

PREFACE
to the
CENTENARY EDITION
of
PROGRESS AND POVERTY / 1979

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO a young unknown printer in San Francisco wrote a book he called PROGRESS AND POVERTY. He wrote after his daily working hours, in the only leisure open to him for writing. He had no real training in political economy. Indeed he had stopped schooling in the seventh grade in his native Philadelphia, and shipped before the mast as a cabin boy, making a complete voyage around the world. Three years later, he was halfway through a second voyage as able seaman when he left the ship in San Francisco and went to work as a journeyman printer. After that he took whatever honest job came to hand. All he knew of economics were the basic rules of Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and other economists, and the new philosophies of Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill, much of which he gleaned from reading in public libraries and from his own painstakingly amassed library. Marx was yet to be translated into English.

George was endowed for his job. He was curious and he was alertly attentive to all that went on around him. He had that rarest of all attributes in the scholar and historian — that gift without which all education is useless. He had mother wit. He read what he needed to read, and he understood what he read. What is more, he saw what was before his eyes, exactly, with the clear vision of an artist and the

appraisal of a scientist. And he was fortunate. He lived and worked in a rapidly developing society in which his environment changed daily. George had the unique opportunity of studying the formation of a civilization—the change of an encampment into a thriving metropolis. He saw a city of tents and mud change into a fine town of paved streets and decent housing, with tramways and buses. And as he saw the beginning of wealth, he noted the first appearance of pauperism. He saw the coming of the first beggars the West had ever known in its entire history. He saw degradation forming as he saw the advent of leisure and affluence. It was his personal characteristic that he felt compelled to discover why they arose concurrently.

The result of his inquiry, *PROGRESS AND POVERTY*, is written simply, but so beautifully that it has been compared to the very greatest works of the English language. Indeed, there are pages that cannot be bettered for eloquence, for sparkling imagery, and for sound—that lovely poetic sound of the English language beautifully spoken. He always had this superb gift. His sea-log at fourteen compares with the style of Joseph Conrad.

Because he was totally unknown, no one would print his book. And so he and his friends, also printers, set the type themselves and ran off an author's edition which eventually found its way into the hands of a New York publisher, D. Appleton & Co. An English edition soon followed which aroused enormous interest. Alfred Russel Wallace, the English scientist and writer, pronounced it "the most remarkable and important book of the present century." It was not long before George was known internationally.

During his lifetime, he became the third most famous man in the United States, only surpassed in public acclaim by Thomas Edison and Mark Twain. George was translated into almost every language that knew print, and some of the greatest, most influential thinkers of his time paid tribute. Leo Tolstoy's appreciation stressed the logic of George's

exposition: "The chief weapon against the teaching of Henry George was that which is always used against irrefutable and self-evident truths. This method, which is still being applied in relation to George, was that of hushing up People do not argue with the teaching of George, they simply do not know it. . . ." John Dewey fervently stressed the originality of George's system of ideas, stating that, "Henry George is one of a small number of definitely original social philosophers that the world has produced." In another appreciation Dewey said that "It would require less than the fingers of the two hands to enumerate those who, from Plato down, rank with Henry George among the world's social philosophers." And Bernard Shaw, in a letter to my mother, Anna George, years later wrote, "Your father found me a literary dilettante and militant rationalist in religion, and a barren rascal at that. By turning my mind to economics he made a man of me...."

Inevitably he was reviled as well as idolized. The men who believed in what he advocated called themselves disciples, and they were in fact nothing less: working to the death, proclaiming, advocating, haranguing, and proselytizing the idea, and even, when lacking inspired leadership, becoming fanatically foolish so that the movement which touched greatness began to founder. It was not implemented by blood, as was communism, and so was not forced on people's attention. Shortly after George's death, it dropped out of the political field. Once a badge of honor, the title, "Single Taxer," came into general disuse. Except in Alberta (the richest and most prosperous province of Canada) and in Australia and New Zealand, his plan of social action has been neglected while those of Marx, Keynes, Galbraith and Friedman have won great attention, and Marx's has been given partial implementation, for a time, at least, in large areas of the globe.

But nothing that has been tried satisfies. We, the people, the whole people, are locked in a death grapple and nothing

our leaders offer, or are willing to offer, mitigates our troubles. George said, "The people must think because the people alone can act."

We have reached the deplorable circumstance where in large measure a very powerful few are in possession of the earth's resources, the land and its riches and all the franchises and other privileges that yield a return. These monopolistic positions are kept by a handful of men who are maintained virtually without taxation; they are immune to the demands made on others. The very poor, who have nothing, are the object of compulsory charity. And the rest — the workers, the middle-class, the backbone of the country — are made to support the lot by their labor. They are made to pay for the men in possession who are, in effect, their rulers, and for the paupers who are denied the opportunity and dignity of earning their own living. Forcing one group to pay for all amounts to tyranny.

We are taxed at every point of our lives, on everything we earn, on everything we save, on much that we inherit, on much that we buy at every stage of the manufacture and on the final purchase. The taxes are punishing, crippling, demoralizing. Also they are, to a great extent, unnecessary.

It was rage at unjust and proliferating taxation that drove the people of California to revolt. In June, 1978, they voted overwhelmingly to adopt Proposition 13, an amendment to the state constitution which would greatly diminish all taxes on real property — on land, houses, gardens, farms, buildings. This was neither a thoughtful nor a searching reform since the improvements and the site and all natural resources were lumped together, and income and sales tax rates were not separated. Under the so-called reform, the great landholdings remained intact and therefore the great profiteering untouched.

The voters believed that there was too much wastage in government, too much public welfare, and that they could

do very well with a great deal less of both. The results so far have not been what was intended. State funds will undoubtedly be commandeered to bail out local treasuries and probably the state funding of schools, universities, libraries, symphony orchestras, museums and archives will be drastically reduced while the bureaucracy and welfare remain relatively untouched. But there has been an amount of serious thinking and if this change does not work the miracles that people hope (and it won't) at least it will cause them to study the problems thoughtfully. The electorate is, at long last, beginning to ask questions. In this sense, the adventure has been of value.

But our system, in which state and federal taxes are interlocked, is deeply entrenched and hard to correct. Moreover, it survives because it is based on bewilderment; it is maintained in a manner so bizarre and intricate that it is impossible for the ordinary citizen to know what he owes his government except with highly paid help. Contrary to basic American law which presupposes innocence until guilt is proven, the government now takes for granted that every American citizen is lying and cheating at every turn and he must pay an advocate to persuade the duly elected authority that he is neither a liar nor cheat. It comes to this: we support a large section of our government (the Internal Revenue Service) to prove that we are breaking our own laws. And we support a large profession (tax lawyers) to protect us from our own employees. College courses are given to explain the tax forms which would otherwise be quite unintelligible.

All this is galling and destructive, but it is still, in a measure, superficial. The great sinister fact, the one that we must live with, is that we are yielding up sovereignty. The nation is no longer comprised of the thirteen original states, nor of the thirty-seven younger sister states, but of the real powers: the cartels, the corporations. Owning the bulk of

our productive resources, they are the issue of that concentration of ownership that George saw evolving, and warned against.

These multinationals are not American any more. Transcending nations, they serve not their country's interests, but their own. They manipulate our tax policies to help themselves. They determine our statecraft. They are autonomous. They do not need to coin money or raise armies. They use ours.

And in opposition rise up the great labor unions. It is war. In the meantime, the bureaucracy, both federal and local, supported by the deadly opposing factions, legislate themselves mounting power never originally intended for our government and exert a ubiquitous influence which can be, and often is, corrupt.

I do not wish to be misunderstood as falling into the trap of the socialists and communists who condemn all privately owned business, all factories, all machinery and organizations for producing wealth. There is nothing wrong with private corporations owning the means of producing wealth, with, as the socialists would say, Capitalism. All Georgists believe in private enterprise, and in its virtues and incentives to produce at maximum efficiency. It is the insidious linking together of special privilege, the unjust outright private ownership of natural or public resources, monopolies, franchises, that produce unfair domination and autocracy. The means of producing wealth differ at the root, some is thieved from the people and some is honestly earned. George differentiated; Marx did not. The consequences of our failure to discern lie at the heart of our trouble.

This clown civilization is ours. We have achieved it out of the hopeful agrarian society that flourished in the eighteenth century, out of a new government we had every right to believe was founded on reasonableness, wisdom and justice. We were not compelled to come to this. We knew neither king nor conqueror. We chose this of our own free

will, in our own free democracy, with all the means to legislate intelligently readily at hand. We chose this because we insisted on following the worn-out European grooves, because it suited a few people to have us do so. They counted on our mental indolence and we freely and obediently conformed. We chose not to think.

Our government, alas, was predicated for its effectiveness in expansion on free land. Now there is no more free land, and the flaw in the great plan grows evident. We have reached the boundaries and we turn back on ourselves and devour.

Henry George was a lucid voice, direct and bold, that pointed out basic truths, that cut through the confusion which developed like rot. Each age has known such diseases and each age has gone down for lack of understanding. It is not valid to say that our times are more complex than ages past and therefore the solution must be more complex. The problems are, on the whole, the same. The fact that we now have electricity and computers does not in any way controvert the fact that we can succumb to the injustices that toppled Rome.

To avert such a calamity, to eliminate involuntary poverty and unemployment, and to enable each individual to attain his maximum potential, George wrote this extraordinary treatise a hundred years ago. His ideas stand: he who makes should have; he who saves should enjoy; what the community produces belongs to the community for communal uses; and God's earth, all of it, is the right of the people who inhabit the earth. In the words of Thomas Jefferson, "The earth belongs in usufruct to the living."

This is simple and this is unanswerable. The ramifications may not be simple but they do not alter the fundamental logic.

There never has been a time in our history when we have needed so sorely to hear good sense, to learn to define terms exactly, to draw reasonable conclusions. We needs must, or

perish. As George said, "The truth that I have tried to make clear will not find easy acceptance. If that could be, it would have been accepted long ago. If that could be, it would never have been obscured."

We are on the brink. It is possible to have another Dark Ages. But in George there is a voice of hope.

Agnes George de Mille

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