

Single Tax After 50 Years

IT is a glowing tribute to the permanence of an idea that after 50 years the publication of this book should be celebrated by a gathering of 600 Single Taxers, representing 23 different countries, in the Scottish capital some 6,000 miles from the spot where the doctrine of single taxation first had its birth.

The impression made by Henry George upon the consciousness of mankind is a striking illustration of the power of thought, backed by a good purpose. He never stopped urging acceptance of his doctrine upon men of the most widely separated nationalities, and of every class of society. Nor was he in any sense a man of one idea, but he gave as liberally of his strength and his ability to the interest of good government and human liberty as he did to the agitation of the Single Tax. When, in the latter days of the nineteenth century, New York City seemed confronted with a peculiar menace of evil government, Henry George was drafted to lead the forces in opposition to Tammany. Warned that it might mean the sacrifice of his life, he nevertheless undertook the task. The warning was but too well founded, and like a soldier on the battlefield he gave his life to his cause. That his followers are animated to so great an extent by a like devotion to the economic panacea which he preached shows impressively the enduring power of a devoted and self-sacrificing ideal.

—*Christian Science Monitor.*

BOOK REVIEWS

A NOTABLE WORK BY JACKSON H. RALSTON*

It is no small recommendation that our movement can boast among its teachers such names of eminence in the field of education as John Dewey and Professor Roman, and such distinguished scholars in the realm of international law as Jackson H. Ralston.

The work before us is a supremely scholarly and thoughtful book. It is not too much to say that it is destined to constitute for many years to come an effective instrument of peace for the student, and that it provides him with a perfect arsenal of fact, argument and persuasion. The contentions of Admiral Mahan, whose work is so frequently cited by advocates of the status quo in naval circles, are met and answered, as are those of many others.

Some years ago Mr. Ralston published a work entitled, "The Law and Procedure of International Tribunals." The present work is designed to cover ground not fully considered in the work that preceded it.

And the tone is hopeful, as is the marshaling of facts. Reviewing the many steps toward international conciliation ending with the Kellogg-Briand Treaty, the author says:

"Truly it is almost impossible for any nation to resort to war—euphemistically called a method of self-help or of self-redress—without incurring the condemnation of the whole body of civilized public opinion."

One of the most interesting and valuable chapters is that in which the question of natural law is discussed, with quotations from authorities. Laws that have a higher sanction in human or divine reason are contrasted with those that spring merely from custom or convenience.

It would require more space than we can give to it here to review this great work adequately. Apparently little has been overlooked in these four hundred and odd pages. The literature of the subject has been extensively drawn upon. We have the conclusions of thinkers eminent in their field almost from the time that settlement of disputes by arbitration began to be considered. Except in the cases of a few isolated individuals, whose ideas on the subject were vague and uncertain, but little real progress had been made up to 1880.

It is interesting to note some of the great figures whom Mr. Ralston cites as among the early advocates of arbitration, Dante, Erasmus, Cruce, Fenelon, Abbe de Saint Pierre, Rousseau, Immanuel Kant and others. Treatment of the proposals and speculations of these thinkers is necessarily brief.

A chapter of great interest distinguished by much research is that treating of Ancient Arbitration; arbitrations in the Middle Ages are also reviewed, and a fuller treatment is accorded to more modern cases in which disputants have agreed to arbitrate.

There is an interesting and very full sketch of the Permanent Court of International Justice, its procedure, and short accounts of the cases decided by the Tribunal.

There is a very full index and a useful bibliography.

The thought may occur to the reader, why, with all these attempts at arbitration many wars, including the World War, have reddened the earth. The answer of course is that while arbitration is useful it does not and cannot touch the real source of the trouble. Even with a well set-up machinery for world government there is no assurance of its permanence and stability where more powerful forces are at work. These forces are chiefly if not wholly economic. And the words quoted from Cavour by Mr. Ralston are significant in this connection. Said the great Italian statesman:

"Every political problem involves an economic problem, and every economic problem a moral problem. If the assertion is too broad as applied to the government of a nation, it is not as applied to international relations."

J. D. M.

A SINGULARLY THOUGHTFUL WORK*

Professor Roman is no mere dry-as-dust scholar. He discusses vividly the problems before him. He marshals his facts in a way that is revealing and illuminative. He is able to interest you.

To write of education one must himself be an educator—that is, in the examination of all these systems and theories and methods of practical routine he must be guided, not alone by experience, but by some fundamental convictions as to what education really is. What is mind and what is it meant for? What kind of education best develops the cultural capabilities? What system of tuition best nourishes the growth of understanding, independence of judgment, and the attainment of man's full mental and spiritual stature?

The democratic ideal of education is the only one that appeals to Prof. Roman. With unerring judgment he puts his finger on the tendencies that violate this ideal. In one sentence he epitomizes it:

"It seems well nigh impossible to give the people anything. How often they throw away, by sheer lack of appreciation, gifts that are lavished upon them! The most that can be done is to create an environment whereby they may grow into deeper responsibility and capacity in the exercise of new privileges."—p. 18.

Here is a recognition of both the weakness of men and women and the only conditions in which intellectual growth is possible.

He tells us also:

"A system of education which represents an effort to make possible an unrestricted growth of the talents of all the people without regard to fortune or station, does not yet obtain in any country—not even in the United States.—p. 10.

The study of the system of education in England gives Prof. Roman his opportunity to indicate where the defects in that system spring

*International Arbitration From Athens to Locarno. By Jackson H. Ralston. Cloth, 8vo. 417 pp. Price \$5. Stanford University Press, Stanford University, California.

*The New Education in Europe. By Frederick William Roman. Clo. 12mo. 438 pp. Price \$4.40. E. P. Dutton & Co., London and New York.

from. England, he tells us, has attained political democracy but not social democracy. America has won both political and social democracy, but he warns us that both phases are losing ground in this country.

We might take issue with the first part of this statement. We have not yet achieved in this country either a political or social democracy. Great Britain has outdistanced us as an example of a practical working democracy. It would require much more space than can be given to it here to indicate the many obstacles thrown in the way of the expression of the people's will. We know of few systems anywhere on earth where the exercise of the will of the majority is so cunningly hampered, where the judicial, executive and legislative functions are so ingeniously contrived to offer positive resistance to everything short of an overwhelming majority organized to resist or alter the decrees of government. A political democracy is a country where the people have their way, and a democratic system of government is one that makes it easy for a people to have their way. The United States, despite professions to the contrary in public speeches of many eminent personages, is far enough from a real political democracy.

And now as to America being a social democracy. As the defects of the British system of education spring from a stratification of class, so must American schools, colleges and universities reflect the caste system. For it makes little difference whether this caste system is typified by the owners of great estates or by the more vulgar plutocrats of privilege. For under democratic forms—forms without the reality—the same caste system may flourish under disguise not readily discerned.

Prof. Roman is hopeful, however. He says of our own country: "There is a rising tide of opinion that the people are not being consulted. This is our hope that it may be better on another day." p. 63. And indeed there are many signs that that day is coming.

Prof. Roman speaks less critically of education in Scotland and he has much to say in its praise. Of Ireland, where cultural development antedates the Middle Ages, and where it has steadily retrogressed since that time, he has more to say in criticism, though he attributes the defects of Ireland's educational system, and the general backwardness of its people, to the long unsettled state of the country and its bloody factional quarrels.

The chapters dealing with France and Germany are examples of painstaking observation and study. An occasional comment is arresting by reason of that democratic vision which animates the entire work. For example:

"Before the War the German people and all foreign visitors to these schools were so occupied in admiring the magnificent results, that the question of what might be the effect on the world, and even on the nation itself, of a system of education in which everything was done for the people, and nothing by them, was hardly ever raised." p. 220.

Dr. Roman has presented a picture of a new Germany. No one has done it so well. Our author is an optimist as regards both Germany and France, and his is not an optimism that blinds him to the lurking dangers.

An account of the striking achievements in education of the Scandinavian countries forms part 4 of this volume. The Folk High Schools of Denmark have long been favorably known to students of popular education. The name of Gruntvig comes in for special mention, as does that of our friend, Jakob Lange. The educational system of Denmark is popularizing new ideals of social justice.

Dr. Roman tells us that from the early days when the Vikings first appear in history the peasants had certain rights to land from which they have never been excluded as they have in other countries. In theory they have held the common right to land and in part at least have carried out this theory in practise. Nowhere, Prof. Roman tells us, has the Physiocratic idea—developing later with Henry George and his teachings—found such permanent lodgement as it has in Denmark.

The review of education in Russia is sympathetic and enlightening,

It is of great importance at this juncture of the world's history that eminent scholars like Prof. Dewey and Dr. Roman are able to divest themselves of such economic and religious predilections as they may hold long enough to consider impartially the extraordinary happenings that are taking place in Russia. And that they do so with no unfriendliness should impress—and indeed has impressed—Russian communist leaders with the belief that they have sincere well-wishers in this country, who though parting company with them on fundamental grounds, are content to see the experiment on which they have embarked fully tested with no outside interference on the lines they have undertaken. They must nevertheless be reminded in the words of Dr. Roman, that "Not until they themselves practise freedom will it be possible to sound trumpets of the approach of a new dawn for mankind." p. 378.

We have tried to convey some idea of the value of this work. We would indicate the care and thoroughness which Dr. Roman has brought to his task, the wealth of detail, the baring of significant weaknesses in the educational systems under observation, but above all giving to the reader glimpses of those influences which are moulding the world and determining its future. In this respect, if in no other, this is a valuable and extraordinary work.

And now we must stop. Here and there we would differ, as we have said, with some of our author's statements—rarely with his conclusions. For these are grounded in those democratic principles which are part of his social and political philosophy, principles which are part of the Georgean philosophy. And because of these he avoids any really serious pitfalls.

Ah, we must make one exception. He seems to think that something should be done for or to the liquor problem. The truth is, when we cease trying to do anything about it, it will cease to be a problem. Pretty nearly all the trouble exists by reason of governmental interference. And he links "liquor to tobacco" in several places as if he would advocate doing something to tobacco, too. Fie, Doctor!

J. D. M.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE HENRY GEORGE FOUNDATION OF GREAT BRITAIN

We welcome three volumes published by the Henry George Foundation of Great Britain, which was established in 1929 by a generous contribution from Louis P. Jacobs, and was organized to administer a trust fund for spreading a wider knowledge of the social and economic teachings of Henry George.

The first is a one shilling handy edition of "Progress and Poverty" in cloth. The second is a new edition (complete) of the Condition of Labor, also in cloth.

The third book that interests us greatly is a new edition of "Gems from Henry George," first published in 1912, being passages from the writings and addresses of the master made by Rev. Arthur Compton Archmuty. Mr. Archmuty died in 1917. He was a devoted friend of the cause, a profound scholar, as shown by his translations of Dante and Sophocles, besides being himself a poet of distinction.

This volume of selections is well done. Here the reader will find many of his favorite passages. Gathered together they give new and profound impression of that intellect which surveyed mankind "from China to Peru," from the earliest recorded history to a developed civilization, and, pictured in that marvelous prose of his, the kingdom of righteousness that is possible under a justly ordered social state.

Dr. Archmuty did an admirable piece of work in these 107 pages. It is more than a haphazard selection of beautiful and distinct passages. There is a continuity of thought that links up these passages one with another.

Copies of this work can be obtained of the Henry George Foundation of Great Britain, 11 Tothill Street, London, England, at one shilling a copy.

J. D. M.