling him an advocate of land nationalization and a Socialist. In a later biography of the great Cardinal by Shane Leslie there is a chapter headed "The Coming of Democracy" in which there is extensive reference to the McGlynn case. The author is plainly infected by a strong bias against Father McGlynn, and he tells a garbled story in that there is very little to indicate what the Cardinal's view was, while not a word is said to inform the reader of McGlynn's ultimate vindication by the Papal Ablegate! Further, an extract is given from a letter written by Archbishop Walsh of Dublin to the Cardinal, the most significant portion of which is suppressed. I have taken the trouble to peruse the biography of the Archbishop of Dublin, however, and there the letter is printed in full as well as several others on the case of Father McGlynn. Dr. Walsh expresses the opinion that "Progress and Poverty" is "a singularly interesting as well as ably written book". He adds: "It is very plain, very painfully so indeed, that the Archbishop of New York whose pastoral condemns it so strongly, cannot have read it at all." It would be interesting to have the Cardinal's reply, but I have no doubt what his view was, and when a proper and adequate biography of the man is written, the whole truth will be told. We are

in possession of evidence sufficient, however, to justify the conclusion that there is a studied endeavor on the part of a few obscurantists to stifle discussion of the McGlynn case and to misrepresent it and minimize its importance.

Finally, may I say that the McGlynn case, coupled as it must be with the Pope's refusal to interdict the Knights of Labor, or to condemn "Progress and Poverty," is a magnificent tribute to the Catholic Church. Only a Catholic priest would have accomplished what Father McGlynn did, and his achievement was due to the august and historic tribunal with which the church is provided for the settlement of disputed questions. A clergyman of any non-Catholic denomination might have been as resolute as Father McGlynn, but he could never have achieved a result of such deep and world-wide importance. I entertain the fullest confidence that men will yet arise in the church to pursue the path indicated by Bishop Nulty and Father McGlynn, and when Henry George's proposal shall have been realized in practice, the courageous New York priest will be appraised at his real worth—as one of the best and bravest men of his time.

H G S S S Activities

FRANK CHODOROV, Director of the School, has just made his annual report to the Board of Trustees for the current year. In a most restrained manner, it sets forth the glowing attainments of the noblest experiment yet undertaken for the advancement of the Georgerist philosophy. The report contains a concise history of the founding of the School by the late Oscar H. Geiger, and proceeds with the story of its growth and the acquisition of its school building. It contains also a financial statement of assets and liabilities as well as a statement of income and expenditures. All together it is most illuminating and a complete justification for the continued loyalty of its generous financial supporters and volunteer workers alike.

The phenomenal growth of the school toward almost institutional proportions, may be more easily appreciated in mentioning that the expenditures for the fiscal year, 1939, amounted to \$30,710.79. Plans are well under way to carry out the envisionment of an increased expenditure for the ensuing year, in order to accommodate 3,000 additional students per term, for a total enrollment of over 10,000 per year. To reach this goal will necessitate the renovation and equipment of the two upper floors of the building, in order to accommodate applicants now being turned away. This work is estimated to cost \$7,000 and is worthy of liberal support.

The Lecture Forum started its 1939 season on October 8, and has been held each Sunday, instead of once each

month as heretofore. The popularity of the Forum last season prompted the more frequent gatherings this year. Judging by the caliber of the speakers and their topics, and the lively interest shown by the audiences, this change was fully warranted. The Forum is again conducted by Herman Ellenoff, to whom a great deal of credit is due for its success.

The Speaker's Bureau continues to furnish lecturers to a diversified list of clubs, leagues and societies. Miss Dorothy Sara, its indefatigable secretary, is constantly on the alert to contact heads of groups to arrange for speakers to address them. Many of the teachers at the Headquarters School are pressed into this service when not on duty in their class rooms. Miss Sara succeeded in booking 19 engagements during the month of October. There are 21 lectures already arranged for December, and there will be many more which are still in process of arrangement. To obtain the services of a lecturer it is only necessary to notify Miss Sara that 50 or more people want to listen and learn. She will gladly submit a list of titles, some of which may appeal especially to certain groups. Among the organizations booked are Kiwanis, Lions and Rotary Clubs, Young Men's and Women's Christian and Hebrew Associations, College and Business Clubs, University and Public School Forums, and Church Organizations. To say the least, this constitutes a formidable array of listeners. For the time being, Miss Sara's "sphere of influence" extends only within a radius of 100 miles from New York City. However, the value of this activity is so keenly felt in many other centers, that news is already at hand of similar work being done in this direction, notably in California.

The Extension Classes of the school (those having teaching courses away from Headquarters) are continually growing in all sections of the country. Boston reports an increase of 50 per cent in enrollments over last year; in this sector, John S. Codman is dean of the Faculty. In Middletown, N. Y., Mr. Z. K. Greene has started a 12-weeks course in Fundamental Economics. In Canada, new classes have been started in Toronto and St. Catharines, Ontario, both being under the direction of Herbert T. Owens. From Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, comes an interesting report, that the first course in "Progress and Poverty" has been started there on November 7 by Ashley Crowell, by introducing it into the curriculum of the Milton Social Study Club.

THE sort of courage and intrepidity of mind, which distinguishes itself in dangers, is vicious and faulty, if it be void of all regard for justice, and support a man only in the pursuit of his own interest.—CICERO.

HAPPY is he who is skilled in tracing effects up to their causes.—VIRGIL.

Robert Schalkenbach Foundation Report

OUR mail bag yields several interesting items with which to start off this report of the Foundation's activities.

From far-off Alaska comes a letter addressed to us by one Jim Busey. Here, in part, is Mr. Busey's enthusiastic missive:

"I am pleased to announce that Alaska's first magazine devoted to the philosophy of freedom will make its appearance by the middle of January. Its sole aim will be to present Henry George's thought in a way that will be so palatable that Alaska will not only favor it, but demand it in short order.

"Thus, I am urging you to send me all the literature, propaganda and news items you can manage to get together. I want editorial letters by folks who know Alaska's problems in the light of Henry George's philosophy. I want news items on this subject from all over the world. If, after the first issue, I can get subscriptions from folks interested in supporting this cause, I will, of course, be glad to receive these, too.

"The main thing, however, is news and editorial material. I cannot pay for it, as the magazine will barely pay for itself. Anything you can do along this line will be of tremendous benefit in moving Alaska in the right direction. Due to the small population, there should not be as much of a struggle as is found in larger centers."

We were able to send Mr. Busey considerable data and to make some suggestions which we hope will help him. May we hear from Georgeists who have material suitable for Mr. Busey's magazine?

Another of our busy correspondents, Mr. Albert Colby, writes us: "I have just been elected the first mayor of Greenhills, Ohio." Mr. Colby, in his "leisure" moments, conducts classes in "Progress and Poverty," sends out literature and checks up on his local library.

Those who attended the Centenary celebration will remember our Australian friend, Mrs. Ivy Akeroyd. A letter just received from London tells us that Mrs. Akeroyd has completed the first stage of her journey back to the other side of the globe. "The voyage across the Atlantic was pleasant," she writes, "and at no time were we in actual danger. Every precaution was taken for our safety. We could leave our lipsticks where we pleased, but, never for one moment, could we be separated from our gas masks and life belts. They accompanied us to the dining salon and were dumped beside us at the orchestral concerts. They made the place look so untidy!"

All through the autumn letters and circulars have been going out, thousands at a time. As a result several hundred copies of "Progress and Poverty" have been sold to new people. Particularly encouraging is the fact that a number of these converts have already sent in orders for other books.

For years the Foundation has encouraged its friends

to give Georgeist books as Christmas presents. The merit of this type of work has been proved many times over and, for hundreds of persons, the gift of a book by Henry George has marked the beginning of a deep interest in our economics. We have made our appeal this year to ten thousand people all over the United States and Canada, and it is our earnest hope that our effort will meet the same enthusiastic reception that has greeted other Christmas campaigns. Many new books are offered and special prices have been worked out.

An added attraction this year is a beautiful wall calendar featuring a handsome colored picture of Henry George and a date pad with quotations from "Progress and Poverty." The picture is a replica of the famous oil painting made by Harry Thurston See and reproduces the rich, deep tones of the original portrait. The quotations were chosen carefully, with a view to conveying a few of the most important points of our philosophy. Because of the expense of producing these calendars, only eight hundred and fifty were made up, and already half of them have been "spoken for." We are selling them at twenty-five cents each.

The excellent speech which Judge Samuel Seabury made about Henry George at the World's Fair on September 2, has been printed in pamphlet form and is now available at five cents each.

A new edition of "Duty to Civilization" by Francis Neilson, is ready for distribution. Through the generous cooperation of Mr. Neilson we are able to offer this one hundred and four-page booklet at ten cents each. Going behind the scenes of the last great war, the author examines the effects of so-called "secret diplomacy" in urging us into battle. In light of present conditions, "Duty to Civilization" is particularly significant.

Our President and our Board of Directors join me in thanking each and every one for the cooperation you have given us during the past year and in their behalf, as well as for myself, I wish you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

V. G. PETERSON, Executive Secretary.

Correspondence

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Arguing the "Rent in Price" question, one of our fundamental economists wisely states that economic rent being a payment for "value received" could not increase price, lower wages, or cause poverty. The rent went into cost but was absorbed in increased production before the price stage was reached. Then came the question: "What is the mission of the Georgeian movement if other kinds of rent also do not play the exploitive role?" And then came confusion, due to suppression of this question.

Having discovered that economic rent does not exploit, as our editors and manuals seem to teach, we must not wait but must make it perfectly clear *what does exploit*. Or else the answer to the question must be that our mission is accomplished. Our teachers and

editors do not literally teach that *economic* rent takes all wages save a bare existence, but they do teach that *rent does* this, and they do not tell of any other kind of rent than economic. So the whole routine must go together in every statement of the Ricardian law, of the Georgeian philosophy, or of the economics of democracy: (1) *Private appropriation* of economic rent causes—(a) monopoly of land and monopoly of rent; (b) a consumer tax system. Monopoly of land closes it to labor, reducing wages. Taxes on consumption may double prices, halve consumption and production, creating millions of unemployed, business depression and poverty. Failure to make any element here stated perfectly clear will do irreparable injury to progress in teaching. Excess monopoly or speculative rent is what our movement is built around, and because George did not make this clear until twelve years after "Progress and Poverty" does not discredit him. But it does discredit a teaching system that teaches such ridiculous error, even by implication.

East Orange, N. J.

CHAS. H. INGERSOLL.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

When a brave spirit like Joe Miller goes out of this world—we hope he has found the meaning of it all and that he is in communion out there with all the other benefactors of the human race—there is a void, but the written legacy he has left for us will ever keep us on tiptoe, striving to emulate him.

"Lost—The Individual" was a gem. Carry on!
Lake Ronkonkoma, N. Y.

CHRIS KINSELLA.

NOTE: Our correspondent refers to the posthumous Comment and Reflection which was published in the May-June number of LAND AND FREEDOM.—ED.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Have you ever taken a trip by auto going west from Easton through the State of Pennsylvania? No? Well I did! And I'd like to tell you what I saw. It is not necessary to be a farmer to perceive the land traversed to be tremendously rich in its production of food-stuffs. One need not be a geologist to realize the greatness of its wealth in the natural resource of extremely high-grade crude oil and perhaps the best anthracite coal deposits to be found anywhere. And even more, nature's gift of gorgeous scenery of mountains, hills, dales and valleys. And amid all this I saw the most abject and direst poverty. The ramshackles, the hovels in which the people are compelled to "live" who are engaged in extracting from mother earth the great wealth which is there and should be theirs can only make one feel that it just doesn't all "add up." It's all wrong. I realize there is nothing new in this thought, it's simply an added observation.
New York, N. Y.

J. H. McMIX.

THE CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

To me it seems extraordinary and inexplicable that the recent campaign in California should have met with so little sympathy and support, at any rate from sympathizers in the American Union. It is evident that the forces of untaxed privilege were under no illusions about its potentialities inasmuch as they spared no effort to insure our defeat. Had the effort succeeded a great initial step would have been taken and an object-lesson given the world, and, as Henry George once wrote, "anything done anywhere helps the movement everywhere." However, the work achieved has not been in vain, and I have pleasure in offering through your columns my congratulations to Jackson H. Ralston and his co-workers.

Time was in the history of California, in the days of the gold discoveries, when the wages of cooks in San Francisco restaurants rose to 500 dollars per month, and ships were left in the harbor without crews, unless wages were increased. As Henry George points out

in "Progress and Poverty," this was not due to the vast wealth produced by the placer mines. Rich as these were California produces greater wealth today, though the gold output has fallen off and it is no longer possible for individual miners to obtain gold by their unaided labor. The increase in wages in those comparatively far-off days is to be found in the gold fields regulations contrived by the miners themselves, and later enacted as legislation, and copied in Australia and in this country. Those regulations limited the area of "claims" in proportion to their richness and provided that, failing development, any "claim" would be pegged off—"jumped" was the word—by another, and so it was impossible for a few rich men to blockade the gold-bearing land. As the gold production decreased wages fell, and the unemployed evil appeared. Demagogues of the Kearney type blamed Chinese immigration, but George, though he disapproved of the influx of Chinese, pointed out that the real cause was land monopoly, in consequence whereof the advent of the trans-continental railway had enriched the land monopolists, but had done nothing for the landless, save, by making land dearer, to make it harder for them to secure employment. Such is the position in California today, but assuredly when the cause shall have triumphed, with which the name of Henry George is indelibly associated, the work of such men as Luke North and Jackson H. Ralston will be appraised as having hastened the victory.

It was a saying of Gladstone, that "the main thing is to be right," and his own life affords a striking illustration of the fact. In 1886 he introduced his Bill conceding Home Rule to Ireland, and the constituencies were convulsed as they had never been since the days of the Reform Bill of 1832. The House of Commons was packed for the fateful division on the second reading of the measure, and when the tellers announced its failure by a majority of thirty votes, members crowded round Chamberlain to congratulate the man who was preeminently responsible for the result, while Gladstone surveyed the scene pale, calm, and confident that his time would come. Mark what followed: Thirty-five years later Chamberlain's son stood before an excited House of Commons pleading for the adoption of a Home Rule measure, going far beyond that which his father had wrecked! This time the measure passed, and was eagerly passed, despite protests that it was a concession to lawlessness. Thus Gladstone was vindicated years after he had passed hence. So will it be with our cause—the greatest on this side of the grave—but victory would never come if some men were not prepared to face failure.

So far I have not seen the result of the official count in California, but I understand that though we failed by five to one, 360,000 votes were cast for the change in taxation. Surely that is no mean result in face of the adverse circumstances under which the contest was waged. Further, it was no mean achievement to have secured the cooperation of organized labor. Having committed itself to the principle of land value taxation, it is reasonable to suppose that organized labor will give increased attention to the cause underlying low wages and unemployment. It is certain also that the agitation must have had educational advantages. The use of Henry George's name and the denunciation of his principles by the enemy can not be without its advantages in this connection. Accordingly I hope that our friends in California will refuse to accept defeat and that they will keep the agitation going, with a view to further effort in due time. Wellington, New Zealand.

P. J. O'REGAN.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

I was very sorry to read recently of the passing of Joseph Dana Miller who was a close friend of my late father, the Hon. Sir George Fowlds. We had been subscribers to the magazine for over twenty-five years and always enjoyed the news of the movement published therein as well as the splendid writings of Mr. Miller. On two occasions I called on him when passing through America. First in 1898 when I was taken for a trip around the world by my father when I was a boy of twelve and again in 1911. The other evening

a few of us, at a gathering with the Hon. Justice O'Regan, were speaking in high terms of the splendid service and fine writing of Mr. Miller.

With best wishes to you who are going to carry on LAND AND FREEDOM.

Parnell, Auckland, New Zealand.

GEORGE A. FOWLDS.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Permit me to express my appreciation of the high standard you have maintained in LAND AND FREEDOM set by its late publisher, Joseph Dana Miller. He was a very able exponent of a world needed fundamental economic reform and those who knew him will ever cherish his memory.

Chicago, Ill.

GEO. C. OLCOTT.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Sometimes I develop a fit of the blues when observing our White House, Congress and "Ham and Eggs" enraptured by Marx mythology. Then I turn to my "bible" ("Progress and Poverty") and read the Law of Human Progress again; always to dwell on this paragraph: "Only in broken gleams and partial light has the sun of liberty yet beamed among men, but all progress hath she called forth."

Just now the outlook is gloomy enough, but when I read Judge Samuel Seabury's address before the 100th anniversary meeting, it made me feel Henry George's soul goes marching on, and there will some day be a glorious dawn. So here is to the good health of LAND AND FREEDOM, and may it live long and prosper.

Seattle, Wash.

OLIVER T. ERICKSON.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

"No taxation at all" on railroads or other transportation facility now or ever, is my idea. And step by step I would usher in "no taxation at all" for each and every type of industry, trade and business. Sure, "the Single Tax is in the future" but it can be achieved little by little, one kind of enterprise at a time, shift taxes to where they won't hurt. The taxes on the carriers hurt all of us *most*, farmers especially because they pay twice, to and from farms. And "here and now we have a public service that must continue to exist and is *abnormally* taxed." If you are in doubt about where taxes *hurt most* ask any dealer in consumer goods, or services, which item of overhead costs him *most*. Answer?—*Freight*.

Transportation facilities are now taxed by many taxing bodies other than the federal government. I would, therefore, require the Congress to repeal *all* federal levies thereon, and *underwrite all* other taxes now imposed on the carriers, and finance that undertaking by an adequate tax on *economic rent*.

The ground *used* under railroads, or any other *public service*, is *used* by the public *the same* as all public highways. Hence, all ground *in use* by the carriers should be purchased by the federal government and paid for by assuming their funded debts, equivalent to the original cost of the ground. All public service corporations should be required to liquidate *all* their ground holdings to the State. They ought *not* be allowed to speculate in *land values*.

There are three outstanding and glaringly obvious sore spots in our politico-economic set up that should receive the immediate and undivided attention of every member of Congress: The railroads, agriculture and the coal industry.

The railroads come first because everybody pays freight and farmers are a very important part of everybody. They pay both ways, in and out. Agriculture is a close second to the railroad problem and intimately concerned with it as every farmer must pay a lot of freight charges to and from his farm. The high cost of farm machinery, and, low price for wheat and other produce are chiefly due to high freight rates. The coal problem is also very important to everybody, including the farmers and railroads, for the simple

eason that the price of coal to the consumer means using it or getting along without coal.

All three problems were wished on us by legislators, federal and state, and aggravated by subsequent legislation. But, as they now obtain, Congress is the only legislative body that is in any commanding position to remove the cause, and effect a cure of these three sore spots.

The *proper* adjustment of these three problems need not impose involuntary cooperation on anyone, especially farmers. It would remove most of the brakes that now impede industry and business; abolish involuntary unemployment and make it possible for the "least fortunate" third of our people to buy adequate food and shelter and clothing.

I will continue to urge upon the U. S. Congress, and industrialists, the imperative necessity for the inauguration of *two* potent remedies for our *under-distribution disease*, to wit: Less, *much less* government service and its bureaucratic snoopers, and, *reclamation* of the public's *earnings—rent*.

The pursuit of happiness, like health, is a process of *production, distribution and consumption*. And anything that *interferes* with that process must be, and is, *anti-social* and *un-constitutional*.

Aberdeen, South Dakota.

CHARLES J. LAVERY, M. D.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF GEORGIAN AFFAIRS

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

There has been founded in Australia, an institute for the international exchange of information regarding the progress of the practical application of the principles of the famous American economist, Henry George. The founder of the institute is Mr. L. Thomson, who is internationally known as an author and a collaborator with "Literatura Mondo" of Budapest, an esperantist of twenty-six years standing, and a follower of Henry George since childhood. Believers in the principles of Henry George in every country and in every town or city, are requested to form international groups among themselves, possibly with the help of an expert esperantist, with the special aim of cooperating with the Australian organization in the following manner:

(1) Report every important advance made in your country or province or city or town concerning Single Tax, or the tax on land values, and the abolishment of taxes of other varieties.

(2) Report the name of every candidate for public office who if himself a Single Taxer, or who supports Single Tax in relation to the city council or the provincial or federal parliament; also report the result of such candidature—gain or loss, and the number of votes for and against. Report how much space given by the newspapers to reporting the candidate, or in any other way indicate the attitude of the press in regard to the Single Tax proposition. Indicate the importance of the newspapers referred to, whether daily or weekly, etc., and, if known, the circulation.

(3) Report each time an important statesman or government minister acknowledges the justice of the principle of the land values tax, or in any way shows himself favorable to it. Transmit only reliable statements and add accurate details, not hearsay. But act, do something, refuse to be outdated.

(4) Report concerning every election carried on under the proportional representation system.

(5) Report outstanding anomalies which result from the disproportionate election of parties, with details.

Membership in the institute is as follows:

Simple membership for one year, one international reply coupon (costing 12 cents at the post office), for which you will receive at least one reply. You may correspond as often as you wish, and will certainly receive a reply from the institute if you enclose a reply coupon.

Full membership, 4 shillings, or one dollar a year. Full members

receive each number of "The Letter"—which is a bulletin of information in esperanto which the central institute will compile from all parts of the world. The letter will be issued as often as possible during the year, and will contain the information received from various countries. The letter will be used by esperanto groups not only as reading matter, but as a source of information to be translated into the national language and printed in the local Single Tax magazine, or to be presented by word of mouth at Single Tax meetings, for the benefit of those who do not understand esperanto.

It is to be hoped that there will also be reported the names of local Single Taxers, with information as to their activities for Georgian affairs, in social circles, debates, etc. It is necessary that Single Taxers should feel themselves members of a large family circle, for their movement is essentially international. It is not necessary (however desirable it may be) that every Single Taxer should immediately become an esperantist; if only a dozen of the new members, with a few of the more mature youthful ones, become such, they will be able to use the international languages for the benefit of the Single Tax movement. All reformers must feel themselves encouraged to receive reports from other countries concerning the advances of Georgian principles, which must progress if we are to wipe out the crime of poverty.

So, "get busy." Any Single Taxer esperantist is eligible to join the institute, whose address is:

The Secretary, Internacia Instituto de Georgaj Aferoj,

Henry George Club, George's Lane, Melbourne, C 1, Australia.

REVENUE FROM LAND

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

While a tax on land values (Single Tax) must be paid from the proceeds of labor—for it is only in the products of labor that taxes can be paid—yet it does not take from labor or capital. It only takes that part of the product which they cannot retain and which, if not taken in taxes, will go to the land owners, not for anything they do, but because they are the possessors of superior wealth-producing land which cannot be utilized by labor or capital without the payment of land rent. This rent the Single Tax would collect. The Single Tax therefore puts no burden whatever on the production of wealth.

Philadelphia, Pa.

HAROLD SUDELL.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

As a Single Taxer since 1904, and an admirer of Henry George from every standpoint, I would like to say a word about Albert Jay Nock's "Henry George." The reviews of that book all fail to reach the vital point, which is, that Nock does not understand "Americanism." He is as ignorant of the meaning of that term as taught by our fathers, Jefferson, Washington, etc., as a school kid. Yes, ignorant is the word—only that and nothing more, and there are multi-millions like him in that respect—sorry to say. You will remember that a few years back, Nock had an article in *Scribners* under the title, "Henry George, Unorthodox American." Now the title of that article shows Nock to be ignorant.

An orthodox American is one who believes in Americanism as per the Declaration of Independence, the Declaration of Human Rights, these—"We hold these truths to be self-evident, etc." Now any person who reads Henry George cannot but see that this Declaration of Human Rights, runs through his books like the warp in a web of cloth! So he must be an orthodox American—not unorthodox at all—as Nock stated in the heading of the article in *Scribners*. That is, Nock has yet to learn the meaning of true Americanism as per the Declaration. And being ignorant on that very point, he could not truly represent Henry George in any important particular. All the other reviewers of Nock's book have ignored this all important point.

George's books, with human rights ignored, is like the play of "Hamlet," with Hamlet left out.

Chicago, Ill.

W. D. LAMB.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Nothing affects us more than the management of taxation and rent. The government exacts taxes, the landlord exacts rent. The nature of taxation and rent should be understood. If a people live shut off from society, their returns from what they produce will be 100 per cent. If they live and work in a well governed community where they have the daily use of public service, the returns may be 55 per cent of the total, while rent and taxes may be 45 per cent. This increase in the proportion of rent and taxes to the total is not bad. If this 45 per cent is the fair value of the work done by the community, the 55 per cent will be more than the 100 per cent when living alone. As a matter of necessity we must use land in two ways.

First. We take portions of land and shape them into items which can be moved about at will, such as furniture, clothes, etc.

Second. We must use land as a site, it retaining its actual situation in space. To use it in this form we find it profitable to associate in communities bringing certain services to the land such as roads, water supply, sewers, gas, electricity, transportation, etc., in other words, public service, rent and taxes being the result of this public service. The more of the necessary public services which we perform the higher will rents be. Economic rent is that part of wealth which has been produced by the expenditure of capital and labor in public services. Private capital and labor produce interest and wages. This definition of rent is different from Ricardo's.

"Rent," says Ricardo, "is that portion of the produce of the earth which is paid to the landlord for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil."

The flaws of this definition are serious. Something essential is left out, something nonessential is put in.

Before he proceeds far, Ricardo feels that "The original and indestructible powers of the soil" do not furnish a basis for the existence of rent in many cases, and he adds a second and distinct basis, "The peculiar advantages of situation." This consideration shows the essential principle of advantages of situation in relation to common services is the big thing that accounts for the existence and amount of rent. Ricardo undertakes to show how rent arises. He says, "Suppose land 1, 2, 3 to yield with an equal employment of capital and labor a net produce of 100, 90, 80. In a new country where there is an abundance of fertile land compared with the population it is only necessary to cultivate No. 1. As soon as population has so increased so as to make it necessary to cultivate No. 2 rent would commence on No. 1." This assumption is impossible, assuming the quality or value of the produce to be similar in each case. It is doubtful if 100 in one case or even 80 or 90 in others are ever produced with an equal employment of capital and labor. Fertile elements in greater abundance in any one place involves the employment of more labor and capital to direct them. Again the same expenditure that produced 100 of standard value in Ricardo's time now produces a greater amount, not less. This fact is at once a refutation of the theories of Malthus and Ricardo, for the latter's law of rent is simply the former's law of population stated in different form. The mistake arising from false observations of facts is strengthened by the introduction of "The original and indestructible powers of the soil," giving us a definition of rent with reference to chemical activities instead of with reference to economic activities.

Instead of finding the cause of rent in the economic phenomenon of the division of labor and capital into private and public, the latter's activities producing rent and land values, he finds it in the alleged decrease in the supply of the chemical forces available for man's use, leading to such melancholy formulas as "The law of diminishing

returns." The relationship between the producer and the government and landowners is injurious in four aspects.

First. Is that under which the landowner can shut out the capitalist and laborer from the land.

Second. Is when the government and landowner exact more than economic rent in the name of taxes and rent, which causes a high artificial price for land.

Third. When the government intrudes with its oppressive taxes in the affairs of private business.

Fourth. Is that under which individuals appropriate the earnings of the community.

The mischievous domination of governments and landowners over producers has rested on their power of dispossessing producers, of shutting up alternative opportunities for employment, and of exacting an undue share of the produce. Endowed with this power they have put the producers in a corner and broken their spirit. How often we hear this query: "What's the use of trying to make money in your business when the government takes it away in chunks." What is wanted is a recognition of the truth—that everyone has an equal right to the elements provided by nature. This equality can become a fact only by apportioning taxes according to the privilege each one enjoys in society, as shown by the value of the location occupied.

Baltimore, Md.

J. SALMON.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

Hero-worship which does not stir men to emulate the qualities and deeds of their heroes becomes the chains of the unwary. Today, men of distinguished name and position—editors, educators, preachers, philosophers, politicians and economists—publicly acclaim the greatness of Henry George's contribution to social and economic thought. They win encomiums, applause and sycophancy of the handful of Georgeists in the world; then, patronize and betray them. They do this by silence in counsel, by circumvention, by pretence of wise precaution and learned objection, by evasion, and by downright refusal to investigate or support a Georgeist measure. *Why?*

To me, the reason lies in the fact that the overwhelming majority of mankind pay rent, yet have not the ghost of an idea what it is for which they pay. They do not know that they pay rent for the socially and governmentally provided advantages which make their lives, and the production of wealth which is essential to their lives, easier—and *for nothing else*. If they knew this, they would then see that they now pay the rent to those who have no shade of claim to it. They would see that while rent is as honest and businesslike a payment as payments for services rendered them by individuals and corporations, they pay it to the wrong parties; to people who neither own nor provide the advantages for which it is paid.

What are the emotions of people, what do they do, when they become aware that they are being short-changed; that the results of their labor are being filched from them? How long would it take the millions of oppressed today to see the cause of taxation, and to find a way to end it, and get the rent for themselves, if they knew what rent is?

Ignorantly, they believe that it is right that they should pay rent for places on this earth where they can live and work; that land is wealth, that it is property, that they should pay for the use of this property. What may Georgeists, who talk endlessly of "landowners," of "land value" (which means wealth to these people), of "land value taxation" (a hardship to most of them, which Georgeists would increase), do to end this ignorance? Can anything be done by reiterating the contradiction, that "land is a gift of nature" (that "rent is a gift of nature"), but that men should pay for its use?

Men go on this earth where they think they can most easily get the provisions of nature. These they know they must have to sustain their lives. The land is *nature*, their medium, the source and container of their livelihood, as water is the source and container of the livelihood of fish, which likewise go, in *their* medium, where they can most easily get it. But, to me, obsession with land in a treatise on man's livelihood is as irrelevant as obsession with water would be in a treatise on the livelihood of fish. To me, it befalls the only real issue; that men must work for their livings, and unless there is to be everlasting dissension and war, men must compensate all others who lighten their toil.

Millions are hungering for a message which they can understand. These will not have to "be educated all over again to the same idea"; they never have been educated at all. And whether they are right or wrong (which is unimportant) many who have had to be re-educated have perceived it as a new idea. How often have I heard them say: "That's a *new* idea, I can understand *that*, but I never could get that Single Tax idea."

Eugene, Oregon.

W. R. B.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

As to terms employed in presentation of the fiscal measure, we recognize the practical usefulness in "A Single Tax on Land Values" with its long-established meaning; and we must all recognize the frequent need of using "*land rent*" (or *ground-rent*), because of badly confused ordinary usage of the word "rent,"—and of similarly using "rental values of land" instead of the less specific scientific term "land values." All this aims simply at *clarifying intended meanings*.

But how can we present "interest" as a scientific term meaning "all returns for the use of capital,—and not merely those that pass from the borrower to the lender" (its meaning "as commonly used"—Henry George in "Progress and Poverty")? For "all returns for the use of capital" includes returns which go neither to the borrower or to the lender—even the vast "returns" *which are obviously distributed to all* by reduced labor costs and resulting in reduced selling prices of products. Such returns have no connection whatever with "interest as commonly used" and do not go "exclusively to capital." Therefore their inclusion makes the term inherently as unclear and unscientific as the term "profits" obviously is. Certainly presenting it as essential to the basic "philosophy of Henry George" is a serious "defect of presentation." He never publicly mentioned interest himself in twenty years of teaching, and himself demonstrated that the increased production due to ordinary using of tools benefits all consumers equally *regardless of ownership*—while above-average using entitles high *wages* to such users, *not* interest to owners.

And does it not discredit that philosophy to tie to it the belief and warning that normally provident and prosperous human beings *will not save wealth* merely to insure against future needs—and *will not lend* it for use as capital (instead of suffering the waste of it which nature decrees for non-use)—unless borrowers guarantee return *of more than is loaned*? "Business men" are naturally against increased outgo to mere lenders, and "scholars" resent inconsiderate pleading.

Followers of Henry George are individually responsible for correcting "defects in presentation" of his basic philosophy.

Even captious objecting is better than blind following—which at best is fanatical.

Reading, Pa.

WALTER G. STEWART.

EDITORS LAND AND FREEDOM:

There is no argument against war, under present conditions.

Pacifism is a faith and not a syllogism

London, Canada.

CHRISTINE ROSS BARKER.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

THE NEW YORK SUN TAKES NOTICE

In recent issues of LAND AND FREEDOM appeared especially prepared articles on the functioning of the United States Housing Authority. The March-April number carried one entitled "Federal Housing," the July-August number had another under the significant title of "Robbing Peter to Pay Paul." Both were painstakingly prepared and were highly critical with respect to the economic unsoundness of government housing projects. The editors and correspondents of LAND AND FREEDOM consider that they must be hitting the high spots in the publication of such timely material. This is further attested by the appearance of editorial comment in the conservative *New York Sun* of November 25. They said: "Recently, in LAND AND FREEDOM, issued by followers of Henry George, a writer said of Federal Housing"—and proceeded to quote from the article in question. Such a notice must be deserved and directly reflects on the value of the publication to editorial writers.

DR. HENRY NEUMANN of The Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society, on Sunday, November 19, delivered an address on Henry George.

GEORGE WHITE, who retired ten years ago from the editorship of *The Daily Record* of Long Branch, died at his home at Asbury Park, N. J., on Nov. 23, 1939, at the age of 84 years. Formerly a resident of Brooklyn, N. Y., he became a George disciple in 1881, and a close associate in the movement with Stephen Bell, Samuel Seabury, John Moody, Lawson Purdy and practically all the others who were active in the philosophy. He had written numerous pamphlets on economic subjects. Mr. White was a staunch follower of Henry George for many years. He contributed many articles to LAND AND FREEDOM throughout its existence and since the death of Joseph Dana Miller had sent in many reports and comments.

LEON ROBERT BONTA, 68, Single Tax leader and secretary of the New Jersey Progressive League, died of a heart attack at his home in East Orange, N. J., on Oct. 8, 1939.

Born in Lexington, Ky., he was a salesman and promotor for a number of oil and insurance firms until 10 years ago, when he retired from business to devote himself to the advancement of the Single Tax idea.

Mr. Bonta, with Alfred N. Chandler of Maplewood, founded the league four years ago. The league was an outgrowth of the Industrial Tax Relief Association. In furtherance of the Single Tax idea Mr. Bonta maintained many contacts with legislators and wrote numerous letters to newspapers and other publications and prepared pamphlets urging its adoption in New Jersey. He made an elaborate analysis of the results of the Single Tax in Pittsburgh and argued that the steady rise in taxes in this state could be solved if Pittsburgh's example were followed.

He had lived in East Orange four years. Before that he lived about seven years in Newark.

Surviving are his wife, Mrs. Wilma Bonta; two sons, Tom J. of New York and Henry G. of Livingston, and two daughters, Mrs. C. W. Halligan of New York and Mrs. H. O. Wilson of Benton, Pa.

THE following quotation is from an article by John Chamberlain in *Harper's Magazine* for September, 1939: ". . . the only way to increase our export trade is, first of all, to increase the total exchange of goods and services at home.

"The tail of the export trade might, conceivably, wag the dog of the U. S. home economy; such, at any rate, is Secretary of State Cordell Hull's assumption. But how much easier it is for a dog to wag a tail! Widen the home market and you automatically increase imports. Increase imports and you shake dollar exchange loose on the world. Shake dollar exchange loose and people will spend it

for your goods; it is no good to them otherwise. The circle is complete; and a *wise* domestic policy becomes, *ipso facto*, the only sort of foreign trade policy we should pursue. Let Mr. Hull push his reciprocal trade pacts. But, for heaven's sake, don't let's substitute the Hull policy for a concern with the mere homely matters of wages, prices, and production within the confines of the forty-eight states of the U. S. A. If we don't expand the home market Mr. Hull won't be around very long to initial his treaties with Venezuela, Turkey, and the noble kingdom of Ruritania. We must look inward if we are to look outward! Such is the paradox of our peculiar position as a continental market in a world of petty states."

Now, Mr. Legislator, do you know any other way "to increase the total exchange of goods and services at home" than by lowering their price? How else can legislation lower prices to consumers than by the simple expedient: "Take Taxes Out of Prices?" Can you think of any other way to do that than by shifting taxes that now hinder the "exchange of goods and services at home" from industry and business—our chief tax collectors—to those who collect economic rent which *they do not earn*? Don't you believe that Mr. Secretary Hull is working on the last end of the problem instead of the first? Should he not be reminded that it is necessary to do "first things first" in order to accomplish anything? I believe that he should be so advised by the policy makers of the State.

NOTE.—We seem to have mislaid the name of the correspondent who sent in the above item.—ED.

WE have been informed that Charles Dickson Blackhall of Buffalo, N. Y., died on September 13, aged eighty-two. He was a friend of Henry George and Joseph Fels.

WE are obliged to chronicle the passing of another of the Old Guard. The following account of our departed friend, Frank G. Anderson, was sent in by Mr. E. C. Kessler. As our readers will note, Mr. Kessler intends to "carry on."

"It is with sincere regret that I am writing you that my father-in-law, Mr. Frank G. Anderson, 168 Allen Street, Jamestown, N. Y., passed away early in the morning of November 23 in his eighty-third year. He is survived by his wife, two daughters, Hildur M. Anderson and Mrs. E. C. Kessler, two grandchildren, and one great-grandchild.

Mr. Anderson, as you know, has been a devout follower of Henry George for over fifty years; and if it was possible, he actually lived a Henry George life. He never lost an opportunity of talking Georgeism to his friends and had done considerable writing both to American and to Swedish papers on the subject. He was always a strong advocate of tolerance, finding the best in everyone and everything. He always looked forward with much pleasure to receiving LAND AND FREEDOM and made it a point that all of his friends had an opportunity to read the many fine articles in your publication.

In my limited way I intend to carry on the good work that Mr. Anderson has been doing for many years, and possibly I shall be able to interest some others in the Single Tax movement. Nothing would please me more than to organize a Frank G. Anderson Single Tax Club."

"VERY well," said the wise Crowfoot, "our land is more valuable than your money. It will last for ever. It will not perish as long as the sun shines and the water flows, and through all the years it will give life to men and beasts. We cannot sell the lives of men and animals, and therefore we cannot sell the land. It was put here by the Great Spirit, and we cannot sell it because it does not really belong to us. You can count your money and burn it with the nod of a buffalo's head, but only the Great Spirit can count the grains of sand and the blades of grass on these plains. As a present to you we will give you anything that we have that you can take away with you, but the land we cannot give."
London, England.

Commonweal.

STATEMENT of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Acts of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933, of LAND AND FREEDOM, published bi-monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1939.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Charles Jos. Smith, who, having been duly sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of LAND AND FREEDOM and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in Section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor and managing editor and business managers are:

Publisher: LAND AND FREEDOM, 150 Nassau St., New York City.

Editor: Clifford H. Kendal, 150 Nassau St., New York City.

Managing Editor: None.

Business Manager: Charles Jos. Smith, 222 Vermont Ave., Irvington, N. J.

2. That the owners are Clifford H. Kendal, 150 Nassau St., New York City and Charles Jos. Smith, 222 Vermont Ave., Irvington, N. J.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stocks, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

CHARLES JOS. SMITH,

Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 5th day of October, 1939.

[Seal]

EDWINA J. KNAPP, Notary Public.
New York County.

(My commission expires March 30, 1941.)

NOTE—The above statement was made as of October 1, 1939, and is published in this issue, as required by law. Since the aforesaid date, however, Mr. Clifford H. Kendal has resigned, and is no longer connected with LAND AND FREEDOM in any capacity. See masthead on page 166 for new editorship.