...and FREE

...Planning

...George

...Tides of ...

...Conquest ...

...George

...Points ...

...Hitler ...

...Farm

...Experiment

...Minister

...Reform Yourself

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...Hitler, a Wrecker, and a Builder ...
Pvt. W. McM. ...

...Culberson's Post-War Plan
Robert McMillen ...

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...Bi-monthly

Vol. 48, 1943

LAND A

Author, A

Land and Freedom

Comment and Reflection

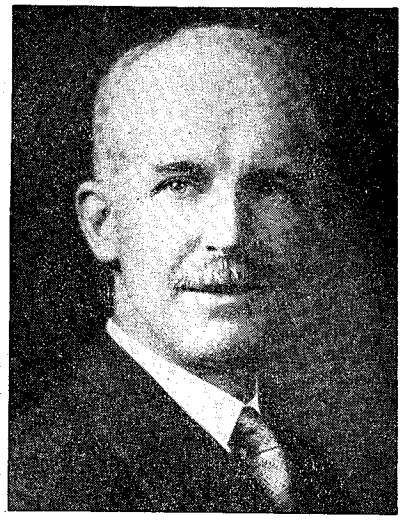
WHAT about plans for the post-war order? There is, of course, no certainty that land-value taxers, as such, will be invited to sit at the peace table—although it would not be surprising if the British and Australian members, high in the councils of their governments, are on hand. However, this is not to say that American Georgeists will have no voice in the conferences. The attention given lately to the principles enunciated in "Progress and Poverty" encourages us to believe that Henry George will exert a considerable influence on the deliberations. Witness the recent pronouncements of the Archbishop of Canterbury; the animated discussions following the publication of the British Uthwatt Report; the endorsement of land-value taxation by the National Resources Planning Board; and the introduction in Congress by Hon. Jerry Voorhis of a joint resolution proposing an amendment to give the federal government the power to tax land values. The coördination of these and similar groups can be depended upon to implement the Atlantic Charter when that important document comes up for practical consideration.

AS FAR as specific plans of Georgeists are concerned, we believe that their legislative research has produced workable codes of law, which can be put into almost instantaneous operation. However, there is more to be done than merely to consider the legal and fiscal aspects of social reform. While these are important, more important still is the building up of good will. With the opportunities offered through discussion engendered by World War II, does it not behoove all groups, including Georgeists, to win the respect of every man and woman whose sympathies are with justice and freedom? Unfortunately, in the past, it has been too frequent an occurrence for an irresponsible few to give other liberals a wrong impression of what the Georgeist rank and file stand for. The great body of the latter are intelligent and practical, but one of the biggest obstacles they have encountered has been the ill-advised conduct of some of their own brethren. This state of affairs once caused Joseph Dana Miller, founder of LAND AND FREEDOM, to humorously remark, "We're the only people against what we're for!" But joking aside, will not land-value taxers agree that no useful purpose is served if the only effect of a misguided statement is to bring ridicule and contempt upon all of them?

LET Georgeists be done with isolating themselves from other liberal groups. We fail to see how the talents of the former would be lost were they to mix, for instance, with the Cooperative League of the United States, Friends of Democracy, Council for Democracy, Freedom House, Citizens Union, Citizens' Housing Councils, American Institute of Planners, and the social divisions of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish churches. To us, it was encouraging to note the representation of these latter bodies at a recent gathering in New York, at which Hon. Walter Nash, New Zealand's Minister to the United States, addressed 300 listeners on the merits of land value taxation. Georgeists, on occasion, might return the courtesy.

PATIENCE and time can be expected to work in our favor. Let Georgeists be rid of any notion that they are without blame in not having made better progress. A far better working principle would be to assume that their methods may have been faulty. The blame does not necessarily lie on the other fellow. Humanity, by and large, is a pretty decent lot. Even the real estate interests are not lost to sweet reasonableness. In California, not so long ago, the realtors were the spearhead which defeated Jackson Ralston's land reform measures, but they proved quite cooperative in pointing out the tactical defects of his campaign when Judge Ralston later questioned them. With relatively little effort, though beaten for the moment, he became thereby a wiser man. This was "smart" politics in the best sense of the word.

THE direction of Abraham Lincoln's thinking might also serve as an object lesson in the successful promotion of a social reform. It is now generally conceded that the Civil War was not originally begun in order to free the slaves. Much as Lincoln detested the institution of human bondage, and sincere as was his vow that he would one day do his utmost to destroy it, the Great Emancipator never would have been willing to join battle in 1861 for the sole purpose of eradicating slavery. To be sure, he had already given unstinted toil in shaping a public opinion that would, when the time should be ripe for such action, abolish the hated institution. But of far greater importance to him was the preservation of the Union. So war was declared, not to free the slaves, but to save the Nation—free and slave alike. Yet Lincoln was quick to see in the conflict an opportunity for fulfilling his vow and ridding us of the curse of chattel bondage. Perhaps Georgeists also can exploit the times in the interests of lasting peace and justice, if only they know how to strike. To align themselves with other liberals is an obvious preliminary step. Henry George once said, "With the current we may glide fast and far. Against it, it is hard pulling and slow progress."



Underwood & Underwood

TOWN PLANNING AND TAXATION: FRIENDS OR FOES?

By Harold S. Buttenheim

Editor, *The American City*

TWO discussions in which I participated during a visit to London in 1931, are responsible for the title of this talk. One of them was with the eminent architect and town-planner, the late Sir Raymond Unwin, and the other with that able and devoted disciple of Henry George, the late John Paul.

Parliament had recently enacted the Philip Snowden proposal, since nullified, for a nation-wide valuation of the land of Great Britain, to have been followed by a penny-in-the-pound annual tax on land-values. Sir Raymond—much concerned about the harmful effect he feared a land-tax would have in forcing into commercial use many of the small parks and other private open spaces in London—was quite frank in criticizing the lack of appreciation by land-taxers of town-planning fundamentals. An hour later I was sitting at luncheon with John Paul and listened to an equally vigorous arraignment by him of the lack of appreciation by town-planners of the fundamentals of taxation and land economics.

It is my good fortune to enjoy the acquaintance—and I hope the friendship—of many leaders in the fields of taxation and town planning throughout the world. I know no groups of men and women more sincerely devoted to the common weal. And I know of no greater public service that I can render than to prove to both of these groups, if I can, that each would profit by co-operating more effectively with the other.

A COALITION OF FORCES

Town-planners and land-taxers, though heartened by an occasional victory here and there, have as yet all too often been leaders of lost causes. No candid observer of the slums and blighted areas which disgrace most cities of the world, and of the bitter poverty which persists with potential plenty, can yet shout the shout of triumph. There is a long fight and a hard fight still ahead. But I am optimistic enough to believe that victory can be achieved—and that the road thereto will be a highway built by a *coalition of the forces of town planning and land-value taxation.*

Were I now addressing a planning conference in my role of a land-taxer,† most of my talk would be devoted to showing the town-planners why their efforts are so often set at naught by prevailing systems of taxation and land tenure. Their attention would be called to the repeated handicapping or halting of their slum reclamation and large-scale housing projects because of high land prices, and the legal obstacles to assembling sites of adequate size. I would show that the present impossibility of meeting, without Government aid, the housing needs of low-income families is due not only to the high costs of land and buildings, but to the poverty and unemployment which a scientific system of taxation would do much to correct. Ownership or tenancy of decent homes by the masses of the people would be shown to be handicapped or prevented by the almost universal method of collecting larger public revenues from improvement values than from the land-values or ground-rents, which public expenditures create or maintain. It would be my aim to demonstrate that the planning and building of orderly, beautiful, and prosperous communities would get greater impetus from the abolition of land speculation and land exploitation, than from any other reform advocated.

As evidence that we land-taxers are voicing no new or radical doctrine, I should remind my American friends among the town-planners that their first and second national gatherings, which met in Washington in 1909 and in Rochester, New York, in 1910, were called National Conferences on City Planning and the Problems of Congestion. At least one speaker at each of these meetings made a strong plea for land-value taxation.

And at the 1911 National Conference on City Planning, held in Philadelphia, Lawson Purdy, then President of the Department of Taxes and Assessments of the

† This self-designation as a "land-taxer" should not cause me to be classified as a "single-taxer." My economic philosophy includes properly graded income and inheritance taxes in addition to land-value taxes as socially useful methods of raising public revenues.—H. S. B.

City of New York, said in the concluding paragraphs of a challenging talk:

"City planning is the art of so arranging streets and public places that privately owned land may be put to its best use. When land is put to its best use, the maximum value is one of the results. Land is the kind of property that is increased in value by improvements in the city plan. Land, therefore, ought to pay the bill and can well afford to pay it. The object of this paper is to show how to reduce the cost and how to make land pay for its own betterment. By taxation, the price of land can be reduced, the opening of unnecessary streets avoided, and the cost of government reduced. By assessment of property benefited, the cost of public improvements can be imposed on those who reap the financial reward that follows the improvement. By condemning more land than is necessary for the widening of an old street, or the opening of a new street or park in a settled neighborhood, the expense may be reduced, and plots subdivided in proper shape for immediate and suitable development to the great advantage of all. The methods of making awards for land taken for public use may be so devised as to ensure just awards in a short time. While this subject may be regarded as the financing of city planning, it is much more: it involves the best use by all the people of their common heritage."

On July 11, 1936, the City of New York held an important civic celebration. The speakers included President Roosevelt, Mayor La Guardia and other officials. The occasion was the opening of the Triborough Bridge, an immense highway structure connecting the boroughs of Manhattan, the Bronx, and Queens. That morning the New York *Herald Tribune* published a tabulation of the cost of this notable public improvement. The total was $60,300,000. Of this total, the cost of land absorbed $23,700,000, including $8,400,000 for the land for the main structure, and $15,300,000 for the land for the highway approaches.

Eight days later that same conservative newspaper published in its real estate section, under the heading, "Three-Way Bridge Viewed Maker of Fortunes," a statement quoting one of New York's leading realty developers, Edward A. MacDougall, as predicting that, "as a result of the benefits which will come from the operation of the Triborough Bridge, property values on Long Island, and particularly in Queens, would advance a greater percentage in the next ten years than in the last twenty-five years. . . . He compared the bridge and its hook-up with the arterial systems of the city to the Fenway in Boston, the Lake Shore Drive in Chicago, the Bois de Boulogne in Paris, and Under den Linden in Berlin. . . ."

The experience of London and of almost every other city in the world, when private land is needed for public purposes, differs in degree but not in kind. Not only are high prices paid for land for community projects, but the expenditure of public funds on these projects adds to the unearned increment of other landowners.

PLANNER TO LAND TAXERS

The case for town planning and zoning is one to which most land-taxers have devoted too little of time and intelligence. The principal reason, no doubt, is an aversion to any extension of governmental control over private affairs. In your hearts and minds the desire for freedom marches shoulder to shoulder with your faith in the philosophy of Henry George. This fact is proclaimed in the very names of your leading periodicals—*Land and Liberty* in England, LAND AND FREEDOM in America, *Grundskyld* (The Land Due) and *Det frie Blad* (The Free Sheet) in Denmark, *Recht en Vrijheid* (Justice and Freedom) in Holland, and *Terre et Liberté* (Land and Liberty) in France.

In a devotion to freedom, however, you appear to forget that liberty is not inevitably accompanied by intelligence and self-restraint. When you urge that to every man there be accorded his just share of access to the earth's surface and of the economic rent thereof, you too often seem to infer that, with no restraining control, he would then build and govern his cities with wisdom and justice. But human nature, I fear, is not so speedily perfectible. Mere freedom and good intentions can no more build a perfect city than they can build a bridge that is safe, or an automobile that will run. Until liberty can be shown to include intelligence and to preclude license, I am convinced that we must not only plan for the wise exercise of our liberty, but must place such restraints on ourselves and our neighbors as will conserve the equal rights of others.

So my philosophy of political science has a double foundation:

1. It recognizes the Spencerian maxim that it is the duty of government to provide, as nearly as possible, that every individual shall have opportunity to do as he will, up to the point of infringing the equal opportunity of another.
2. But it would add, as a correlative function, also of major importance: to promote the general welfare by such services and controls in the public interest as can better be exercised by government than by individual effort or unofficial cooperation.

In performing these functions the ultimate powers of decision and control must rest either in a minority or a majority of the people. Under no political system yet devised, has there been perfect achievement of either function. Progress towards the ideal can probably best be made under a democratic form of government in which the majority, though vested with ultimate control, will voluntarily submit to self-imposed checks. Chosen representatives can from time to time adopt or recommend that which is most likely to facilitate the achievement of the two major functions of government.

A specific problem or two may give practical point to the theoretical principles just enunciated. Some of us town-planners view with alarm the sporadic land-overcrowding, which might result if land-value taxation were to stimulate any such degree of land development as land-taxers predict. We know the answer generally made to this objection: that land prices would drop so greatly that developers could readily acquire more spacious sites; that hence it would no longer be necessary or profitable to erect buildings of excessive height or lot-coverage, but, that, on the contrary, development would spread more uniformly throughout the city. We town-

planners concede that the *trend* might be in that direction, but we know and you know enough of human nature to realize that real-estate developers, like other human beings, do not always act with foresight and intelligence. As Charles A. Beard once put it, to assume that man is an automaton capable of pursuing his interests with unerring accuracy, is to ascribe to him more intelligence than the study of his history warrants.

The typical developer, unless restrained by an intelligent zoning ordinance or building code, would be apt, even with low land costs (but high land taxes and tax-free buildings), to figure out what seemed to him to be the most profitable use of his particular plot of land—even if this meant the stealing of light and air from his neighbors or a type of building which would depreciate adjacent property values.

To win effective public support there must be more emphasis on planning and zoning as protective and preventive measures, and not merely as restrictive and correctional measures. For every landowner who wants the right to injure his neighbor's property by putting a billboard or a gasoline station or an apartment house or a motion picture theatre *where they do not belong,* there are hundreds who want to be protected from such anti-social land-uses.

FRIENDS OR FOES

For the reasons cited, we town-planners feel certain that you land-taxers would advance your cause much more rapidly if you would link your advocacy of taxation reform to advocacy of planning and zoning reform. Let our local governments, rather than our landowners, determine the maximum degree of land occupancy and the types of land uses which are socially desirable in any given community or neighborhood. Urge them to enact and enforce the type of planning and zoning control under which it would be desirable, rather than harmful, for the area to be developed to the full density and use legally permitted. Then your stimulus to new construction could operate with maximum public benefit.

Such town planning and zoning, as I have just advocated, would give special consideration to more areas for parks and playgrounds. Here again *laissez-faire* will not solve the problem. Land-taxers can help town-planners to acquire more open spaces by the reduction in land costs which would result from governmental capture of economic rent. To facilitate such acquisition, however, there is need for emphasis not only on the efficacy of land value taxation in forcing land into use, but also on the concurrent effect which such taxation would have in forcing much of our urban land out of private use and into public use, to meet recreational and cultural needs and for large-scale, low-rent housing developments.

In his *English Journey,* which he designates as "a rambling but truthful account of what one man saw and heard and felt and thought during a journey through England during the autumn of 1933," J. B. Priestley describes deplorable living conditions such as are to be found in too many industrial towns the world over. He sees no cure for the problem in a dictatorship of the proletariat or otherwise; but he adds: "I should like to be dictator myself long enough to sweep away once and for all the notion that for the people who do the hard monotonous work any dirty little hole is good enough." Mr. Priestley does not regard the task as hopeless, even without such grant of dictatorial powers. "I do not believe that people are entirely at the mercy of their environment," he says. "Exceptional persons not only refuse to be molded by their environment, but actually set about changing environment themselves." Among such exceptional persons your present speaker would give high rank to the intelligent land-taxer and the intelligent town-planner. Intelligence can find no better exercise, in my opinion, than through an interchange of ideas and unity of effort in the public interest. And with such cooperation, there will be found for the question, "Town Planning and Taxation: Friends or Foes?" the clear and constructive answer: "Friends, of course—and fellow-workers for a fairer world!"

[Some statements are as important in later years as when first made. This article is excerpted from a speech delivered by Mr. Buttenheim on September 5, 1936, before the Fifth International Conference to Promote Land Value Taxation and Free Trade. It contains a challenge that land value taxers and city planners work together in the field of post-war reconstruction—beginning now.

The following important reprints of other works on allied subjects by Mr. Buttenheim are available through this office: "If Henry George Were Writing Today," from the February, 1935, issue of *The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics;* "Single Tax *v.* Triple Tax," a debate with Walter Fairchild, published by the National Municipal League, New York, August, 1935; "Unwise Taxation as a Burden on Housing," from the December, 1938, issue of *Yale Law Journal.*—ED.]

Private N. D. Alper, formerly with the Henry George School in St. Louis, makes an admirable suggestion: "I'd like to suggest that Georgeists in the army and armed forces send in names of the men they meet under the comradeship of arms, and that a record of these names be made, with a notation of who sent them. After the war these people could be written to at their home town, sent literature, with a personal comment as to who sent in their names, when, and under what circumstances."

AUTHOR, AUTHOR

(*Continued from page 3*)

Will Stuart, after soaking himself in every subject offered by the HGSSS, was satisfied with the economic truths with which he had become enlightened, but not with the economist's usual techniques of indoctrination. He made just as thorough a study of the Science of Psychology as he did of Economics. —*First Reform Yourself.*

Robert King, graduate of the Chicago HGSSS, is a staff member of the George C. Olcott Co., Appraisers of that city.—*Land Speculation in Chicago.*

Pvt. Walter McM. Maitland, former Planning Technician of Newport, R. I., is now in the Quartermasters' Training Regiment on the east coast.—*A Builder, A Wrecker, and A Builder Again.*

Robert McMillan, an associate member of Free Market Institute, has long been active in socio-economic movements, both abroad and in the United States.—*Ely Culbertson's Post-War Plan.*

HENRY GEORGE
VS.
HUTCHINS' EXECUTOR

A Day in Court with "Progress and Poverty."

A Signal Service Rendered to Social Reform, as Recorded in a Remarkable Legal Decision.

THE last will and testament of one George Hutchins, who died a resident of New Jersey in 1886, provides an interesting legal episode in the life of Henry George. In disposing of the residue of his estate in the aforementioned will, the decedent constituted Henry George the trustee of a fund for distributing the latter's books and other writings, in the following (slightly abridged) language:

"Lastly. All the rest and residue of my estate I hereby give, devise and bequeath, under the name of 'The Hutchins' Fund,' to Henry George, the well-known author of 'Progress and Poverty,' his heirs, executors and administrators, in sacred trust, for the express purpose of spreading the light on social and political liberty and justice in these United States of America, by means of the gratuitous, wise, efficient and economically conducted distribution all over the land of said George's publications on the all-important land question and cognate subjects, including his 'Progress and Poverty,' his replies to the criticisms thereon, his 'Problems of the Times,' and any other of his books and pamphlets which he may think it wise and proper to gratuitously distribute in this country; provided that said George, his heirs, executors and administrators, shall cause to be inserted or printed opposite the title page of every free copy of his books distributed by means of this fund, this my solemn request, virtually, to wit, that each recipient shall read it and then circulate it among such neighbors or other persons as in his best judgment will make the best use of it."

The relatives of the testator opposed the carrying out of the above bequest, and warned the executor that it was void and unenforceable. Thereupon the executor filed a bill in the Court of Chancery of New Jersey to test the validity of the bequest as a charitable trust. The hearing came on before Vice-Chancellor Bird.

Although recognizing that the author's works contained nothing of a "rebellious or treasonable character," the vice-chancellor nevertheless agreed with the objectants that the trust was invalid, on the ground that in his writings Henry George, to use the language of the Court, "denounces the fact that the secure title to land, in private individuals, is robbery—is a crime."* The opinion went on to say that "whatever might be the rights of the individual author in the discussion of such questions in the abstract, it certainly would not become the court to aid in the distribution of literature which denounces as robbery—as a crime—an immense proportion of the judicial determinations of the higher courts. This would not be legally charitable." A decree was thereupon advised and entered, declaring the trust void.

The decision of Vice-Chancellor Bird greatly agitated Henry George. Denouncing it as "asinine," he instructed his counsel to carry the case to the Court of Errors and Appeals, the highest tribunal in New Jersey. In taking this step, the author of "Progress and Poverty" rendered a signal service to the cause of freedom. Had the ruling of Vice-Chancellor Bird gone unchallenged, it would have been cited again and again, to the great discomfort of Georgeist economists. "Fortunately," justice swung in freedom's favor, for in the June term of 1889 the appellate court of last resort, composed of sixteen judges, unanimously reversed the decree of the Court of Chancery. A masterful opinion was written by Beasley, who was then the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey and, ex-officio, a judge of the Court of Errors and Appeals. (It might be remarked that Justice Beasley is regarded as the most brilliant jurist in the history of the bench of his state.) While regretting that the limitations of space prevent a complete transcription of the opinion, it is believed that the following excerpts taken therefrom are sufficiently integrated to give the reader an adequate presentation of Henry George's "day in court." Herewith is the abridged opinion, with a minimum of editing and legal phraseology:

HENRY GEORGE v. HUTCHINS' EXECUTOR

[June Term, 1889. Reported in 45 N. J. Equity 75.]

BEASLEY, C. J.

A single glance at the rule of judgment propounded in the Court below will suffice to show that it is one of entire novelty. Stripped of unnecessary terms, in its ultimate analysis, it promulges this far-reaching principle, that a court of law will not, in view of the purposes for which it was instituted, lend its aid, by its decree, to the agitation of the question whether the laws which it is in the habit of executing *have or have not any better foundation than wrong and injustice.* (Italics ours.)

The vice-chancellor educes this principle from a consideration of the functions and constitution of judicial tribunals; and, if I were to stand on that ground and indulge in speculation, it must be confessed that my conclusion would be the opposite of that which he has arrived at. I cannot perceive for what reason it is incompatible with judicial position to aid, if invested with such power, in the circulation of the works of a learned and ingenious man [Henry George] putting under examination and discussion any part of the legal system.

The testator's scheme was designed to be educational with respect to an important branch of legal and economic science, and, in his opinion, the circulation of the works of Mr. George would contribute to the accomplishment of that purpose. Therefore, viewing the sub-

* This is a splendid illustration of distorting an idea out of context, and is a favorite device of those unable to refute the logic and justice of George's teachings.

ject from the standpoint suggested, I could not, in the line of judicial duty, have sanctioned a principle that, while it would repress the dissemination of the writings of Mr. George, would undoubtedly lend its aid to the circulation of the reply of the Duke of Argyle thereto, on the ground that the former are aggressive towards the legal establishment in question, while the monograph† of the latter, on that subject, tends to quietism and public acquiescence. In such a situation, if I had possessed the power, I should not only have sanctioned, but have favored, the propagation of any or all of these works, in the conviction that such discussions advance the cause, not of error, but the cause of truth.

In the case of Jackson v. Phillips, the controversy also related to a charitable use, the bequest being of a fund to trustees, "to be expended at their discretion in such sums, at such times and such places as they may deem best, for the preparation and circulation of books, newspapers, the delivery of speeches, lectures and such other means as, in their judgment, will create a public sentiment that will put an end to negro slavery in this country." The decision of the court, in its own language, was: "The bequest itself manifests its immediate purpose to be to educate the whole people upon the sin of a man's holding his fellow-man in bondage; and its ultimate object, to put an end to negro slavery in the United States; in either aspect, a lawful charity."

It is conspicuous that this decision is diametrically opposed to the rule under criticism. In the present case, the decision was that the court would not help in the circulation of books that strove to show that private ownership in lands, the validity of which has been repeatedly recognized by the courts, had no better foundation than robbery. In the reported case, the court helped the dissemination of writings whose object was to prove that the ownership of human being, which was a species of property established by the federal constitution itself, and sustained as such by repeated judgments both in the national and state courts, had no better foundation than sin.

The legal rule imposing limits on charitable uses is one of great importance; and, influenced by that consideration, I have examined, with care, the principle upon which the present case has been decided, and my conclusion is, that such principle does not consist with the authorities, and if it were adopted by this court would be productive of serious mischief. If sanctioned, the subject, with respect to the rights of donors in this field, would be involved in clouds and darkness, for instead of a rule we would have a speculation. By force of the prevalence of such a change, it may well be doubted whether it would not be altogether impracticable to disseminate, by means of a charitable use, the works of any of the leading political economists, either of the present or past age, for it is believed that none can be found that do not, in material particulars, make war, more or less aggressive, upon some parts of every legal system as it now subsists. Certain it is that neither the "Political Economy"‡ of Mr. John Stuart Mill, nor the "Social Statics"‡ of Mr. Herbert Spencer, could be so circulated, *for each of these very distinguished writers denies the lawfulness of private ownership in land.* (Italics ours.) A principle bearing such fruits could not properly be introduced into our legal system, except upon the compulsion of irresistible authority.

It is obvious that, by the application of the ordinary test, and which it has been thus insisted is, and always has been, the legal test, the works now in question do not come under the proscription of the law. It has been heretofore stated that they do not tend to the corruption of morals or religion, and it is equally evident that they are not opposed to any legal rule or ordinance . What these writings are calculated, and were intended, to effect is, to cause the repeal, in a legitimate mode, of the laws at present regulating the title to land and the substitution of a different system. It would seem to be quite out of the question for this court to declare that such an endeavor is opposed to the law, *for it is simply a proposition to alter the law according to the law.* (Italics ours.)

The charitable use created in this will must be sustained, and the decree appealed from, to that end, must be reversed.

Decree unanimously reversed.

[Perhaps it should be noted, as a fact of legal experience, that so-called "charitable trusts," such as "The Hutchins' Fund" above, are peculiarly liable to attack. Testators and settlors who would endow an organ of the Georgeist movement are advised to use extreme caution in the event they do not care to make their bequests in the form of an outright, unconditional gift to a definitely named legatee.—Ed.]

• • •

Please, I want a permit so I may clean my teeth,
I have a permit for the top row but not for the row underneath.
Please, I want a permit to put up my umbrella in the rain,
Shall I need another permit to take it down again?
Please, I want a permit to call my soul my own,
Please I want a permit because I want to be alone.
Please, I want a permit to finish off this song,
If I do not get a permit I'll go on and on and on.

—*Watchman-Examiner.*

CORRECTION

Instead of Fairfield Hoban, erroneously announced in the last issue as the author of a series of articles to be published in this journal, the name should have read Thurston Warren. His sketch of the Norris-Thompson family appears on page 12.

† See "Property in Land," a passage-at-arms between the Duke of Argyll and Henry George, contained in the work entitled, "The Land Question." (Published by Robert Schalkenbach Foundation.)

‡ See references to this work in "Progress and Poverty," as well as other books by Henry George.

Little Tales of Robbery

By Morris Van Veen

THE greatest charity administered today in the City of New York was left by a murderer and a thief. It sounds odd, but nevertheless it is true. Listen to the story.

The man's name was Randall. Randall's Island in the East River is named after him. This is also the island on which the Tri-Borough Bridge rests.

This man Randall lived by holding up sea captains, and demanding their cargo. Upon their failure to deliver he shot them dead. In short, he was a pirate. That was his method of earning his livelihood.

About the year 1800, in a scrimmage while boarding a vessel, his life was saved by his sailors. In grateful recognition of the meritorious deed, he left the following will, drawn up by Alexander Hamilton:

> "I give and bequeath to any honorably discharged sailor in the service of the U. S. Government, the use, freedom; and livelihood of this piece of ground. It stretches from Fourth to Fourteenth Street and from Fourth to Sixth Avenues. Here he shall live the rest of his life free from care."

The home was an old building standing where Wanamaker's building now rests.

In 1835 the population began to move and press upon this neighborhood. Everybody who owned land or buildings pyramided not only the land value, but the building height as well. It was similar to the period from 1915 to 1928 in New York. The sky was the limit, wherever you lived or did business.

As the years went by, a great many sailors desired the advantages presumably established in Randall's will. This called for new buildings and sustenance for these men. There was no wherewithal to provide for them. So the administrators of the estate opened their charter granted by the State of New York, to see what they could do for these sailors. It was found in the charter that no right was given to erect a building, but there was no clause in that charter to prevent them from leasing the dirt. So the Randall Estate leased out the corners of Broadway, Eighth, Ninth and Twelfth Streets, and gave three 21-year leaseholds to those pieces of soil. With the money received for them they bought half a square mile of land in Staten Island, which is today known as Sailors' Snug Harbor.

On this area they have put up everything in marble. A church, library, theatre, dining hall, etc. Every year a thousand or more men are given two or three suits of clothes, board and lodging, and entertainment in a seeming paradise.

From the rent of that valuable Broadway section this great charity is administered. Sailors' Snug Harbor never placed a man, or put up a building on the piece of land they inherited. The return in money for the use of that piece of land is so great they cannot invest the great amount received, and get a fair or adequate return for the use of their wealth. It lies idle, without being put to effective use.

There are four large estates in New York City that make a practice of leasing grounds for others to build on. Sailors' Snug Harbor, Trinity Church, the Wendels, and William Waldorf Astor. The estates lease to you the ground for 21 years. You put a building on their dirt. You pay the taxes on the dirt the City imposes, and you pay the taxes on your building that you put on their dirt, that the City imposes. When the 21 years are up, if the lessors don't like your face or religion or manner of doing business, they not only take the land back, but the building you put on their land.

Not long ago the Sailors' Snug Harbor Estate had to take back the greater portion of the block facing the Washington Monument on Washington Square. The people who erected these buildings, or their children who inherited these buildings, had been asked to renew the lease. The building owners said, "No." The latter said, "It is true, our parents put up these buildings, and we have lived in them and improved them."

"Why not stay in them, and renew the lease for the ground?" asked the Sailors' Snug Harbor Estate.

The building owners said, "When we pay you the annual rent, and the tax the City imposes on the land, as well as the tax the City imposes on our building, we find we can live cheaper on Fifth Avenue or Park Avenue, and therefore give you the buildings."

So Sailors' Snug Harbor people are changing these mansions into bachelor quarters with an entrance on Washington Mewes, University Place, and Washington Square, North, opposite New York University.

I told this story to a newspaper man. He doubted that the facts were as told. He said that he would make an inquiry.

He found that the story was true, and gave me this further information: For the small five by fifteen foot triangle in front of the Wanamaker Building at Astor Place and Fourth Avenue, the City paid $218,000 to have a right of way to the Interborough Subway.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

On Uthwatt and George

By Douglas J. J. Owen

THE reduction of Sir Stafford Cripps to the rank of a lesser minister of State carries an omen. It may be regarded as the culmination of a series of events, and the Land Value question was an inescapable factor.

It is significant that while Sir Stafford is reduced, Colonel Oliver Stanley, son of Lord Derby, one of Britain's greatest landowners, is brought back to government rank and made Colonial Secretary. Cabinet making seems to be a matter of taste. The Cripps change is not to the taste of public opinion. While Sir Stafford may not have committed himself to the full Henry George cause, most people looked to him as the guarantee of a radical approach to reconstruction problems now, and after the war. He had identified himself with the Archbishop of Canterbury at several meetings recently, and as we know, local taxation of site values is a main plank in Dr. Temple's program of social reform.

In the last two months there have been debates in Parliament on the reconstruction plans of the Government. On October 22, the House of Lords discussed the two reports—the Scott Committee's, referred to in my last article,* and the Uthwatt Committee's report. A valuable speech was made by Lord Wedgwood. In it he said: "Whether you are going to deal with the problem of the user of land by purchase, which I do not recommend, or by the rating and taxation of land values, which I do recommend, valuation is the key to both." The speech is reported fully in *Land and Liberty* for November, which also carries the Observations of the Land Values Group of the Labor Party in the House of Commons, on the Uthwatt Committee's Report. This is a most valuable document and it is being circulated widely to local government authorities by the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, in London. The Land Values Group criticize the Uthwatt proposal of a levy of 75 per cent. of the increase in annual site values, and argues cogently the case for the straight taxation of land values.

On November 18 and 19 another debate took place in the Lords on the Scott and Uthwatt reports. This was opened by Lord Latham, of the London County Council, who did so much along with Alderman F. C. R. Douglas, M.P., on that body to press the Government for powers to levy local taxes on land values. He pointed out that the Scott report is in conflict with certain principles of the Atlantic Charter and that recognizing freer intercourse between nations is an important foundation of world peace. He also spoke against the increment proposal, and urged his alternative of the tax on site values. Lord Portal, for the Government, said they could not carry out the Committee's proposal for a 75 per cent. levy on increases—that it was too controversial; so that there is no hope for the more sensible Latham idea. Lord Latham had shown that the land value tax would "squeeze out of the price of land a large portion of its speculative elements" and that this would help to solve some of the worst problems of reconstruction. Lord Portal argued that because one member of the Uthwatt Committee recorded his dissent, the whole subject of site values was too controversial to deal with during a war.

The debate was continued on November 19, when Lord Astor warned the Peers that, unless Parliament agreed to pass essential controversial legislation now, there was a danger in the future of Parliamentary congestion, a sense of frustration and general disgust in the country, and a feeling that democracy had failed. Notwithstanding this from one who is not a "single taxer," the Lord Chancellor, Lord Simon, winding up the debate said: "The rating of land values, which had been advocated by Lord Latham, was absolutely contradictory to the conception involved in planning. It had nothing to do with any possible contribution to town and country planning." He took the same view with regard to land nationalization. Apart from the enormous range of such an operation, and the question of compensation, when the State had acquired the land, was planning any further on? Not at all.

Before this Lords' debate, Sir Stafford Cripps, on November 16, made one of his series of speeches on Europe after the war, and four days later, in the House of Commons, made what turned out to be his last speech as Leader of the House. He then spoke of the paramount need of preserving political unity, while at the same time making a beginning with such legislation as would lay the foundations of post-war reconstruction. If it was reasonable, he suggested, for those on the political Left to *retard* their pace in the interests of maintaining unity, then it was equally reasonable to ask that those on the political Right should *hurry* their steps in some degree. Hurried steps were certainly taken, for on November 22, the news was broadcast that Sir Stafford was to take a back seat. Whether this will prove to be in the interests of unity or progress remains to be seen. Public comment reveals a sense of uneasiness, not so much as to the future of Sir Stafford, but as to the future of pressing social changes. The *Times* on November 23 said: "Sir Stafford Cripps joined the War

*"The New Order in Britain Taking Shape," by Douglas J. J. Owen, November-December, 1942.

Cabinet in the dark days of defeat last February—one of several changes which fortified it against the stresses of that time. What he brought to the common stock was undoubtedly a certain assurance to a large body of opinion in the country, that in the highest councils there would be ample consideration of forward views in the shaping of policies both for war and peace." The same day the Political Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* said: "Of course there may be deeper reasons still for what has happened, and there is certainly a rumor current that last month Sir Stafford wrote to Mr. Churchill pressing strongly for specified changes of policy." And on November 25, the same paper in its editorial remarked: "The universal assumption is that Sir Stafford Cripps has left the War Cabinet because he and the Prime Minister do not see eye to eye on major matters in the conduct of government."

The personal side of this story is less important than its political aspect. Evidence points to the effect of the unceasing propaganda of the Henry George movement in Britain for many years. The writer well remembers the time when Dr. Temple, then Bishop of Manchester, presided at the Conferences on Social Questions,* at which Mr. A. H. Weller made an address on the taxation of land values. Mr. Weller, the veteran secretary of the Manchester Land Values League, is one of the fine band of workers who for 30 years or more have devoted their lives to economic freedom. The charge of futility is sometimes leveled at such work. We are entitled to claim that we are seeing its fruit once again in the political life of our country. Not for the first time. The tax on land values found its place on the Statute Book in 1931, to be repealed later without any mandate from the people.

Now again the proposal is being discussed in Parliament and press, and has the backing of some of the most influential and dynamic personalities in our public life. No small credit is due to the Leagues jointly operating under the central coordinating organization, the United Committee in London. The educational influence of the journal, *Land and Liberty,* must not be overlooked. These things may be said by way of encouragement to co-workers in other spheres. We have not yet gained our full purpose, but it is proved that the force of fundamental principles cannot be ignored, especially in these discussions of post-war reconstruction.

All of the Leagues have adopted resolutions of criticism concerning the Uthwatt report, which have had a good press. At the same time the members are addressing meetings of the Workers' Educational Association, the Women's Cooperative Leagues and similar bodies. Another most effective means of education is the Essay Competition organized by the Henry George Foundation; the prospectus is being advertised widely and applications for copies are rolling in. These are some of the ways whereby public opinion is being created to compel the Government to implement legislation which alone will end land speculation and monopoly. The harvest seems to be ripening.

As this article is being written, the United Committee states that its recent publications, *Land in Post-War Reconstruction,* and *Observations of the Land Values Group* (both are criticisms of the Scott and Uthwatt reports) were sent as specimens to a large number of municipal bodies throughout the country. As a result, requests for further copies have been received from 59 counties and boroughs, 37 urban district councils, and 22 rural district councils for distribution to their council and town planning committees. A number of associations of municipal and town planning authorities have also made application. In addition to the original circulation, about 2,500 copies of each of these publications have been sent to these official bodies. This is striking proof of public interest in the taxation of land values.

The Report on Social Insurance, known as the Beveridge Scheme, is providing another opportunity for interrelating the land question. Detailed comment must wait for a later article. More important still is a letter from Labor members of the New Zealand Parliament to the Land Values Group of the Parliamentary Labor Party in this country. They write:

"We have followed with interest the efforts of your group to obtain legislation which would enable municipalities throughout the United Kingdom to change from the annual to the unimproved system of rating. [That is, from taxing improvements to taxing land values.] We are aware of the increased importance that is being attached to this reform, because of the destruction to property caused by the savage onslaughts on your heroic people, since the outbreak of the war, by our common foe, and the need that will exist after peace has been declared for the reconstruction of your towns and cities. We are in receipt of a request from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and the Canadian Congress of Labor, for a statement of our views upon unimproved rating."

The Labor Group has replied to the Canadian request, with a survey of New Zealand's experience, and increasing public favor of land value taxation, and states: "A survey of the comparative merits of these three systems of rating, that has been completed recently in New Zealand, with the cooperation of our Government, in the interests of the International Research Committee on Real Estate Taxation, by H. Bronson Cowan, an American economist, has revealed the many advantages of rating on unimproved values."

The Labor Group refers to its forty-six years experience of this system, and finally endorses the London County Council's Report of 1936. The full statement from New Zealand is quoted in *Land and Liberty* for December. The signatories to the letter include the New Zealand Minister of Agriculture, the Chairman of Committees in the House of Representatives, the Minister of Transportation, and eight other representatives.*

Thus at a time when the two hemispheres are in the throes of war, the message of Henry George encircles the globe, sounding a note of hope for ultimate peace and justice in the world. A mighty word may yet be spoken from these British Isles.

* September, 1921.

* This important letter is being circulated to all British Labor M.P.'s and to some 100 newspapers.

The Norris THOMPSONS

By Thurston Warren

Cosmopolitan Magazine

SOME families just inevitably make their mark in public affairs. But sometimes the public doesn't realize that the members it hears about are of one family. Such a group is the Norris-Thompson family.

First there are Kathleen, Charles and Frank, all writers. Of them, Kathleen has reached the largest public. She was born Kathleen Thompson, one of six children left on their own early in life. She went through a succession of jobs as bookkeeper, saleswoman, school teacher, newspaper reporter, and social worker. Capitalizing on a vivid imagination, Kathleen launched her career on two stories she sent to a New York newspaper that published a story a day. She had married Charles G. Norris, a young newspaperman, who was so enthusiastic over her achievement that thereafter, she was the writer, and he the business manager. Charles' brother, Frank, was the late powerful social novelist.

Another member of the family was showing his mettle, too. He was Kathleen's brother, Joseph S. Thompson. He started manufacturing electrical equipment in a country shed near San Francisco. This firm, which employs hundreds in war work, has never had a strike in its thirty years, and never failed to discount a bill.

Joe Thompson is a Fellow of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, and was for four years a director of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. A favorite toastmaster and speaker on the West Coast, Joe Thompson has told many a group of his passion for freedom, citing Henry George's works as his foundation.

Schalkenbach Foundation

Joe Thompson remarked in a recent letter to LAND AND FREEDOM:

"I feel that Judge Ralston is right, when he quotes the man, who says, 'Some new type of orientation or approach would have to be worked out.'* It indicates the most important duty we have.

"For a long time I have felt the heavy incubus on our principle involved in the name 'Single Tax.' Although I always make reference to it, I then refer to the guinea pig, who is neither from Guinea or a pig. A whole new vocabulary or glossary will have to be worked out.

"Every economist should always begin his comments on the sales tax, the income tax, and the personal property tax with the statement, 'So long as we are resolved to maintain our Nancy Astors, it would seem as though' —and then go on with his observations."

Mr. Thompson says that for twenty-five years he has been advising his business friends to read "Progress and Poverty" whenever they have complained about monopoly competition, labor troubles, red tape, and the increasing burden of taxation. But he found it a large order to get most busy men to read a 565-page book. Finally, he abridged the theme into 138 pages, calling it "More Progress and Less Poverty." Published by the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, it retains all of Henry George's colorful writing. Mr. Thompson added ten pages in an Addendum "for the business man or the Average Citizen."

"Henry George wrote as a pleader for the oppressed," says Mr. Thompson "but the oppressed are more and more becoming charges on the business element through relief and social security measures." The professional man, the entrepreneur, and the business man, deriving nothing from monopoly privileges will find the Addendum of added importance to them.

The Henry George School extension of Los Angeles announces this group was privileged to hear Kathleen Norris, novelist laureate to the American public and her brother, Joseph S. Thompson, industrialist, both of whom gave inspiring speeches at the Annual Banquet on January 14, in the Mona Lisa Banquet Room.

Mrs. Norris drew from her own experience and observation many instances of inequities resulting from the legalized monopolization of the national bounties. She offered an historical case of the English lord who left his estate to travel through Europe and Africa with

(*Continued on page* 18)

* See "Why The Single Tax Was Opposed In California," November-December, 1942.—ED.

What Has Happened to Liberalism?

By William E. Clement

THE fear of some form of future regimentation which now weighs heavily on the spirit of many business leaders, can be resolved into nothingness, and we can go forward to the incomparably better things envisioned by administration leaders if we are willing to honestly analyze our difficulties. Thus and thus only can we provide for post-war unemployment and expected trade stagnation. The grim alternatives are well presented by Walter Lippmann in his great book, "The Good Society," wherein he very brilliantly sums up the pre-war situation by saying, "Men are asked to choose between security and liberty; to improve their fortunes they are told that they must renounce their rights." These choices, Lippmann says, are "intolerable."

"The older doctrine," he says, "was that wealth is increased by labor, enterprise, and thrift, and that the way to a just distribution of income is the repeal of privileges." It has been overwhelmed, Lippmann points out, by the practical demonstration that some men and groups of men prosper greatly when the government assists them. So the people have had it fixed in their minds that the state possesses a magical power to provide an "abundant life."

"It is an old illusion," says Lippmann as he tells us that "on the River Rhine, the most important trade route of Central Europe, there were in the twelfth century, nineteen stations at which tolls had to be paid." These were collected by armed forces gathered about great castles, the ruins of which still are in evidence. "In this example, which is typical of all privileges, political force did not produce the treasure. It exacted treasure from those who had produced it. The optical illusion arises because men mistake for the production of wealth the enrichment of those who take the tolls."

The big question which the American people must solve through hardheaded research and common sense, is that as matters have worked out in recent years, "the state raises the people's expectations, and on the other hand, it reduces their productivity." Here indeed is the "illusion" which not to dispel is to court disaster to our American form of government.

Lippmann's reference to the so-called liberal state as opposed to the liberalism of the old-time American variety is, however, not to be associated with partisanship with any existing political party. Lippmann did not offer his ideas as a "complete solution," but in the hope that "someone will find a clue that will lead him further." It is with profound gratitude that I acknowledge Mr. Lippmann's help, and in presenting these conclusions, carry on from that point in this discussion.

To save our country for free enterprise, an understanding must be had of the original motivating factors through which free institutions became dominant in America; why this new spirit in turn helped mightily in removing chains from the people of the Old World, and why the insidious coercive regimentation has now reappeared and not only engulfs most of the pent-up and distressed peoples of Europe, but threatens us with its false economic conceptions and so-called "distributive proposals." The practical outcome of living under a socialistic or "directed" condition of society can be shown from past experiences; history teaches also that inevitably class division, collectivism and coercion bring loss of liberty, lowered standards of living, wars, and a great decline in production of goods the people want. Ultimately, as will again be seen in Europe (no matter what the outcome of the present war), this coercive order will, as in the past, come into violent conflict with the deeply ingrained doctrine of natural rights and individual preferences.

In the Eighteenth Century, as the fertile lands of the New World opened to settlement, there came a coincident great advance in independence and freedom. No one thought of working for another for less than he could make working for himself on land which could be had almost for the asking. As this "new order" of that time appeared with its revolutionary implications, its opportunity for expansion and self government, the American Founding Fathers, fearing and hating the "coercive" dangers of the Old World, taught their people strength through individual reliance on one's own efforts, the truth that wealth is increased by labor, enterprise and thrift, and that with opportunity before them, the way to a just distribution of income is through repeal of privilege, not through its extension to a "bureaucracy" or to any set of men. Their ire at that time was particularly directed against the then existing governmental privileged classes, and they knew the pitfalls and dangers to humanity of a directed social order.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS' ERROR

Unfortunately, however, they failed to enact a very simple land law or regulation, which would have perpetuated economic freedom through forever keeping open to their people, opportunity (through idle unused land) for self employment. Land speculation therefore spread over the United States, and the good idle acreage was grabbed by speculators and "held for a price." This restricted the use of agricultural lands (the primary source of all jobs and all industry), and caused the

problem of idle men, low production and low consumption which we saw so intensified during the depression of the thirties. This "want in the midst of plenty" is the great calamity, which the writings of farseeing men like Franklin, Thomas Paine, Jefferson, and later, Abraham Lincoln indicate they saw as an almost certain eventuality. Thus was the stage set for the remedy proposed by the great Henry George.

As we trace events, we find that when preemption was complete, notwithstanding vast and well-located unused lands, our capitalist democracy began to stagnate; then and there were generated depressed situations which left the unemployed (following speculatively culminating panics such as the long lean years following 1873) at a great disadvantage, and this unrest and lack of buying power reacted on business and trade, just as it does in modern times. Our leaders failed to see that while tariff increases, land grants, "go west young man" slogans and other governmental relief moves of that day promoted the interest of certain groups only, these measures had little, if any, good effect on business men as a whole, or on individual workers in the lower strata. They did not open the door of opportunity through low-cost access to the well situated but idle agricultural land which in settled areas was even then commencing to be held out of use for *investment purposes.*

THE RISE OF THE DEMAGOGUE

These relief measures, failing to benefit the masses, paved the way for the demagogue of today who is busy selling what is in effect the seductive pre-1776 "directive order" as the cure for the troubles resulting from low income and unemployment distress. The pendulum now swings the other way from the old-time "American way of life," and if an intelligent analysis is not soon made and proper adjustments set up, every one will suffer, including owners of the speculatively held land, and even the children of those most active in this dangerous "directive" reactionism.

To understand what has happened and its relation to the changes now going on about us, it must be remembered that the truly liberal movement of the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries occurred coincidentally with the opening to use of the rich agricultural lands of the New World. As these new lands were bought up and grabbed for investment purposes—brought into cultivation only here and there—the "Great American Frontier" was withdrawn. Then it was that our liberal doctrine was arrested, our economy became unbalanced, liberalism started to decline, and in the stress of later events has lost its virile potency in human affairs. The question which has remained unanswered, and which Mr. Lippmann so well poses, is why an aroused people failed to fathom these matters; why they did not go forward with this promise of liberation. The great white light of freedom has consequently gone out over much of the world, and with the coming of certain pre-war restrictions there could be seen a perceptible "flicker" even in free America, with its wealth of unused natural resources and traditional hate of "coercion."

If we would restore our splendid cultural and liberal heritage we must in effect restore the American Frontier of opportunity. Our millions of acres of unused agricultural lands must be made available. We must, in order to make our country "stronger than all others combined," overcome future unemployment by opening opportunities. We must "beat the dictators" by doing it in the "American way" as compared to the ever encroaching coercive or "slave economy" method. The teaching that governmental investment is forced to limit or take the place of private expansion should not be tolerated.

We heard during the depression much about "worn-out" or eroded farms; that there were no opportunities for young people to become self-supporting. There seems to be little, or no evaluation of the fact that out of our one billion acres of tilled or tillable land, a large portion is being held out of use at comparatively high prices for so-called "investment purposes." It is for this reason that the relatively cheap submarginal lands of the arid west (suitable only for grazing), were brought into agricultural use, with consequent "Dust Bowl" suffering and damage to our national interest. Farmers operating only about 200 million acres officially joined in the AAA soil conservation movement, and this of itself gives a clue to the "investment obstructionism" which is slowly choking the life out of free enterprise and our nation's progress.

If one has any doubt as to the truth of this observation, all he has to do is to ride through the agricultural sections near any city, particularly in the South, and note the "spotty" development and large acreage of good land held out of use. For example, Baldwin County on Mobile Bay, Alabama, the largest county east of the Mississippi River, has according to the U. S. Census of Agriculture only 16.7% of its lands under cultivation. Baldwin County, as is well known, is greatly favored in its fertility and natural advantages. Yet farm land is needed for producing goods to feed huge sections of a war-ravaged world.

And now as these matters become clearer, it is well to clinch this by going back to "The Good Society" and Walter Lippmann, wherein he says the people have been taught by collectivists to believe that the government can and should make them richer. Not yesterday, but starting about seventy years ago, business men, farmers and wage earners, failing to discern why conditions were going awry, commenced to appeal to the state for bounties, tariffs, privileges, and right there commenced the practice of gradual collectivism which has caused the people to think that if some can be enriched by the action of the state, then all might be enriched by it. Thus was the way paved for false "liberals."

Those entering the Services, and others who move to a new address, are requested to inform us promptly. Magazines are not forwarded by the Post Office.

Eureka in Disgrace!

PFC. Jacob Schwartzman
DRAWINGS BY SYLVIA WIREN

AND it came to pass, in the year 2042 A.D., that there lived an inventive genius in the Land of Realism, whose sole dream was to discover how to do away with death. Long did he seek the answer, and finally, on one stormy night, he hit upon the formula that spelled death to death!

Intoxicated, he proclaimed his discovery to the whole world. He imagined unrestrained joy, tumultuous applause, unbounded adulation, and wild excitement. His elation knew no bounds.

The announcement fell upon the people like thunder. They were stunned. An investigative body corroborated the discovery. Man could no longer die!

There was an immediate roar of disapproval and anger. The first to protest was the Undertakers' Union.

"The Undertakers' Union is a member of the New Undertakers' Trust (NUT), established seventy years ago," shouted their president, wild with rage. "All our reforms for the betterment of the undertakers have been gained at snail pace. We have had to fight for every progressive measure. And now, when we have achieved recognition and a semblance of respectability, along comes this madman, who, in one stroke would destroy all that we have built over a period of years, render jobless all our members, and place our families on relief!"

Aligned with the undertakers were the Gravediggers' Brotherhood and the Association of the Drivers of Ambulances and Hearses. Militantly aroused by their great leaders, the members sent letters of protest to their Congressmen.

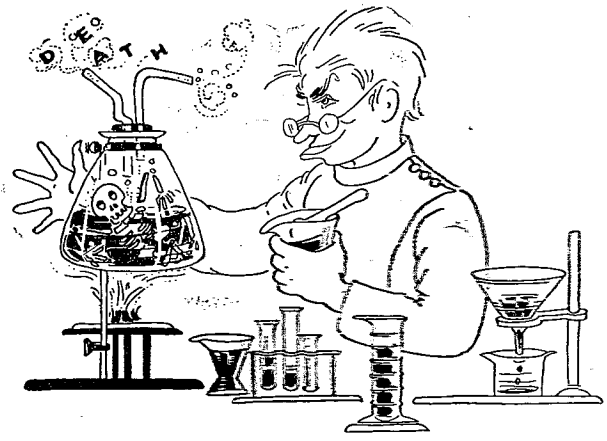
The Chairman Emeritus of the Medical Association was called out of retirement, and in his tired, quaking voice, shaking with suppressed emotion, he roundly denounced the scoundrel.

"Through thousands of years, the doctor has been a friend of the people. How many sleepless nights he has spent watching the bedside of the sick! How he has striven, how he has sought for some remedy for the various diseases of mankind! What terrible infamy this! Just when we are learning the various remedies for the plagues of humanity, we have to give up our well-respected careers, researches, ideas and dreams of curing our brothers! Within a short time the doctors—this great profession—would have to seek jobs as mechanics, porters, waiters and the like. A disgrace! All progress would cease. Man would search no more. Like an animal, he would be content to live his life uncared for and undoctored!"

Joining in his heated complaint were the Commissioners of Health, Hospitals and Public Welfare. The latter reminded his hearers of the widows and orphans his Department watched over. The president of the Pharmacists' Alliance asked his brethren to imagine the calamity if there were no more physicians in the government services.

There was a hurried conference in Capital City, and the chairman of the Economists' Malthusian Association spoke to the millions of listeners over the SLY network. His powerful speech caused a tremendous ovation, and was favorably echoed by all the influential newspaper organs.

"We are no longer children!" he thundered. "Our society has gone a long way since the dark days of the past, when men were still seeking their simple cures. We no longer believe in cure-all quakeries. My dear friends, let us examine the facts. Do you realize what would happen if we allowed everyone to live? Do you realize the world would soon be so crowded that the millions now employed would have to fight for a small piece of bread? Can you imagine what a slash in wages this overcrowding of people would create? Arise to smash this dangerous fanatic who is out to destroy your families and yourselves!"



The Bar Association was meeting that night, hastily called to order by the former Chief Judge of the Court of Higher Justice, who, after starting off with a number of clever anecdotes, assailed the inventor.

"I am not now speaking of the thousands of our members who will lose their extensive decedents' estate practice, nor of the great and honorable Surrogates who today so ably fill their seats, all of whom would be ruthlessly cast down by a man whose conception of science is truly a travesty on justice. Nor am I now speaking on behalf of the great practitioners and judges of the criminal courts, who will also be thusly destroyed. I am thinking rather of the army of stenographers, law clerks, court attendants, law school teachers, elevator operators and cleaners, and the parents of the young lawyers who had to struggle so hard to send their children through law school. All of these would suffer. Ah, mad thou art, oh world, to let this madman rule!"

He was wildly cheered, and his resolution to investigate

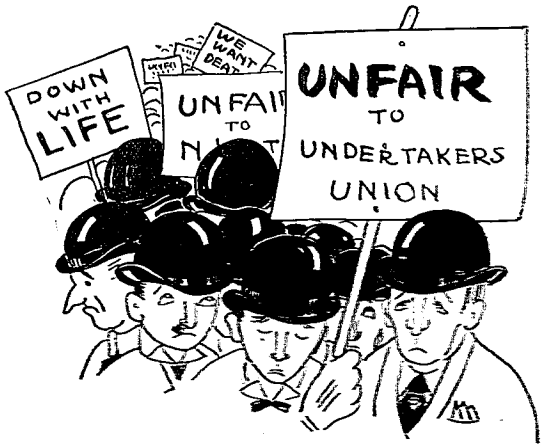
the inventor was unanimously carried. A telegram was immediately dispatched to Capital City.

At the same time, in a different part of the country, General Warrior was delivering a bitter tirade.

"It has been recognized for years that a military life is the finest and noblest career for our young men. People join various services of our country to defend it against all aggression. What would happen to the army, navy, air force, and their related branches if death were abolished? We would be the laughing stock of the world. Our proud tradition would crumble. The great heroes of military history, who have been a source of infinite inspiration to our young, would be forgotten. We would be a nation without song or memory, a dreamless land of dreamless men!"

He was joined in a telegram of denunciation by the leaders of the other forces of public protection, the Commissioners of Fire, Police, and the very good-looking Chairman of Lifeguard Patrol.

The clairvoyants and fakirs protested that they would be



deprived of their livelihoods. One of them very brilliantly showed the tragedy that would befall mankind.

"Those who are already dead could not come back to life. What about all of us here who have some dear departed in the Other World? There would forever exist a gulf between them and us. We, the living, would never see them again. It would be the living who would really be dead!"

There was a great excitement among the heads of the insurance companies. These benefactors of mankind held a meeting which lasted far into the night.

"Insurance is the greatest invention of man," declaimed the president of one of the largest companies. "By means of insurance man does not shirk his responsibility; the near and dear are protected. Saving and thrift are encouraged. Social welfare and medicine are encouraged. The prospect of inevitable death makes man a sober and worthwhile individual. We dread to imagine the flighty notions that would take hold of man once death is no longer a reality. The knowledge that he, too, would soon die, makes man plan while he is still alive. That makes for progress. The knowledge that he could live forever would make him put off for many tomorrows the things that he ordinarily accomplishes today. Think of the millions of widows and orphans of our original stockholders who would lose everything, together with the millions of our employees, and the many beneficiaries who today are paying the rates for their dearly insured? Would they not be horribly cheated of their forthcoming benefits?"

The penologists complained that crime would be encouraged since the death penalty would no longer be a deterrent. The morality societies protested that with the fear of venereal diseases gone, houses of prostitution would flourish. The Society of Prison Executives wailed. They were backed by the Union Prison Wardens. Electric companies which supplied current for the electric chairs, and the rope manufacturers who furnished the hangmen with materials, also assailed the fanatic. The coffin makers, the lumber landlords, the automobile manufacturers who make hearses and ambulances, the candlestock makers, and the florists who derived a great deal of their revenue from funerals, all joined in an outcry against the enemy of society.

The owner of the biggest munition plant in the world allowed himself to be quoted as follows:

"I don't have to remind the men and women who work for me that they would immediately lose their jobs."

He was warmly praised by the Chemists' Union, which perfected wonderful explosives for the destruction of mankind, and the Poison and Drug Association of Realism.

The powerful real estate boards, which derived their income from all of the above bodies, naturally grew alarmed. They demanded that the government take immediate steps to protect them. One realtor division, the cemetery associations, were especially vehement in their fight against the menace.

The Organization of Writers of Realism met to discuss the problem.

"It is a well-known fact," said a prominent mystery writer, "that the public thrives on mysteries. In fact, nothing else is demanded, unless it be personal confessions. Now, how can we plot mysteries, if the death factor, which is the main theme, is eliminated?"

Another person, a famous poet, took the floor.

"I can add that the finest poetry ever written deals with death. Throughout the centuries elegies have been a source of melancholy inspiration to millions of readers. Destroy death and you make a mockery of poetry."

He was enthusiastically applauded. The man who applauded the longest was a noted maker of bereavement cards. Cheers also came from the owner of a wax museum.

That same evening Murder, Inc., gathered to discuss the situation. The members were panic stricken.

"Youse guys know wot's up," shouted the Boss. "It ain't nothin' to make fun of. We will have to turn respectable if sumpin' ain't done to put the guy on skids."

There was a great deal of rioting, and a lynching party was organized. The inventor was taken into protective custody, where after some persuasion he confessed to the com-

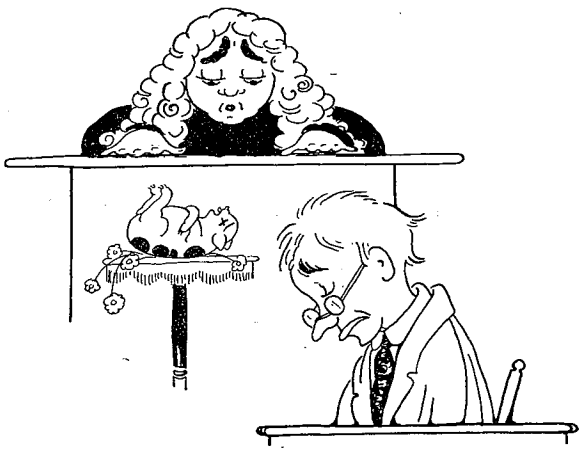
mission of a murder. It seems some of his guinea pigs had died.

The world was horrified. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Guinea Pigs immediately filed charges of pseudo-homicide. An old statute to that effect was dug up, and the District Attorney thundered that the culprit should be properly punished.

He was tried in a courtroom packed with both an angry jury and a hostile audience. The former Chief Judge of the Court of Higher Justice very graciously proffered his services tree to the accused. The star witness for the prosecution was the Boss of Murder, Inc. The ex-Judge, on behalf of his client, immediately pleaded guilty, adding that the culprit, fully conscious of the gravity of his offense, threw himself upon the mercy of the court.

The plea was received by a grim-faced Presiding Justice who, after thanking the defense counsel for his open-mindedness in trying the case, addressed the defendant:

"Were this a case of lesser significance to the world, I might be inclined to accept the plea for clemency made by your distinguished attorney. However, through him, you have admitted the gravity of the offense, and I have no other course but to sentence you to death—and may God have mercy on your soul!" (This was contrary to law.)



Thus was the world purged of a lunatic. He was sent to a prison, headed by the President of the United Prison Wardens, and strapped into the electric chair by a world-renown member of the League of Prison Executioners. A neighborhood electric company very kindly sent a soul-searing current through the body of this hardened criminal. The Chairman Emeritus of the Medical Association pronounced him dead, and he was driven off by the president of the Association of the Drivers of Ambulances and Hearses in a coffin donated by the nation's largest coffin manufacturer. The Cemetery Association willingly contributed a beautiful spot for the burial. The insurance company sent a fat check to the widow, and many friends solaced her with bereavement cards.

After death mystery and obituary writers wrote columns about him, and the owner of the wax museum placed a wonderful reproduction of the death scene in his museum. The quarriers set up a beautiful tombstone in commemoration, upon which was a verse created by the famous poet:

Here lies a sinner 'neath this sod;
Have mercy on him, Lord God.

Yesterday I had a conversation with a famous spiritualist, who after communicating with the dead man revealed his last message:

"Tell the world not to despair. Truth is ever hard to gain acceptance. It is not cruelty of mankind but its ignorance that causes the great tragedies of the world. Jesus realized this, for he said, 'Forgive them, for they know not what they do.'"

An Experiment in Assessment

By William Ryan

EARLY in the autumn of 1912, my friend Francis E. Bodin, who was associated with me in the New York Tax Reform Association, told me that the Democratic Party in his home township—North Plainfield, New Jersey—wanted to nominate him for the office of Tax Assessor. He said he would accept the nomination on one condition—namely, that if he was elected, I would go around with him in the assessment work and break him in on the job.

As North Plainfield had not elected a Democrat to any office in forty years, I did not hesitate to make the promise, and thought nothing more of it until the day after election. 1912 was the year Woodrow Wilson was elected President of the United States. Having been Governor of New Jersey, he swept that state for the Democratic Party, and my friend Bodin was the new Tax Assessor of his township. And so I had to make good my promise.

The backwardness of the assessment of property can be imagined from the facts that there were no tax maps of any of the properties, the assessment records were set up alphabetically, and the assessments were supposed to be on a basis of 50% of true value. Without tax maps, there is no way of knowing the size, shape or quantity of land embraced in any one ownership. If the owner is available, he may tell exactly the quantity of land he owns, but if the premises are occupied by a tenant, or are vacant, the quantity of land assessed is pure guess-work, or a mere copying of the amount set down in the previous year's records. When the records are made alphabetically, the fact that John Abbott's land was assessed as 100 acres at $50 an acre, Samuel Jones' land as 65 acres at $40 an acre and William Zander's land as 150 acres at $30 an acre, may mean little to the Tax Assessor and nothing to the taxpayer. A survey may show that the three farms are consecutively contiguous along a highway and are approximately 200 acres each and worth $100 an acre. As for the so-called 50% assessment, any assessment of land on any other

basis than 100% of true value (fair market value), means that the various properties may be assessed from 10% to 50% of true value, and in many instances, much more than 50%, so that it is practically impossible for the average taxpayer to know what the assessment rate is, and all he does usually is grumble about his high taxes.

In commencing our formidable task of assessing North Plainfield, the first thing we did was to procure topographical maps of the district from the Federal government, and enlarge the perimeter by using a pantograph—a drafting instrument used to enlarge drawings, maps, etc. On these maps we drew in, as nearly as we could conceive, the various properties, from information gathered by owners and our own observations. While the completed maps were anything but accurate, they served as a practical starting point for discovering the true state of affairs. We were able to discover land that had not been assessed or taxed for years, and in one instance we came across a property assessed as 22 acres which we found to be 422 acres.

Next, we copied every name on an index card, and made our assessments on a 100% basis, using the available figures. This, too, was merely a convenient starting point.

Our next job was to go out into the field and make our investigations of the properties. The situation was rather amusing. I, a resident of New York, would introduce Mr. Bodin as the new Tax Assessor. Who I was, was not stated. We told the owner we wanted to treat each taxpayer fairly and equitably; that in order to do this, we had to know the true value of the property. They accepted our statement in good faith and cooperated fully. Some even offered to open a bottle for us. We started at the end of a valley about three-fourths of a mile from a railroad station and about one and a half miles from the same station at the head of the valley. The owners of property at the end of the valley said uniformly that their land was worth $125 an acre; at about the middle of the valley, the owners declared $100; and at the head of the valley the figure given was $75. This did indeed sound reasonable, and I must pay tribute to those owners who were prepared to be honest when approached honestly.

As we approached the head of the valley we found many tenant farmers who could not help us, and much vacant land. We saw a piece of land assessed as 22 acres. It ran up the side of the mountain where we could see more than 100 acres. It continued on the other side of the mountain to a road. This is the property we found to be 422 acres. The assessment was raised from $1,100 to $16,000.

Under the law, the Assessor had the power to put any protesting taxpayer under oath. The owner of this piece of land started protest meetings around the district and Mr. Bodin was perturbed, but I kept up his morale by telling him to wait till grievance day, when he might put this taxpayer under oath and accept his sworn statement as true. The day after grievance day, Mr. Bodin came to me with a smile. "He did not show up," was the report. Our assessment job was completed with relatively little trouble.

The system in New Jersey provided for county boards to equalize unequal assessments of the various townships, each of which tried to keep its assessments low so as to pay less county taxes. Above these county boards was the State Board of Equalization for the purpose of equalizing unequal assessments of the counties, who in their turn were trying to escape with as little state taxes as possible. If all property were assessed at true value there would be no need of these equalization boards.

In its annual report for 1913, the State Board of Equalization announced that the North Plainfield township was the best assessed district in the state that year.

Thirty-one years later, 1943, the situation which beset us in North Plainfield, New Jersey, is as true in certain centers of the United States as it was then. Areas in Ohio, western and southern states present just as fantastic a condition today as we were faced with then. Some communities are not assessed for three years; others not for ten years! And because one assessor, elected this year, uses no more than an alphabetical list supplied him by his predecessor, and no assessment map of any description has ever been prepared, lands will remain unassessed for years and decades—and what owner of such lands will complain?

THE NORRIS THOMPSONS

(Continued from page 12)

his family. While they were leisurely driving through Italy and France, stopping at chateaux as caprice suited them, they discussed with the children's governess the advantages of travel to their offspring's education.

Business was at a comparative stand-still on the vast estate, and its dependent environs during the master's absence. Surrounded by forests and parks stocked with deer, rabbits and other potential food, many in the countryside, forbidden to trespass within the bounds of this great, idle territory, watched their families slowly succumb to undernourishment and the actual pangs of starvation. One countryman, goaded by the piteous wails of his hungry children, poached two rabbits from the great man's park, and was hanged for his temerity.

Kathleen Norris admitted that this was an extreme case. She justified her story by quoting as a classic example, Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," reputed to have precipitated, more than any other issue, the war between the states. The incidents upon which this book was built, written by a woman who had never been in the South, were so extreme as to have happened rarely, if ever, yet under the then law of the land such instances *could* have happened, and for this reason they were sufficient to whip the nation into a fury of righteous indigation, resulting in all the horrors of a civil war. Kathleen Norris pointed out that only by theoretically following a legalized evil through to its ultimate extreme application, can the public be brought to a realization of the immortality of customs founded upon such evils.

Kathleen Norris, as a writer whose readers number millions, will perhaps carry this thought into a social novel some day.

The Minister from New Zealand Discusses Taxation

By Alexander Boardman

Sponsored jointly by the Citizens' Housing Council of New York and the American Institute of Planners, the Hon. Walter Nash makes an inspiring address at the Hotel Pennsylvania, January 23, 1943

In the City of New York, the New Year started off auspiciously for correct economic thinking. Georgeists, city planners, housing experts, bankers, realtors, government officials, representatives of a host of socio-civic-economic institutions, and magazine editors, all experienced a heartening view of another area in the Pacific. This body of thinkers got a good look at the distant, and too often hazy scene of New Zealand, in the person of His Excellency, Walter Nash, Minister from that country to the United States. He spoke on January 23, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, at a luncheon jointly sponsored by the Citizens' Housing Council of New York and the American Institute of Planners.

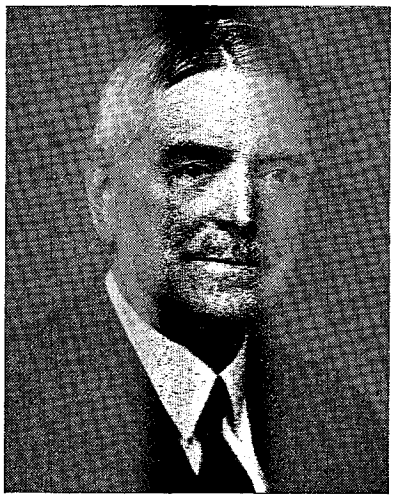
Mr. Nash must have startled many of his audience of 300, just as he gladdened the two dozen followers of Henry George present, with his forthright talk on "New Zealand's Experience with Land Value Taxation." He had unstinted praise for what is fundamental to Georgeists—the principle of taxing for revenue the unimproved site value of land. And he spoke with authority, because he is not only the highest official from New Zealand, but at home he had been a member of Parliament, and head of the taxing council.

For fifty years now that little country of one and three quarter millions has used this system of taxation, and found it works. There are 660 government assessors who determine the unimproved site value of all land, and levy a fixed rate upon it. There is the interesting provision that should the owner fail to have the assessment revised downward to his satisfaction, and be so inclined, he can offer the land for government purchase, and it must be accepted! Mr. Nash slyly remarked that there have been very few such transactions.

The measure was instituted in an attempt to break up large estates, and His Excellency was happy to report it was hugely successful. Another cardinal principle of the government—landlords please note—is that the *mineral wealth of land does not belong to the owner of land,* but to the Commonwealth. Mr. Nash was firm in his belief that these policies were a healthy foundation, and insured a prosperous citizenry that cherished its homes.

He said:

"The provision of adequate housing can be seriously handicapped and retarded if abnormal prices have to be paid for the land that is required. A sound and scientifically based system of taxation can help a great deal by correcting such a situation. I believe that the kind of procedure that we have adopted in New Zealand, although it is far from perfect, has, nevertheless, tended to discourage excessive inflation of land values generally and building site values in particular.



"I desire to emphasize the fact that post-war planning must be on a national scale, and must provide for a scientific tax procedure, effective land utilization, cessation of exploitation, and limitation of speculation, if it is to serve the ends we have in view.

"The land tax in New Zealand has had a varied history. When first introduced in 1891 it had the double objective of bringing in revenue and of breaking up large farming estates. Except in regard to minor details, the system of graduated land taxation during the earlier years remained largely unaltered up to the last world war. The only noteworthy change was the gradual hardening of the graduated rate for the purpose of preventing land aggregation, and fostering less scattered settlement rather than of securing additional revenue. Until 1917, the tax consisted of a flat rate equivalent to aproximately 2c for each $5 of unimproved value, plus an additional graduated tax starting with land of unimproved value of $25,000 and ranging up to slightly over 2 cents on the dollar on land with an unimproved value of $1,000,000 or more. In 1917, a single progressive tax was instituted, rising from 2 cents to 14 cents for each $5 on unimproved value plus a super tax of 50 percent. This meant a maximum rate of tax on the larger estates equivalent to 4½ percent of their unimproved value, with an additional tax of 50 percent, bringing the maximum rate to 6¾ percent in the case of absentees. (The dollar is in every case converted at $5 to the New Zealand £.)

"In 1921, the maximum was further increased, but the super tax was lowered 33⅓ percent, and finally abolished in 1924."

The Site Value Taxers who heard him were sorry to hear, however, that New Zealand imposes high import duties for revenue; but there was a cheerful note, as well, in the high inheritance taxes collected, which tended to break up large holdings. At the present time, site value taxation yields the central government 3% of its income, altogether too low—but let us wait and see! Communities in New Zealand were offered the alternative of getting local taxes from site value rates or by the usual tax methods. Most communities, Mr. Nash said, chose the former method at once, and many of the others soon changed over.

In concluding he said:

"The land tax, as it stands at present is designed primarily for revenue purposes. It is designed to provide revenue on a basis of productive value, such productive value including site value where land is used for building purposes. Here

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SPEAKERS TABLE
(Excepting those referred to in the article)

H. M. ALBRIGHT, Pres., American Planning and Civic Assn.; I. S. ROBBINS, Acting Commr., N. Y. State Div. of Housing; J. B. BLANDFORD, Jr., Admnr., NHA; MISS LOULA D. LASKER, Asst. Editor, "Survey Graphic"; T. G. GRACE, Dir. for N. Y. State, FHA; E. S. DRAPER, Deputy Commr., FHA, also Pres., Am. Inst. of Planners; SIR HENRY BUNBURY, British Civil Servant, member, Nat. Health Insurance Commn., Chief, British P.O., etc.; MRS. S. A. ROSENMAN, Chmn., Nat. Committee on the Housing Emergency; E. B. BUTLER, Chmn., NYCHA; MISS HARLEAN JAMES, Exec. Secy., Am. Planning and Civic Assn.; R. S. CHILDS, Pres., Citizens' Union of New York.

FIRST REFORM YOURSELF

By Will Stuart

SOCIAL reformers often approve of such sentiments as: "The cure for the ills of democracy is—more democracy." "The only trouble with competition is we haven't enough of it." In like vein, the trouble with this Age of Science is that there isn't enough science. Most Georgeists will agree to this, at least academically. But I doubt that many are prepared to accept that criticism for themselves. What is of permanent value in George's work is the contribution of a certain objectivity of approach, and the mature inclusiveness and correlation of data never before, and seldom since, brought to the consideration of social problems. At its best this becomes the scientific method.

Goethe created in the character of Mephistopheles the archtype of the modern spirit. Not, to be sure, someone's ideal or wishful thought, but the existing fact. "The intellect in the service of the senses," as someone put it; or, more aptly, adult science in the service of infantile impulses. It is this Mephistophelian spirit which has produced scientific Huns and Vandals on the one hand, and erudite infants on the other. We should expect nothing else until the scientific method is applied to our own personal, imperfect human nature.

Plato and Ibsen indicted democracy as a tyranny of the many rather than of the few. For what really is so terrible an indictment of democracy as democracy itself —masses of men—in action? Let us not quibble about terms. Democracy is crippled by demagogues who vie for citizens' support to "vote for that gang which will plunder them least." Here is our point—Georgeism, both in theoretical content and propaganda methods, is based on an eighteenth-century conception of man's nature. George's entire economic theory and social reform postulates man as a constitutionally rational creature, whose innate good sense is perverted by adverse external environment.

Today this logical assumption has been, not simply revised, as some would have us believe, but completely revolutionized. The rational aspect is seen as an acquired degree of psychologic maturing and unification. The basic nature of men may be aptly observed in the behavior of an infant. Human nature is seen entirely in evolutionary perspective. Is it not time to see what science has to say about human nature?

George specifically stated that economic injustice was creating the "greater Huns and Vandals of which Macaulay prophesied." It is silly to say that he was wrong, but it is dangerous evasion to assume that the problem stops there. George demonstrated so ably that social ills are the result of ativistic conventions—that land monopoly perpetuates serfdom where chattel slavery is formally abolished. His reform proposal is designed to make this more modern and subtle form of feudal exploitation unprofitable. But from the standpoint of genetic psychology he was only dealing with symptoms.

Too often the liberal appears to recognize but two factors in the production of wealth, namely, labor and capital. He occupies himself with all kinds of devices to adjust relations between them. The radical recognizes a third factor, namely, natural resources, and is absolutely convinced that as long as monopoly-interest in natural resources continues to exist, no adjustment of the relations between capital and labor can possibly be made and that, therefore, the excellent devotion of the liberal goes, in the long run, for nothing.

Dr. Theodore Schroeder in the *Psychoanalytic Review** says on this as follows: "A psychologist may well insist that to abolish monopoly-interest in natural resources will leave all the evil psychologic imperatives intact, to create new modes of satisfaction. It will therefore be just as futile for the elimination of aristocratic ambition, and its satisfaction through other forms of exploitation, as was the abolition of feudalism, without our outgrowing feudal-mindedness. That feudal-mindedness perpetuated slavery under new forms."

Thus, so long as the infantile interest in parasitic living continues to exist, the excellent devotion of the radical goes, in the long run, for nothing. The radical is not radical enough; he has not gone to the root of human nature in his inquiry into human problems.

PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL REFORM

What has psychology to do with economics? Society is composed of an aggregate of individuals, and to reform society the individuals must be reformed, say most psychologists. To reform individuals, one must have some knowledge of what one is dealing with. Thus, psychology has a definite correlation to social reform. Social-economic reform based on eighteenth-century speculation about human perfectibility is bound to be eminently ineffectual. This is of vital concern in any consideration of the acceptance of George's reform proposals. It is one thing to insist that the knowledge of economic science is necessary to effect permanent social reform. It is something else to assume that that is sufficient.

George said the single-tax is not a panacea, but freedom is; and that the single-tax is necessary to freedom. I do not recall that he ever said it was sufficient. Many Georgeists, in their almost exclusive emphasis on "single-tax," and possibly free-trade, either believe these are sufficient to freedom; or at least *act* as if they were. If there is any truth in the principle that the means determines the end (and George seemed thoroughly to believe it, for he expresses this principle repeatedly

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* "Conservatisms, Liberalisms and Radicalisms," *Psychoanalytic Review,* October, 1920.

through his thesis), then many Georgeists *practically* believe the single-tax and free-trade are sufficient to effect a democratized freedom, and in this they practically, if unconsciously, differ with George.

Now, what is meant by freedom? There are many ways of describing it, but that is because there are as many facets to it as there are to human nature. Every freedom, including "the four freedoms," is but a different aspect of a unified concept of liberty. If there is any aspect of human nature left out of consideration, the concept is marred. Insofar as one's concept is lacking, his efforts toward attaining freedom are necessarily limited. Many who are earnestly devoted to one little corner of the truth in liberty, are ignorantly opposing the efforts of others who are just as earnestly devoted to the attainment of the little corner *they* see. To have a corner *of* the truth is not to have a corner *on* it.

Some persons think that economic freedom is basic. George did. He asserted that if men could get a living without hindrance, they would be free to get whatever other freedoms they felt desirable.

NEUROSIS OF EDUCATORS

But since we *don't* have economic freedom, let it be remembered that free speech is *necessary* to establish it. We cannot disseminate George's philosophy without it. From this viewpoint it appears that free speech is as fundamental as economic freedom. *Chronologically free speech will have to antedate Georgeism if a free society is to be attained by democratic efforts.*

So long as education is controlled by neurotics who seek thereby to produce other neurotics, all freedoms are jeopardized. For all anti-social conduct and attitudes (and I use anti-social in the broad sense—to include monopoly, protectionism, anti-semitism, negro-phobia, alien-phobia, and all hatred of non-conformists) are now understood to be manifestations of (1) immature psychologic development, (2) the morbid compulsions of "split personalities," and (3) the ignorant imitation of the other two. The more normal, healthy-minded behavior of relatively more mature and unified personalities often offends those who measure all things by their own psychologic infantilism. So long as the legislative and judicial branches of government are used as instruments for punishing those who have given psychologic offense, the liberty of a free economy is liberty by permission, and not by right.

I previously mentioned that George demonstrated so ably the fact that social ills are the result of ativistic conventions. Georgeists have convinced themselves that not *monopolists,* but *monopoly* is to blame. Nevertheless, in the face of stubborn resistance by monopolists, some Georgeists are often reduced to attributing "immoral" motives to them. Although such name-calling is but the last recourse of impotence, it does indicate at least a partial recognition of the personal element involved in monopoly.

To deal effectively with the monopoly convention, we must do more than simply recognize and label its various symptoms, and then try to legislate them out of existence. I only wish to extend the concept of education to include the more basic aspects of our sentiment and knowing selves. Many Georgeist circles concentrate on education. But even where legislation is not expressed, it is implied. "Forget legislation," some say. "Educate, and when enough of the people want land value taxation the politicians will give it to them."

CENSORSHIP NEGATES FREE SPEECH

Certain enterprises have been destroyed by means of censorship. It has interfered with free trade.

Censorship is often judicially implemented by obscenity laws. Economic competition has been restricted by such statutes. In certain cases where existing laws directly prevented a specific monopoly from being effected, rivals were ruined by charges of obscenity.

Moral superstition and the "obscenity" laws have often been used to silence economic and labor reformers.*

Clarifying the obscenity laws is necessary to economic freedom. We can readily sympathize with George when he dubbed a certain New Jersey judge as being "an immortal ass" for deciding a suit against him on the ground that "Progress and Poverty" was an immoral book. How interdependent are such issues as free speech, political freedom, and economic freedom! The denial of one delimits the others. Such decisions, on irrelevant grounds, constitute a construction of the laws whereby judges make or "construct" their own laws. And since this construction is made after the offense, it becomes also an *ex post facto* law. It is therefore unconstitutional on two counts.

"Obscenity,"† which has been employed to limit free speech, free economic enterprise, and political rights, has no objective existence; instead it is the modern counterpart of the witchcraft superstition. Millions of persons were judicially murdered for witchcraft, a crime that existed only in the disordered mind of the accusers. A society with free trade and no monopoly, but which kills and persecutes citizens for imaginary crimes, cannot claim to be a free society. Political freedom is necessary to economic freedom.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom," we are told. But universal vigilance is necessary too.

Robert Louis Stevenson said:

> Something that seems quite new, or that seems insolently false or very dangerous, is the test of a reader. If he tries to see what it means, what truth excuses it, he has the gift, and let him read. If he is merely hurt or offended, or exclaims upon his author's folly, he had better take to the daily papers; he will never be a reader.

(*Continued on page* 24)

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* See Theodore Schroeder's "A Challenge to Sex Censors," Free Speech League, Coscob, Conn.

† See Industrial Relations, Final Report and Testimony, submitted to Congress, Vol. II, pp. 10840-10852, for statements by Theodore Schroeder; also, pp. 10866-10896.

Land Speculation in Chicago

By Robert King

IN today's parlance, Land Speculation should be labeled eighth column, especially when it means holding up our own federal government in its purchase of defense plant sites. While bad enough to rook fellow citizens in peacetime, when the nation is plunged in a war which nobody wants, these leeches on the arteries of production have the temerity to demand for their land exorbitant sums. Even appraisers and realtors reverently and wholeheartedly support this grabfest.

Vacant sites in the Chicago land area that these appraisers fairly valued at $500 to $800 per acre, were sold to Defense Plant Corporation (a U. S. war agency) at double these figures. Wartime censorship makes it advisable to refrain from mentioning in this article the locations of these areas, although at the time of purchase such information was printed in the local press. (Fair appraisal figures quoted here are taken from Olcott's *Land Values Blue Book,* an Annual of appraisal maps, available at public and municipal libraries in most large cities. If the reader will consult this book he can find the areas under discussion.)

Consumers Corporation, a coal and ice firm, owned 120 acres of a weedy 1929 subdivision in McCook, bearing a *Blue Book* valuation of $2 per front foot, or $500 an acre. This was sold to Alcoa for $1,000 an acre, early in the Spring of 1942.

Harlem Golf Club, appraised at $1,500 to $2,000 per acre, was wanted by the Defense Plant Corporation. The DPC paid the club $135,000 for 80 acres ($1,688 per acre). It is doubtful if the club actually paid more than $1,000 originally, because that was the price a nearby cemetery association paid several years ago.

A vacant 1929 subdivision between 116th and 119th Streets, Halsted to Ashland Avenues, is restricted by deed to residential and duplex building only, and excludes Negroes. In an effort to keep the land value high, the owner foolishly or diabolically had it zoned for heavy manufacturing.* The *Blue Book* finds $3 to $5 a front foot sufficient appraisement. Unlucky buyers will find the city zoning ordinance prevents the erection of any housing—and Chicago is badly in need of houses now—in a manufacturing zone, and a conflicting deed restriction forbids the erection of manufactories. Such is the power of speculation.

In April, 1942, the Belt Railway of Chicago sold 280 acres of vacant land, one of the biggest areas within the city limits, for $448,000 ($1,600 per acre). Two months later, the Chicago Board of Education sold 9.8 acres, which is adjacent to the Belt Railway parcel, for $7,500. This is about $750 an acre. The 1943 *Blue Book* will value this factory site at $1,500, but no increase is given the surrounding neighborhood.

South of this new factory site, diagonally adjoining it, a vacant 1893 subdivision is held out of use, because half a century ago the holder had the "foresight" to know that a new Chrysler plant would be built across the street, some day. Most of the surrounding area is also vacant, mostly noted as 1929 subdivisions. Actually better suited for farming, it is now too much cut up with streets for intensive farm use.

East of this huge new plant is a sparsely settled community. A flurry of speculation appeared immediately after the first news announcement. Small-fry get-rich-quicks are buying lots wherever they can make deals. One man bought two blocks along a street where a bus line may some day be extended, but off the only business street. Finding that the zoning of the district restricted it to residential use only, he arranged with the zoning board to change it to commercial use; he intends to erect stores and a theatre. Unable to obtain building materials for the duration, he is obliged to hold this land out of use, paying a land tax at the rate of 2.7 per cent. of the assessed value.†

A rough estimate of the present land value of this man's holdings is $14,000. If this were the assessor's valuation, his land tax bill would be $378 annually. This is based on a front foot valuation of $18 to $30 today. The new commercial zoning may cause the assessor to double or treble this valuation (a speculative, but unwarranted rise, if he would do so).

This same speculator tried to buy an adjacent business

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* Explanation: A deed restriction limiting the purchaser to build only a residence or duplex obviously would prohibit the erection of a manufactory. This is a dictate of the private landholder. Zoning is an official government edict, originally a protective device; it can be changed by appeal, but cannot be violated. If a district is zoned for commercial or manufacturing use, the city of Chicago absolutely excludes permission to build residences. The zoning board usually consults landholders as to present and proposed use of the land, to make a satisfactory ordinance. Since the assessor bases his valuations on land use according to the zoning, and the assessed value is official, the landholder uses it to offer his land for sale at high prices—R. K.

† This gives Georgeists an idea of land value rates today. (2.7 per cent.) Henry George ("Progress and Poverty," Book 8, Chapter 2, page 495) in proposing ground rent collection, allows an amount to compensate the landholder for the expense of collection, a percentage "which would probably be much less than the cost and loss involved in attempting to rent lands through State agency." Georgeists like to conjecture on this percentage. Would a landholder consider 2.7 per cent. enough compensation, and pay a tax of 97.3 on land value, if all other taxation were abolished?—R. K.

corner, valued in the *Blue Book* at $60 a front foot; he offered the landholder $300 a front foot, and was spurned, the owner demanding $1,000 a front foot! The most valuable business corner in the vicinty is a mile away, $250 a front foot.

The judgment of conservative appraisers is that with the complete freeze of all civilian building, instead of a rise in land values, the values are depressed, whether the tax assessor and speculator agree or not. The Buick plant, the Central Manufacturing District and the Clearing Industrial District have been in operation for some time now, but have failed to raise values of nearby vacant property. Subdivisions failed to sell lots. Lots still sell in these areas for $4 to $10 a front foot. Reason: Population has not followed the factories.

Until now, employees were able to commute by auto. Gas rationing and the reduction of local transportation service will again force the laborer to live close to work. The construction of adjacent emergency war-housing is probable. The effect is to be seen later.

This has been an attempt to report the passing scene. The landholder is assured there will be no confiscation of land, or a raise in his tax on land values, regardless of burdens heaped upon capital and labor. Taking the long view, perhaps twenty years from now, today's speculator hopes to reap his harvest.

The business corner mentioned earlier, fairly appraised at $60 per front foot, can serve as an example of how controversial land values can be. A year ago the owner may have had difficulty getting a buyer at $40; he may have accepted an offer of $10 or $15. He refused today's offer of $300, which may never come again, because he thought the other man might actually pay $1,000. Both men had lost their reason: one, for bidding $300, the other for not taking the money quickly. Tomorrow he may be willing to sell for $40.

If full ground rent were collected, there would be a very definite price set: the owner's actual opinion of its value, based on assessed ground rent. The buyer's evalution is based on the net he can derive from the type of business or building he will develop.

The market for vacant lots in Chicago is dead, due to the building freeze. The closing of many small stores has, of course, lowered land values in business districts.

The land values picture is one of constant change. We may have a prolonged war, with further social changes, or an early peace, with building bans removed. Thus, prophecy and conclusive statements are impossible. About the only definite prediction is that Uncle Sam will probably be overcharged for land purchases, in peace or war.

* * *

In a case wherein three co-owners of property in Boomtown, California, expected to derive an extra award from a jury beyond that which the Government offered, the U. S. Supreme Court has just handed down a ruling that compensation to which landowners are entitled will not include the enhancement in value resulting from the announcement of a project.

WASHINGTON'S CRUCIAL TEST

By Benjamin C. Marsh

THIS year will be the hardest test democracy has ever met in America.

The outstanding antagonism in Washington this year will be between the two ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, and this antagonism is as bitter as that of British university towns, which gave rise to the expression, "Town versus Gown"; the Harvard influence is stronger at the White House end of Pennsylvania Avenue.

There will be a bitter conflict between consumers, the little professional people, preachers, teachers, people on small pensions, and small fixed incomes—and the two great bodies of organized producers, labor and farmers.

Many years ago Samuel Gompers remarked that America didn't need consumer organizations, because all producers are consumers. He was tragically wrong, but unfortunately the big owning farmers and skilled labor still take this view.

We shall have (and we might as well be frank about it), within the next few months, a regimentation that America would not have thought ever possible a year ago. There will be rationing of all foodstuffs, not only as to quantity, but as to items. The Government will determine the diet of every American citizen, although it has not yet any plan to enable all American citizens to buy what they need. We are facing shortages of foodstuffs primarily because of bad organization in agriculture.

Recently the Department of Agriculture in a release, which has not received publicity in the daily press, stated:

"There are about 2,900,000 farmers, exclusive of strictly seasonal workers, with a gross income of less than $900 a year. Of these, about 1,600,000 are bona fide farm producers, who devote more than half of their work time to farming. Most of the work on their farms is done by the farmer and members of his family. These farmers, however, are underemployed. In some cases their soil is too poor for efficient production, or their tracts too small to employ their full-time labor. Or they may lack the knowledge and skills to make the best use of their land, or the working capital to finance an adequate farming plan.

"On such farms there are wasted every day man-hours of labor which in terms of farm production equal the manpower needed to produce 200 million pounds of pork, or 25 million gallons of milk, or two million dozen eggs. To reach our production goals, we must make better use of this great reserve of manpower."

This illustrates the individualism in agriculture which must be overcome, at least for the duration.

The Secretary of Agriculture has now a dual function as Food Administrator over the production and distribution of foodstuffs.

He should promptly bring about consolidation, for the duration, of inefficient farm units, and make pro-

cessors and distributors of farm products, particularly foodstuffs, agencies of the Government; first, to get more efficiency in distribution; second, to reduce prices to consumers.

Britain is doing substantially this, but here, the opposition of entrenched food trusts, and of some labor unions—which might be affected thereby—will be bitter; farmers who have been subsidized will not hesitate to bite the hand that feeds them, unless it feeds them enough out of the Federal Treasury.

Both in the White House and on the Hill American labor is in the doghouse. The basic reason is that American labor has no program to end unemployment, except war. When "labor" here and abroad gets a constructive program, wars will be over.

Congress is likely to pass legislation requiring the incorporation of labor unions, publicity of their accounts, and regular elections. Although legislation will be *introduced* to prohibit strikes, and make the work week 44 to 48 hours before overtime, such bills will not pass without difficulty.

FIRST REFORM YOURSELF

(Continued from page 21)

We must recognize in retrospect that every effort at extensive proselytizing has failed, that every appearance of a flourishing movement has been as delusional as Coolidge prosperity. If this is not obvious to some Georgeists it is because, in their steadfast and futile devotion, they refuse to recognize their incompetence to cope with the obstinate anomalies of human nature.

I have contributed nothing in this essay to an understanding of those anomalies, unless, of course, the reader is already quite familiar with the discoveries of psychoanalysis. I prefer to point out some insufficiencies of the Georgeist outlook, rather than describe some of the achievements of the psychoanalysts.

It is important to note here that not every psychoanalyist has made any direct and vital contribution to the democratization of education, welfare and freedom. Most practitioners enter the field of psychoanalysis by way of medicine, and their interest seldom transcends its special therapeutic utility.

It has remained for Dr. Theodore Schroeder, whom I previously quoted, and from whose researches I have based much of my criticism of Georgeist methods, to apply the discoveries of genetic psychology to social problems. From the nature of these discoveries Schroeder found it necessary to apply what might be termed the psycho-evolutionary perspective, whereby all human problems are seen as problems of our defective and tortuously evolving human nature. Both individual and social maturing are seen in this perspective. Schroeder would apply present knowledge to accelerate this maturing process. The importance of Schroeder to Georgeists becomes apparent when we remember that society is not yet mature enough for Georgeism, and *that,* briefly, is why it has met with so little acceptance.

It has been said that he who has reformed himself has done his share toward reforming the world. Each must do his share before he can do more than his share.

A BUILDER, A

By Pvt. Walter McC. Maitland

[Concluded from the November-December issue]

THE economic and social pathologies of today are too often viewed in relation to the existing political or class structure. Internal and foreign conflicts reflect the absence of a basis for understanding the principles of free spiritual and economic thinking. In a society where such understanding is lacking, the dominance of one class or one nation over another will make little difference in the course of human events.

Until an economic balance between classes and nations can be realized, war is inevitable, and only serves to aggravate the very problems it is meant to relieve. The outcome is a planned economy under governmental control,* with its inevitable restrictions on both free enterprise and the spiritual development of the individual. No man or group of men, no matter how intelligent, can prepare a blueprint or over-all plan to govern the economy of a free people. Such economic planners are no different in their outlook from the developers of private monopolies, and their world-wide cartels. One is planning for private gain and security, while the other furthers a scheme to abolish want and fear through government control.

Such a concept presupposes a rigidly regimented economy to which all nations must conform under the coercion of economic pacts, and the armed might of allied forces. It is hardly conceivable that the democratic cartel outlined in the Atlantic Charter will insure any better guarantee of world peace and security than did Wilson's Fourteen Points after the last war. To what extent can we expect nationally crazed people, acting under the impulse of patriotic motives, to recognize the two cardinal principles of economic freedom?

> That all men have equal rights to the use and enjoyment of the elements provided by nature.
>
> That all men have the exclusive right to what they produce by their own labor or its equivalent exchange value.

To what extent can we hope for spiritual freedom when the average person's constant thought is that of freedom from economic insecurity? In practically all discussions on post-war planning the means of preserv-

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*A distinction should be made here between city planners and social planners. The former are technicians usually hired by municipalities, or other divisions of government to develop an engineer's layout for the proper development of streets, parks, and other land or water surfaces. There are also many privately endowed agencies servicing communities with land-plans.

A social, or economic planner, in the sense I use it here, endears himself into a government position whereby the daily lives of people are blueprinted in all their activities. Such a scheme is envisioned in "The World Republic," reviewed elsewhere in this issue.—W. McC. M.

ing the fundamental rights of man—those rights outlined in the Declaration of Independence—have either been overlooked or misunderstood. The main emphasis has been to increase production and eliminate unemployment. This is impossible as long as the basis of a free economy is disregarded. Where wages are kept at a minimum during normal periods of development, production can never be stimulated sufficiently to relieve the pressure of unemployment. Our one-sided economy shows a distressing picture in the following facts:

Two-thirds of the families in the United States during 1936 earned less than $1,500, which amounted to hardly 33 per cent. of the aggregate family income throughout the country. These families have not sufficient earning capacity to meet their yearly obligations. This is three to four times the amount earned by 350,000 migrant farm families, who received little more than 20 cents a day.

During 1938, just previous to the Second World War, approximately 11,000,000 persons were unemployed and 2,700,000 persons were on relief. Unemployment such as this paved the way to revolution in Europe. It is this condition which brought Hitler into power and made war the remedy for unemployment.

Before the start of the war over one-third of the families were ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed. Public housing shelters one-half of one per cent. of the total need in this country. We slaughtered pigs and cattle, and plowed under crops, while one-third of the families throughout the United States were undernourished, and only one-fourth were sufficiently fed.

Due to unwarranted exploitation of land, the fertility of the soil has been dangerously depleted. Every year 3,000,000,000 tons of solid material have been washed out of the fields and pastures of America by water erosion.

Erosion in another sense, has also worked havoc in our cities. Approximately one-sixth to one-fifth of the urban area is blighted. From these obsolete areas, the government obtains only one-fourth the cost of serving them. Many cities, with unhealthy and uneconomic conditions have lost population. Decentralization and a declining birth-rate have decimated them.

Largely responsible for the shortcomings of America's capitalist economy was the erection, after the Civil War, of protective tariffs; these became so high that by 1929 little more than 20 per cent. of our imports consisted of finished manufactures. While benefiting special interest through higher prices, this protective policy has caused incredible discrepancy between prices and wages, curtailed competition, and forced down the margin of subsistence. The result was a world-wide paralysis of trade following the crash of 1929.

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

These conditions resulted from economic nationalism, the reason for World War I and now World War II. Are these the seeds of democracy we hope to sow upon the earth, that they may grow and bloom into yet a more terrible period of destruction?

To date, the war has completely cut off the continental European market. The export demand has been the reverse of that of World War I, which provided a tremendously increased foreign market. This time the belligerent nations prepared in advance to get along with a minimum of imported industrial and agricultural goods. To eliminate the need for outside buying, the warring nations have rationed products normally imported. Undoubtedly, after the present conflict, attempts to establish a favorable balance of trade between certain democratic countries on the one hand, and certain Axis powers on the other, will act as a check to freedom of the seas. Already, the preferential British tariff has given Empire countries an added advantage in British markets to the detriment of their competitors.

There is great danger of a new domestic isolationism developing, and a further curtailment of trade under the plea that the United States must produce everything at home in order to be prepared in time of war. The adoption of such a policy will only lead to the continuance of high tariff walls with an accompanying rise in prices to restrict foreign competition. Since tariffs are a form of indirect taxation on articles of general use, they bear heavily on the poor, whose consumption is largest in proportion to its means. By making the poor poorer and the rich richer, we face a condition of human slavery even worse than that which existed before the Civil War.

In 1929, at the peak of prosperity, the nation's productivity was operating at 70 per cent.; and in 1933 at 57 per cent. Such figures are not surprising in view of the recurring depressions, with their strikes and lockouts, the increasing numbers of unemployed and relief cases, the mounting national debt, and the growth of monopolies. In 1928, eight-tenths of the gainfully employed owned about 80 per cent. of the corporate shares of stock in the country, representing 94 per cent. of the value of our corporations. At the beginning of the present conflict, during 1939 and 1940, when the war industries were expanding, this situation was reflected in the unequal distribution of wealth, resulting from the fact that the principal aircraft, steel machinery, transportation, and textile corporations were realizing net profits ranging from 25 per cent. to over 200 per cent., while wage increases were restricted to less than 10 per cent.

Here lies the backbone of economic nationalism. Here, as in the case of protective tariffs and land monopolies, special interests benefit, while the low and middle income classes are exposed to suffering and impoverishment. This becomes the logical climax to World War I and II, the opening prelude to World War III.

In an upsurge of patriotism when one's country is attacked, men shoulder arms and march forward. They are the products of a technocratic world, taught to believe, to have faith, and wear the stamp of military efficiency. Little do they understand the principles for which they fight, or the consequence of their sacrifices. They are to be admired for their courage; yet pitied, too, for their faltering attempts to make adjustments to the changing conditions of their social and economic patterns of life. Can we expect these men, returning from the battlefront, to discard the faith they fought in defense of, and were willing to die for?

A NEW SENSE OF VALUES

If we believe in equal opportunities for all men, the right to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness, if we hold these truths to be self-evident, then our course of action must emanate from a keen awareness of their meaning and the possibilities of their attainment within the framework of government. The blind faith of the American public in the democratic process has obscured their vision; in the darkness of their ignorance, they have little to hope for and much to despair of. They fail to realize that the government of any nation is composed of a maze of political machinery concealing the economic groups which control it for their own interest, for wealth, and for power. The one, as Theodore Roosevelt described it, represents "the visible government," the other "the invisible government." Our idealism, no matter how fine, no matter how noble, is of little value unless it can be realized within this rigid framework. Whether our form of government survives the war makes little difference, if we are unable to solve our domestic problems in the interest of human welfare. Whole races may be annihilated, forms of government may change overnight, but the causes of war still remain. The issue, therefore, which every man, woman, and child must face today, is not embodied in the question of which government is worth preserving, but in the question of how can the idea of peace be made a reality. The answer to these questions rests with the people, and their recognition of the fact that government is only a means of legalizing the action of special groups which control it, and does not necessarily guarantee what in theory it represents.

As long as the "Invisible Government" operates without the full knowledge and consent of the governed, there is little else to believe in than the suicidal sacrifice of human life as a fitting climax to a shattered ideal of world peace and order. If there is to be any peace in the post-war period, it will arise from a new spiritual development and transformation of personality. It has been said that this is a people's war, a war with a purpose, a purpose to live like men with dignity and freedom. Yet, the spiritual and economic causes and effects of the present conflict only serve to bear out the tragic irony of this statement. Yes, this is a people's war, a war of sacrifice, a war in which the principles of a free economy have been violated. We can continue to talk about eliminating unemployment, stimulating production, and abolishing tariffs in order to increase the total wealth of the country, but the present maldistribution of wealth will last just as long as the bulk of the population is deprived of their natural rights. Spiritual enlightenment, alone, cannot change this situation, although it provides the only basis for right thinking and action.

The remedy lies in the possibility of a larger number of citizens participating in the administrative and planning functions of government. This will necessitate a decentralization of governmental activities to the fullest extent possible, in addition to developing smaller economic and social units, which have human scale, and in which people can find the opportunity and time for the simpler pleasures of life. Total taxes on land must be collected, indirect taxes abolished, and laws enforced against harmful monopolies. The development of cooperatives can also serve as an effective weapon in eliminating unfair profits, and furthering a more equal distribution of wealth. Until this is accomplished, in addition to promoting an understanding of true spiritual thought, production will never be expanded, nor unemployment eliminated, except by war. It is no easy task to get our rugged individualists to realistically face the obstacles to a free economy, when they have been raised under the doctrines of *laissez-faire* and unrestricted capitalism. The amelioration of the world, however, cannot be achieved overnight or in moments of crisis, but through constant effort and sacrifice in promoting the principles of right thought and action.

During the period of post-war reconstruction, political and economic reforms cannot be expected to establish the basis for peace and security as long as our process of thinking is dominated by thoughts of violence, power politics, and isolationism; as long as our social structure, our organizations, and institutions are so large and highly centralized as to be incapable of moral and spiritual life.

The attainment of a system of free enterprise, under existing political institutions, will require a complete reversal of thinking. The peace and security which is every man's right, can come only from a growing consciousness of the meaning of free spiritual and economic thought. Our hope for a better world lies with those capable of understanding this approach, with the simpler peoples, who have centuries to live before their minds are ripe for despair. Yes, they are the people, the people without fear and want, the people who feel they are the meaning of what is to happen, the builders of a new world, a new culture worthy of life.

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No man shall have proprietary rights over land who does not use that land wisely and lovingly. It seems to me that the earth may be borrowed, but not bought. It may be used, but not owned. It gives itself in response to love and tendering, offers its seasonal flowering and fruiting.

But we are tenants and not possessors, lovers and not masters.

MARJORIE KINNAN RAWLINGS
in "Cross Creek."

ELY CULBERTSON'S POST-WAR PLAN

By Robert McMillan

[Preventive policing is usually more successful than riot squads called in to handle perpetual mob hysteria. Many readers of this journal will look with horror upon our nation or any group of nations engaging in policing the world after the war is won. Many, no doubt, are sincere pacifists and some even "isolationists." I present herewith the Culbertson Plan because Ely Culbertson, himself, has won acclaim for something far more important than that upon which he built a fortune—a system of playing cards. Culbertson has studied at six universities, he has been involved in revolutions, he has traveled extensively, and knows the field of mass psychology. He has read deeply and widely in philosophy, history, and economics —including George. Burton Rascoe called his autobiography *The Strange Lives of One Man*, "the story of a man who not only wants to make peace with God but with man and with himself."

The complete 92-page booklet of the Culbertson Plan can be obtained by sending 25 cents to Free Market Institute, 90 Beacon Street, Boston.—R. McM.

THERE is no end to the making of peace proposals these days, but the plan evolved by Ely Culbertson merits more than average attention. Realizing the world cannot wait until a particular ideology—political, economic, or religious—triumphs over all others, he has built a house of peace, leaving to its individual members the freedom for making future political and economic adjustments. Emphasizing the necessity of having a plan ready in the event of a sudden collapse of the Axis, he warns that in such a circumstance we would be less prepared for peace than we were for war.

Culbertson asserts that there are scores of indirect causes of wars, but the direct cause of all wars of aggression arises from purely psychological mechanism, and that in every nation, whether Fascist, Communist or Democratic, there exists a war party which will lead its country into a war of attack as long as effective weapons are obtainable. His plan includes the prohibition to all nations of such decisive weapons.

Culbertson says, "It is not enough to defeat the war lords. In order to prevent the ultimate destruction of all free civilization, the war idea must be put into a strait-jacket by creating a peace-machine more powerful than a war-machine.

"Can such a peace-machine be built? Can the devastating forces of nationalism be neutralized?" Culbertson's answer is convincingly "Yes. The industrial revolution has created new conditions," he says, "which make lasting peace possible immediately after victory," for these reasons:

1. All nations, except the five large industrial nations, are comparatively disarmed, and after the war the munitions monopoly will be controlled by the United States, Great Britain and Russia. All decisive weapons can easily be transferred, therefore, to a world cooperative of all nations.

2. The United States will emerge from this war as the greatest military power of all time, and it can do what no other nation could ever before do, "declare lasting peace on the World."

The Plan includes a technique for collective security, world government and world economy as well as the creation of a World Police Force, avoiding the risk of creating ultimate military tyranny, by a system of Quotas. A new system of Regional Federations aids in creating a world government strong enough to maintain order, and yet not interfere with the sovereignty and freedom of nations. The economic structure of Regional Federations provides opportunity for the backward nations to rise.

The author advocates proclaiming now to the enemy nations just conditions of peace—guaranteeing that they will not be changed after the war. He proposes to establish world-wide educational, scientific, and economic institutions to develop international cooperation in economic activity, including world free trade.

Eleven Regional Federations

The World Federation would comprise eleven regional Units, which would embrace the seventy odd sovereign nations. Each Region would form a natural economic, psycho-social and geopolitical unit containing a balance between agriculture, industry and available raw materials. Each Regional Unit or Federation would be held together by a government of elected representatives from its several States. The World Federation, whose duty is the maintenance of peace, would in turn, be operated by a body elected by the eleven Regions. This method would reduce the number of nations to workable units without diminishing the rights of each State. He designates the eleven sovereign States in the Federation as: American, British, Latin, Germanic, Middle European, Middle Eastern, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Malaysian and Indian.

Mr. Culbertson says:

"To start the World Federation it is necessary for only two or more Regional Federations to become members. Germany, Italy and Japan are required to join as one of the conditions of peace. For other States, there shall be no coercion, but neither shall they share in the privileges of membership. If organized at once, the Federation would not only be helpful in winning and shortening the war, but is a ready-made means for compelling the Axis to be good neighbors, for they would have no choice but to join and subscribe to its constitution.

Quota Force of Police

"Without an International Police Force there can be no guarantee of peace; but the creation of such a Force

is envisioned along more realistic lines than proposed heretofore. The United States, Britain or Russia would never consent to disarmament, and place their destiny in the hands of a body composed largely of foreigners and perhaps enemies."

The fear that an International Police Force would evolve into a military oligarchy to enslave the world, was responsible for the failure of the League of Nations, but Mr. Culbertson has presented a solution in a new system of composition and distribution of the armed forces based on decisive weapons, in what he calls the Quota Force.

"Under this plan the World Federation Government would have a monopoly of the manufacture of heavy weapons, and would permit only its own World Police to have them in their possession. A fixed quota of men recruited from each of the eleven States, and a Mobile Corps made up of units from member States, would comprise all the armed forces in the world. When not otherwise needed, each contingent of the World Police would be stationed in its country of origin, whereas the Mobile Corps would be stationed on strategically located islands. Each national contingent of police, although maintained by the World Federation Government, remains a national armed force in the Country of origin, while the Mobile Corps would be under the direct training and command of the World Federation, and would act as the shock troops of the World Police. In case of attempted aggression, the latter troops would be the first to be used, and the National contingents called on only if necessary. In no case would a National Unit be required to participate in military operations against its country of origin.

"The right of revolution is preserved by a provision which prohibits the World Police from interfering in the internal affairs of any State. Each National army serves a double purpose, for it acts as assurance against its own country in which it is stationed, as well as a force available to the World Federation to attack aggressors. The National forces do not belong to their own countries but are lend-leased to the World Federation as a guarantee against tyranny of the Federal Government. It is psychologically certain that the National Army of the United States would never turn against its mother country in support of a tyrannical World Federation, but would turn against any other country which attempted aggression. It is note-worthy that through the quota system, defense against aggression is placed in the hands of the weaker nations, which collectively become the greatest military power."

Mr. Culbertson declares that it is not possible to conceive any combination of nations which would conduct a war of aggression without being decisively outnumbered.

Under the Culbertson Plan with the Quota Force in operation, the Axis countries, being members of the Federation, would organize their own "army of occupation" composed, not of foreigners, but of their countrymen. The adoption of the Plan at once would make it possible to establish National Quota armies and a World Police Force within a year of the termination of hostilities, thus obviously minimizing the cost to each nation of military security. The author believes that this saving alone would be so great as to mark the beginning of a new civilization of a higher order.

The careful study of the Culbertson Plan will help all to understand and evaluate the difficulties underlying and hindering the establishment of peace.

A NOTE ON BURMA

EVENTS are moving fast now, like a high wind. And like this wind they have overthrown things that cannot be restored to their original state. Little-known Burma is undergoing a drastic change, which is of significant importance to Georgeists.

The *New Republic* notes that the Japanese occupation of Burma is of an essentially different nature from other conquests, but while it estimates the political situation correctly, it undervalues the economic state of affairs that we know to be of greater import. General Wavell has undertaken a re-conquest of part of Burma, and being our ally we hope he is successful. Many factors, however, are present that make his attempt uncertain beyond a purely local area.

The Burmese natives have been long dispossessed of their land, and exploited by British and Indian capital on huge plantations. When the Japanese forced the British to withdraw, the news accounts spoke of the Burmese apathy, and even of Burmese attacks on the British and Indians. The resentment of the landless and disinherited natives was apparent.

The Japanese determined to allow Burma a semi-independent government, putting the previously imprisoned U-Saw at its head, and encouraging the formation of a Burmese army as an ally. Although the Japanese are primarily interested in India, and use Burma as a pawn, still the strategy seems to be fairly successful. More important, however, from our point of view, is that the Japanese have broken up the large plantations and allowed the natives to take possession of the land. Here we have a major stroke.

Given their birthright, the opportunity for labor to work on land with the prospect of keeping its wages for its own use, a bond of friendship is being forged between Burmese peasant and Japan. It matters not our suspecting, with reason, that Japan may later repudiate these acts, and go back to the old imperialistic enslavement. At present, the Burmese have more reason to be grateful to our enemy, and will look with alarm at a British effort to re-take the land. It is likely that Burma will actively oppose the United Nations. To date General Wavell's Indian army has taken back only a small portion of territory, one mainly inhabited by Indians and unfortified. It remains to be seen whether this army encounters serious opposition from men who feel they are free again.—A. B.

BOOKS . . . . . Alexander Boardman

WOULD TAX THE POOR

"The Impact of Federal Taxes," by Roswell Magill. Columbia University Press, New York, 1942. Cloth bound, 218 pp, $3.

Professor Magill is a former Under-Secretary of the Treasury, a voluminous writer on tax matters and, at present, an instructor at Columbia Law School. Herein he shows that in recent years the federal income from taxes was far behind its expenditures, while the national debt has risen to incomparable figures. Our tax receipts for 1935 were $7 billions; for 1942, $13⅔ billions, and for 1943 are estimated at $26 billions. Expenditures were $1 billion in 1914; $5 billion in 1924; $9 billion in 1939; $32½ billion in 1942, and an estimated $80 billion in 1943.

Of the money collected by the federal government in taxes, the amount obtained from taxes designed to measure capacity to pay—like income, estate, and gift—has risen steadily in proportion, and in 1942 was 73 per cent of the total. While Magill likes a pay-as-you-go plan, he sees difficulty in ever making receipts equal expenditures. He hazards a peace-time budget of $20 billions, and estimates it could be secured from the following:

Individual income taxes....	$ 8.0	billions
Corporation income taxes...	4.0	"
Estate and gift taxes.....	1.0	"
Liquor taxes	1.5	"
Tobacco taxes	1.0	"
Miscellaneous excise taxes..	1.5	"
General sales taxes.....	2.0	"
	$20.0	"
Plus Social Security tax.	$1.2-$2.4	"

After a critical examination of present taxes and tax philosophy, the sum of his proposals are refinements in both. He decries the differences in state laws and interpretations, which prevent federal levies from falling equitably on all taxpayers. Many involved cases are cited to show the need for a restatement of fundamental taxing policies.

Professor Magill's concrete proposals are a greater extension of sales taxes, the inclusion of more persons in the lower income brackets for income taxes, the deletion of excess-profits taxes, and a lessening of large surtaxes.

Nowhere does the author touch on the fundamental problem—the taxing of land values as the source of federal income. While he recognizes the brake on production of corporation, excise, and sales taxes, he goes no further into the matter. The book is a handy argument on the inadequacy of the present tax system, its injustices, and its futility. The better minds among our tax framers apparently move in conventional grooves only.

ALEXANDER BOARDMAN.

* * *

BENEVOLENCE ON PAPER

"The World Republic," by Alvin Edward Moore, Pinemoor, Route 1, Vienna, Virginia. 1942. 144 pp.

Alvin Edward Moore desires a world-wide federation based upon a representative government "with a strong constitution, strong army, navy and air force, and strong guarantees of the peaceful competition of men in the improvement of life." Mr. Moore's thesis on war is as follows:

"If an intelligent, industrious, civilized people find themselves in danger of extinction they often do not have to become convinced consciously that their plight is the result of injustice or unfair competition on the part of some other people. . . . If another people have the raw materials that they are convinced they must have to live, and they are denied access to those materials by that other people, by embargo and/or high tariffs and/or bars against immigration, they subconsciously feel that they are subjected to an injustice by the other people; and if they are strong and resolute they war with the other people for the drastically needed resources. The have-nots fight the haves, if the haves try to bar the have-nots from equal opportunity to acquire materials necessary for life. All history teaches this lesson."

While the author does not describe the system of internal taxation in all nations which penalizes production, aids privilege, and renders the masses an easy prey to warmongers and propaganda, he seems to have some inkling of its force, as we shall see later.

In his disquisitions on the form of government to prevail in the world republic, and the means by which "the peaceful competition of men in the improvement of life" is to be secured, Mr. Moore treads on shaky ground. It is too much to expect, for instance, that a representative republican form of government would be practical for peoples in widely varying stages of political and economic development.

The faults and inefficiencies of monopolies are clearly set forth, but the remedies proposed show a failure to grasp their cause.

Site value taxers will naturally be interested in the tax structure of the World Republic.

"To prevent the withholding of commonly known natural and public resources from the efficient use of mankind the owner or user of every part of such resources (of land, water, means of transport over public highways, over water or through the air, fisheries, mines that have been known to exist for a certain length of time, and so forth) should be taxed an amount based on the potential value of the said part of the natural resources. These taxes should be laid so that the average person or group would be able to pay them and still be able to make a fairly good living in developing or utilizing the concerned area of the natural environment. All superior individuals and superiorly managed groups thus would be able to make a better than average living in utilizing the said area; while inferior individuals or poorly managed groups or speculators, who seek to hold the area, without work on it, for future profit due to development of its neighborhood, would be discouraged from continuing control of the area. The latent capacity of the area to be of service to humanity and thus to yield income to its holder or holders thus would be taxed—and not any superior ability that a person or group might exercise in developing or utilizing the area."

This seems a rather roundabout and obscure method of expressing the idea of collecting economic rent.

Like so many so-called "liberals," the author of this book seeks to secure human liberty by delivering an increasing amount of power into the hands of government, which shall maintain free competition by rigidly and arbitrarily controlling business, capital investment, money and credit, and even individual spending! That such a government would soon become a dictatorship, and then a tyranny, does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Moore, who indeed only imitates other socialist reformers, believing that an all-powerful government can manufacture freedom. One regrets that such writers are determined to make a complicated and intricate blueprint for society's welfare. The fundamental fallacy of this idea is, as Henry George has pointed out, a belief that production by fiat is better obtained than by free interchange.

MORRIS K. HAND.

MR. WALLIS AGAIN EXAMINES THE BIBLE

"The Bible Is Human," Louis Wallis. Columbia University Press, New York, 1942. 303 pp. $2.50.

Here's a viewpoint which is quite different in many respects from that expressed in the pulpit of most evangelical denominations.

Mr. Wallis contends "that the real nature of Bible history has been obscured by dogmas of synagogue and church alike, as well as by a new conventionalism of critical scholarship; and that the secular experience of Israel in the land of Canaan furnishes the foreground not only for democracy, but for the social gospel also.

In any study of history, says Mr. Wallis, all nations should be examined in the same objective spirit. Therefore Hebrew history should not be denied its proper place.

Unfortunately, Hebrew history is bound up with our inherited ideas about God and morality. For most of us, these ideas are predetermined by conventional ideologies and dogma.

Mr. Wallis says a general or popular impression exists that when the Hebrew nation emerged from the wilderness into Canaan, they exterminated all the previous inhabitants, and divided the country among the Twelve Tribes.

But in Judges, we discover, a great many Canaanites were not killed, but remained to live and intermarry with the Israelites. Thus, Israel arose exactly the same as all other nations evolved, namely through a coalescence between two or more parent races; there are no pure nations anywhere in the world.

Mr. Wallis skillfully traces man's progress through the prehistoric ages on through the pre-Hebrew period—developing the economic point that the most important features of progress were when man began to accumulate a surplus, banishing the hand-to-mouth existence of the stone age.

Life developed from groups to communities or cities. These cities became separate city-states, walled in and fortified. Canaan had six large walled cities before the Israelites came.

Mr. Wallis' detail on the manner in which the scrolls and writings of the Old Testament were kept, is voluminous and historically valuable.

The scrolls were held by different families for long periods of time. If a descendant disagreed with any part of the narrations he did not destroy them, but merely prefixed his account of the story. Later, when the scrolls were compiled by other scribes, or came into a new owner's hand, the added matter was often entered into the text.

After a time the scrolls were brought together in a single collection and edited. They were generally accepted by religious authorities. Later generations accepting this, no further changes were allowed. Whereupon began the process of interpolation, which has continued in some form, orthodox or critical, up to our time.

After a lifetime of research and critical analysis, Mr. Wallis takes issue with a great many of these accepted interpretations. Many hundreds of years have often elapsed between events and compilations. And a great many times the scribers' "interpretations" of history were made as the former thought it should have been, not as facts actually were.

By the time Jewish thought arrived at the New Testament period, the sense of man's immortality had become widespread. This helped pave the way for the Christian era.

Mr. Wallis in "The Bible Is Human," has added his bit to the roll of modern writers who have been secularizing the Bible. Fables and parables have disturbed many a scientist; religion, on the other hand, has strengthened the hand of many. This book, part history, part analysis, brings new food for thought to that book which has had the record for most consistent high sales.

HERBERT KNOWLES

* * *

ECONOMICS IN 10 EASY LESSONS

"Economics Simplified," by E. E. Bowen, M.D., and George L. Rusby. Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, New York, 1942. 286 pp. 50c.

A great many business men have been just as puzzled and disturbed by the causes of poverty and the recurrences of war as the sociologist and economist. Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" offers a solution, but its reading time is prohibitive to many. Furthermore, much that George defended in his time has now become fundamentally accepted.

"Economics Simplified" follows the logic of "Progress and Poverty," except that George's controversial justification for interest and his theory of the causes of interest are absent. The authors also permit the student-reader to draw his own conclusions of what a free society contains, without going into a fulsome description such as George did.

The authors have waived royalty rights, so that the book is available at a cost to permit wider distribution. Its price and comparative brevity make the book a blessing to college students.

Having used "Progress and Poverty" in 10 consecutive classes, I have increasingly admired George's unswerving devotion to truth, and his rare vigor and beauty of expression. But one must accept the mobility of man's life today. He is hurrying to catch a morsel of this knowledge and of that. An insistence that he read a 565-page book does not always attract him. The date of the book frequently is the deciding factor as to whether he will read it or not. 1879 does not seem as practicable to him as something in this decade.

As a teacher in the Henry George School at Boston, I would list the following definite advantages in the Bowen-Rusby treatise:

Brevity, simplicity, and drawings. I can give my class a reading assignment of 20 pages, and be sure the book is read. In the former "Progress and Poverty" classes I seldom ventured to ask how many had actually read the allotted chapters.

Such subjects as the confusing definitions on capital by various economists, the cause and justice of interest, and Malthus, are treated by Dr. Bowen in a total of 13 pages. George required 90.

Diagrams are being increasingly used in the classroom, and many of the teachers in the Henry George Schools draw their own on the blackboard, or on a canvas. Bowen's diagrams in her book can be studied at home by the student.

But perhaps, most important of all, is the fact that "Economics Simplified" employs modern documentation of events. Much class time can be wasted when students attempt to argue with the teacher, or with other students on the standard of wages today, and that of George's time—knowing little about the changes in the rent structure during that 60 odd years.

As an introductory text, I commend "Economics Simplified" as a splendid vehicle for teaching the philosophy of Henry George. Lawson Purdy, former president of the Department of Taxes and Assessments of the City of New York, has written a fitting introduction for the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, the publishers.

I frequently read selections from "Progress and Poverty" to my class, however, so that the full strength of George's righteousness is appreciated; The Problem, the description of man's ever-expanding and unlimited desires, the striking history of the Savannah development, and the inspired Ode to Liberty should all be brought to a student's attention.

S. WARREN STURGIS.

AN IMPORTANT DOCUMENT

"The Relation of Tax Delinquency in Slum Areas to the Housing Problem," by the Citizens' Housing Council of New York, Inc., 470 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Paper, 35 pp., 50c.

The Council, a non-partisan, non-profit organization, undertook a study of a blighted lower East Side area of New York City (around the Williamsburgh Bridge) to determine the causes of the blight, its effects, and its elimination. The result is a painstaking but easily readable work that furnishes a basis for civic action here and elsewhere. The material lends itself admirably to treatment by Site Value Taxers.

The area studied consists of 25 blocks on which are vacant lots, boarded-up buildings, and old-law tenements. Despite the great potential economic advantages of the site, with its East River frontage, Williamsburgh Bridge outlet, and centralized locality in New York City, it has been one of the worst slums and eyesores for decades. The tenements were erected in solid blocks by land speculators in the 80's to house the influx of immigrants. On the average, the buildings are four to six stories high, with 14 rooms on each floor. Only the front two and rear two rooms of each floor have light and air. The other ten rooms have makeshift skylight shafts, or none at all. The toilet facilities, originally in the yard, are now in the hallways; there is no central heating, and, originally, no fire escapes. In short, the buildings today are worse than sub-standard.

Despite the low rents, the occupied buildings are more than half vacant. Both the owners and the city are losing income. Even with greatly reduced assessments, one-third of the properties are tax delinquent. Out of 587 taxable properties in the area, 166 (or 28.3 per cent) have become almost complete losses, being vacant lots (which once held buildings that have been razed because of unproductiveness), unused buildings, or buildings vacant except for a small shop or two on the street floor. Though several thousand people still live in the area, no one who can possibly help himself will do so.

Yet the slum stands, and the Council finds it will continue to stand if the city does not rise above its feeble policies. While the amount in tax delinquencies outstanding for 1940 exceeded the total tax levy for that year on all properties in the area, the city did not foreclose because it feared engaging in real estate and having no buyers. The owners, in the main, will not pay taxes (or pay only token installments), and will not make improvements, believing it is throwing good money after bad.

As a result of its survey, the Council recommends that the city, already having the power, use a vigorous policy of foreclosure. The area can then be laid out wisely into parks, playgrounds, public facilities, and housing developments.

Economists of the Site Value school may like to see a more fundamental solution of the problem but we must credit this civic organization with a straightforward view under the present limitations of public policy. Here is an illustration of the harmfulness of taxing men's work and not taking into the public treasury all of the rent of land. If only the land sites were taxed properly, the owners of these indecent houses would raze them at once and fresh capital would build modern structures. The latter would be untaxed, and the more money put into them the greater the resultant income and benefit to the community. Here, advantageous location, streets, sewers, police and fire services exist, yet a festering sore drives away population to outlying sections, where new transportation, new sewers, and new streets must be built. Where we could have economical city expenditures, the existence of such slums burdens the city and its inhabitants.—A. B.

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IN SEARCH OF MAN'S WANTS

"Urban Planning and Public Opinion," by Melville C. Branch, Jr. The Bureau of Urban Research, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1942. 87 pp. Paper. 50 cents.

Social theorists dearly love to believe that their views reflect the "true," if vague, desires of the people. The scientifically conducted public poll is often the nemesis of these fond self-delusionists, and, like most nemeses, much maligned.

The cause of urban planning enjoys considerable popularity among many groups trained to think in social terms. What sort of raw material exists in the present public attitude toward urban problems? The Bureau of Urban Research at Princeton University has prepared an intelligent and informative answer in this publication, which incorporates the results of a poll conducted by the Bureau. The attitudes, preferences, and criticisms of a representative group of urban dwellers in regard to city living conditions are tabulated clearly and graphically.

Those who believe that a change in the present economic system is urgently required join hands with urban planners insofar as they deplore the unnatural and unwholesome development of the modern metropolis. Readers in both groups will therefore probably be startled to find that, according to the poll, the vast majority of city dwellers regard their living conditions with relative satisfaction; such satisfaction being almost as prevalent among the poor as among the wealthy. Man's desires are unlimited perhaps, but man remains very strongly a creature of habit.

HELEN BERNSTEIN

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A FAULTY PREMISE

"Social Insurance and Allied Services," by Sir William Beveridge. Macmillan Co., New York, 1942. 300 pp., paper, $1.00.

The much-mentioned Beveridge Report is now available in the full text. The British Government commissioned Sir William in June, 1941, to survey the existing field of British social insurance and allied services, to write a critique of them, and to make recommendations. His committee completed this monumental task in a year and a half.

The first conclusion showed that British social insurance compared favorably, in fact, was better than that of most nations. But the insurance was too costly, yielded too little in benefits, and was not available or used by large elements of the population, including those who needed it most. It was finally decided there was so much variation in types that a patch-up job was hopeless, and only a new system was feasible. The proposed new system occupies the body of the report.

The scheme has made every effort to provide a subsistence minimum at all times for every person, as his right. It is flexible enough to permit revision as to classes, rates, benefits, and grants. It would eliminate most private insurance, but allow voluntary private insurance, in addition to the compulsory insurance, where desired by the individual.

In Sir William's own words, "it is an attack upon Want. But Want is only one of five giants on the road of reconstruction, and in some ways the easiest to attack. The others are Disease, Ignorance, Squalor, and Idleness." Yet nowhere does he attack the *heart* of the giants—monopoly rights, especially the private collection of rent, which is so glaringly evident in Britain. Beveridge proposes that his people lift themselves by their bootstraps; his is a humanitarian effort, rather than an economic understanding. It is simply a great insurance plan, less wasteful than present methods, but necessarily extending the field of government.—A. B.

ORGANIZATIONS ENLISTED FOR FREEDOM

HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

New York Headquarters

By MARGARET BATEMAN, *Director*

The School, after many years of direct mail promotion, has branched into radio advertising. Appearing in spot announcements on WQXR, which most New Yorkers think of as a local station, (known for its excellent classical musical programs) requests have come to the School from as far away as Virginia, western Ohio, and Texas!

In a strategically located section of Brooklyn, at Broadway below Ralph Avenue, is a huge colored sign, which has attracted a great deal of attention. Whether one is riding on the "el" or on the surface trolleys, as he passes a large handsome bank building, he sees through the long windows this inscription:

LEARN WHY YOU PAY TAXES ON EVERYTHING BUT THE AIR YOU BREATHE

The remainder of the sign directs the viewer to the Henry George School. The sign has aroused interesting comment—and drawn many students.

Besides the regular supply of mailing matter that is continually leaving the office, 15,000 Presbyterian clergymen are receiving literature this month that is specially directed to them.

The School, faced with the manpower loss felt by other organizations, has enjoyed a hopeful rise of registrations, several interesting speeches in the auditorium, and the creation of several classes in localities outside the building.

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AMERICAN ALLIANCE TO ADVANCE FREEDOM

By SIDNEY ABELSON, *Chairman*

One of the current activities which is having popular and productive results is writing analyses of speeches and articles relative to the coming peace. The proposals, coming from "authoritative" quarters, seem vague in objective, and indefinite in method. Those who have the "ear" of the press seem to be vying with each other in a game of coining high-sounding phrases. We think it is the responsibility of Single Taxers to take these misleading proposals apart. Thus, each week, members bring into the meeting a clipping of such proposals, and a written commentary on it.

Members of the AAAF are attending a series of lectures at Columbia University entitled "Winning the Peace." Future issues of LAND AND FREEDOM will have reviews on lectures attended and books read.

The war has cut deeply into our manpower resources. Among the recent departures are two members of the Executive Board, Elbert E. Josefson and Max Flechner, both indefatigible workers.

Due in large measure to the decreased personnel caused by the war, it was found advisable to relinquish the quarters at 160 Fifth Avenue.

Correspondence should be addressed to Miss Sara Wald, 47 East 17th Street, New York.

Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

By V. G. PETERSON, *Executive Secretary*

Most of LAND AND FREEDOM's readers received the Foundation's Christmas circular with the suggestion that they fill their gift list with books by and about Henry George, and a great many—I am sure all those who could—responded promptly and enthusiastically. Thank you for this cooperation. When the final tally is taken, I think we shall find we sold about a thousand books between the 15th of December and the 10th of January. Besides books, we distributed a couple of thousand pamphlets, and 900 Henry George wall calendars.

Since mid September the Foundation has been advertising "Progress and Poverty" in financial papers, such as *The Wall Street Journal, Barron's* (a weekly) and *The Journal of Commerce*. Each advertisement costs about a hundred dollars, and the average return in sales of "Progress and Poverty" is 80 books. The money for this advertising is being contributed by friends who recognize it as a valuable way to attract business men to an examination of what constitutes a free society.

COLLEGE WORK PROGRESSING

I have told you in previous reports about the people (including myself) who have worked in various parts of the country to stimulate the study of Henry George in college classrooms. War work has claimed the services of our last representative, Mr. Leonard Nitz. We have no one on the road at this moment. However, the work is being carried on from the office, and the activities of the past year have produced some encouraging results in the last few weeks. Fifteen professors have had us send them "Progress and Poverty" for use as reference in the term commencing at the end of January, and have said that it is their intention to place greater emphasis on George's analyses. One college sent for a quantity of our pamphlet, "The Crime of Poverty," for distribution among students. A Catholic college asked for copies of "The Revival of Georgeism," an article which appeared last year in *The Catholic World*. They will use these in their course on Distributive Justice, which has a section devoted to George. A college in Idaho purchased a quantity of "Progress and Poverty" and will give a full course with this text.

COLLEGE ESSAY CONTEST

Our plan to conduct an essay contest in colleges and universities has attracted the attention of several people, who have sent in contributions towards the first year's prizes. Plans can now be formulated for this contest, and an announcement concerning it will soon be published.

The Foundation is collecting statements about Henry George made by prominent people. We have put to good use the statements gathered during the 1930's, but many of the authors of those statements have since died. We are anxious to have opinions and expressions from people active today, and invite your assistance. Please watch your newspapers and magazines, and tell us when any reference is made to Henry George or his books. When enough material has been gathered, an attractive pamphlet will be published. All those who have sent in material for the pamphlet will receive half a dozen copies free.

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FREE MARKET INSTITUTE, INC.

By HERBERT GOOD, *Chairman of the Board*

With a heritage of eight years as a school of economics and social philosophy, this organization has been gradually widening its scope. It is giving courses in Basic English in cooperation with the Massachusetts Board of Education, and is under authorization to offer classes in the Culbertson Peace Plan in any vicinity.

The Institute offers membership na-

tionally to those interested in its beliefs, who wish to participate in its forums, research projects, etc. It is committed to a policy of drawing together that great mass of people who decry the formation of Congressional blocks supported by vested interests to the exclusion of those interests desired by a world's peoples.

"The Value of Labor Unions," "International Police Force," "Silver Blocs," "Manpower Mobilization," "Efficiency of Monopolies," "Educating for Freedom," were some of subjects discussed by the Free Market Institute. Invited speakers and members of the organization participated on the Fall program, a public service series for winning the war and securing the peace.

Of equal importance was the drawing of two petitions. It was felt that the Justice Department was hampered in its prosecution of monopolies. The petition asked that the Attorney General be given the go-ahead signal in its work. The second petition asked the support of Massachusetts' Congressmen to the President's request for war time power to suspend immigration laws and tariff barriers that were hampering war requirements.

Membership in Free Market Institute carries a subscription to LAND AND FREEDOM. The Institute in the past two weeks has turned in 60 subscriptions to the journal.

Two Significant Letters

Editors, LAND AND FREEDOM:

In glancing through Theodore Roosevelt's *The Great Adventure,* it was a welcome surprise to read what our nation should do to better all conditions after the first World War. ". . . Our governmental authorities would do well to see whether it is not possible to put a tax on unused land."

Would it not be of great added interest to learn whether any other awareness of the principles of land value taxation is found throughout the speeches and writings of Roosevelt the First? It is one thing to make a passing allusion to it in a long list of desirable or necessary post-war moves for our nation at a time when, judging by statements in the same book's preface, he was in open and virulent antagonism to Mr. Wilson, and quite another to have failed to bring the question up during his own years of power, prestige and popularity.

Given Mr. Roosevelt's friendly intimacy with Lincoln Steffens, it would seem that he must have had many opportunities to become convinced of the vital importance of this basic reform. Did he only wait to bring it forward as a counsel of perfection for a successor, hard-pressed President?

Truly yours,

EMILY E. F. SKEEL.

Tucson, Arizona.

Editors, LAND AND FREEDOM:

Your stock taking is a good idea. All Henry George papers make me gnash my teeth at times. They are published at such a sacrifice of time, hard work, and scanty funds. They contain so much valuable information, and they are too frequently read by people who are heart and soul in the movement, anyway.

We are all too fond of arguing fine points with each other, and settling details which will settle themselves when the main reform is achieved. Most of our reading matter is ammunition for these arguments, most of the remainder is too long drawn out, and involved for the uninitiated reader to bother with it.

We are full of ideas, we lack the ability to state our ideas simply and clearly so that he who runs may read.

Could you put your writers through the course of training prescribed by the old author for his students? (1) Write an essay on one subject. (2) Condense the thought into a paragraph, keeping all essentials. (3) Condense the paragraph into one sentence, which will state the thought clearing. (4) Choose one word which will best suggest the idea.

If you could persuade the staff of writers to practice that for a year, your list of subscribers might increase rapidly among the section of the general public which buys the *Readers' Digest.* Incidentally, your own Comment and Reflection is one of the most readable and concise portions of the paper.

I would also like to see far more news of our movement in proportion to the long "thoughtful" articles; news of actual gains or losses interestingly but briefly told, regular information as to the progress of H. J. Res. 338 and Jerry Voorhis; news of the enclaves and colonies like Fairhope—whether any tangible advantages come to their residents or not; news of the number of men elected to the British Parliament who favor land value taxation; ditto in Congress or in any country; news as to which countries, states or provinces tax land and improvements—separately, and which take advantage of this to free improvements from heavy taxation; news of any local attempts anywhere to collect ground rent, and any good results therefrom, such as better kept homes than those enjoyed by neighboring towns.

These should all be eyewitness reportings, not rehashed, quoted from speech to speech, or article to article. They should be brief and concrete, not abstract and statistical. One brief paragraph describing a town of well kept, unmortgaged homes makes more impression

(*Continued on page* 34)

THE MINISTER FROM NEW ZEALAND

(*Continued from page* 19)

may I again emphasize this fundamental principle that if service rendered is to be accepted as the only morally just title to benefits received then the unimproved value of all land (that is, excluding the value of improvements affected by the owner himself) rightfully belongs to the community which rendered the services that gave any particular piece of land the value it possesses."

A lively discussion followed His Excellency's talk, when Chairman Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City,* announced open house. Mr. Earl B. Schwulst, Vice-President of the Bowery Savings Bank, saw great merit in New Zealand's methods, and cited a present case where a good apartment house on Park Avenue struggles painfully through its maze of taxes, for which a site value taxation would be a healthy reprieve. Mr. Lawson Purdy, president of both the Robert Schalkenbach and Russell Sage Foundations, and former president of the Department of Taxes and Assessments, described the results in Scranton and Pittsburgh, where site value taxation is employed in a measure.

When a woman in the audience inquired what the owner of a vacant lot should do if it were next to an occupied flourishing building, and he must pay an equal tax where there is no income, Mr. Nash blandly replied, "Sell it, of course. He has no business owning it!"

An ethnic note was introduced when Mr. William Jay Schieffin, long active in land value tax affairs, asked whether the Maoris, the Aborigines of New Zealand, were accorded equal rights with the whites. His Excellency said, "Of course!" and waxed eloquent in their praise. He said these people were a living proof that there is no such thing as a superior or inferior race. A Maori has been Prime Minister, several were ministers, others were members of Parliament, and there were internationally known men of science in the race.

As we said in the beginning the New Year took a handsome step forward. We saw a direct result of Henry George's work, perhaps coming from his visit Down Under so many years ago. We feel heartened for the next step; we are getting somewhere!

OUR "PRIVATE OPINION" SURVEY

The questionnaires we mailed out last December gave us far more revealing information and help than had been anticipated. When the questions were framed, the uppermost thought in our minds were: How do our readers feel about our contents? The special footnotes and letters you took the trouble to write in addition to answering the questionnaire, indicated that some of you have strong convictions on how LAND AND FREEDOM can be a more effective journal.

The overwhelming vote which you gave to Jackson Ralston's article "Why the Single Tax Was Opposed in California" indicates that you are thinking in terms of correcting action to follow right thought. No, the readers of LAND AND FREEDOM are not dilettantes. You want action, aggressive action, but Judge Ralston cautioned careful thought on how not to take action.

And what did Mr. J. J. Owen's article—receiving second place in the votes—indicate of its popularity? Perhaps we shall have to make some guesses here. But could not the following point to your reasons? Mr. Owen is a good reporter. He is close to his facts, and marshals them for our purpose. He writes on matters that are little known to a nation whose newspapers don't make such information available to us. Further, Mr. Owen has the ability to analyze succinctly. But perhaps more important than all, he looks upon all social legislation with a fair eye. He recognizes the part played in any nation's life by its legislators; he knows how uncertain their seats of affluence are; he appreciates the fact that the men who make laws, no matter how socio-economically informed they are, cannot disregard the power and position of the leadership within their parties. We earnestly recommend a reading of Mr. Owen's current article. There is a profound optimism in its last paragraph.

Your editors were interested also in the overwhelming vote of NO to articles on extended controversy of fine points. It would appear that, regardless of the special influences which land value taxation would erect upon our civilization, basically our readers are interested in the means and the over-all outcome—how to free land to mankind for greater productive use—and not in haggling over whether rent is within price or outside of it! etc., etc., yes, etc.

Now to the format: There were many considerations entering into our asking questions on this matter: We grant the proposition that our journal covers a field which is a bit too profound for the average newsstand buyer of magazines. On the other hand we are aware of many general trends taking place today. The civilized world is acutely social conscious. We can only hope to make people aware of our works by placing our magazine in areas where they buy other periodicals.

The size, cover, the use of illustrations, and the selection of material within our pages represent a cross-section of opinion revealed partially by the questionnaire, and partially by expert, counsel in the field of publications.

LAND AND FREEDOM enters an era of steady, constructive expansion. Its loyal subscriber-supporters have kept the journal in the forerank of economic dissertation for 43 years. We shall continue to look forward with optimism.

ENLISTMENT FOR BOOKSTORE DISTRIBUTION

The replies indicated overwhelmingly that our readers wanted us to publish more elementary material, tug at the heart-strings with stories of monopolistic injustices, and bring other social students of freedom into our orbit. In other words, fit the magazine to the passing throng that is searching for light.

So LAND AND FREEDOM *goes on the magazine stands in bookstores*—provided you will help.

Let me tell you a story:

In 1932, three men put $25 each into a venture—a magazine of a new movement. The printer carried it on the "cuff" for a couple of years. But during those two dozen months, readers and members of that young organization took five, sometimes ten, many times twenty-five, or more copies of the magazine, and placed them with dealers on consignment in the best bookstores in each volunteer's city or town. One month later, they came in with the new issue, collected the wholesale price of the magazine, picked up the remainders—and today that publication, now firmly launched, channels its bookstore sales through commercial distributors. That magazine has a circulation of 65,000.

CONSIGNMENT PLAN PRODUCTIVE

There are over 2000 high-class bookstores in the U. S. A., all handling worthy publications.

If only (for example) 500 stores were supplied with five copies of the next issue of LAND AND FREEDOM, and an average of only two sales were made in each store, that would be 1000 copies of LAND AND FREEDOM sold by this means alone.

Imagine this growing, swelling, upswing of Georgeist knowledge—

More people would take courses in the Henry George Schools;
More people would buy books from the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation;
More people would become workers in Free Market Institute;
All because LAND AND FREEDOM *is reaching a wider audience.*

Will you send $1 immediately for six copies, which you take to a dealer handling quality magazines, and ask him to display them? He will be glad to have this new merchandise. Sixty days later our office will send you another six copies, this time on consignment. Your dealer gives you 18 cents for each former copy sold, and you leave six of the new issue. (Left-over copies of the former issue are yours to use as you wish.)

Sincerely yours,
HARRIET GRONER,
Volunteer Circulation Mgr.

P.S.—Yes, I am a volunteer. I want to see LAND AND FREEDOM exert its influence in world affairs. Will you be a volunteer, too?

Two Significant Letters

(*Continued from page* 33)

than six pages of figures on home-owning, or Quesnay's Economic Table.

Do make your good magazine better, if you can, by making it easier for us to read. Remember, that some radio board said the average radio audience is mentally nine years old. If you could address the majority of articles to a 15-year-old public, you could put in valuable information, yet remain easy to read. It would just make the authors work harder at pruning down to a well thought out skeleton, whose outlines and connections and construction were clear to all.

It's a good paper anyway.

DOROTHY E. COATE.
Toronto.