

trade by turning the economic interdependence of nations into a reality would have eventually made for universal peace." But it was not to be. As our author remarks historical events do not unfold in logical sequence.

The author's treatment of free trade leaves little to be desired. One of his phrases is "the *homo economicus* who acts internationally and the *homo politicus* who thinks nationally." The deepest instinct of the economic man is to act internationally, and this should teach our protectionist that the normal and primal instinct is to trade freely, and that the exercise of this instinct results in bringing about the largest general satisfaction in the production and enjoyment of wealth.

In the very manner of Henry George, M. Delaisi gives a striking illustration of the benefits of cooperation made possible under our modern system of exchanges in one day in the life of well-to-do Parisian:

"On awakening, M. Durand washes himself with soap manufactured out of Congo peanut and dries himself with a cotton towel of Louisiana. He then proceeds to dress himself. His shirt and collar are made of Russian linen, his coat and trousers of wool from the Cape or Australia. He puts on a silk tie made of Japanese cocoons and shoes whose leather is derived from the hide of an Argentine ox and tanned with chemical product from Germany.

"In his dining room—adorned with a Dutch sideboard, made of wood from Hungarian forests—he will find the table laid with plated metal made of Rio-Tinto copper, tin from the straits and silver from Australia. He will find a fresh loaf, made of wheat, which according to the season of the year, may come from Beauce, from Roumania or from Canada. He will eat eggs newly arrived from Morocco, a slice of frozen peas from the Argentine and preserved small peas which have seen the California sun: his sweets will be English jam made of French fruit and Cuban sugar, and his excellent coffee will come from Brazil.

"Restored to vigor he now goes to work. An electric tram run on the Thompson-Houston system, takes him to his office. After making a note of the quotations of the Liverpool, London, Amsterdam or Yokohama exchanges, he dictates his correspondence, which is taken down on an English typewriter, and he signs it with an American fountain pen. In his workshop Paris articles are being manufactured out of material of many origins, by machinery built in Lorraine, according to German patents and fed with English coal. His instructions are to send them to Rio by the first German steamer that puts into Cherbourg.

"He then proceeds to pay in a cheque in guilders from a Dutch client and to buy sterling to pay for English goods. The bank manager will take the opportunity to point out that his account shows a considerable balance and that oil shares are rising. Mr. Durand agrees to the suggestion, but unwilling to place all his eggs in one basket, he gives orders to buy at the same time four Royal Dutch shares and ten of a French company affiliated to the Standard Oil.

"Satisfied with a profitable day, he proposes to spend the evening at a show with his wife. She will don her best frock from Pauquin, Ltd., her pretty fur or blue fox (Siberia), her diamonds from the Cape. Then they will dine in an "Italian restaurant" and debate whether to go to the Russian ballet or to a music hall to hear Raquel Meller, or perhaps decide for one of d'Annunzio's plays acted by Ida Rubenstein with designs from Bakst."

There is a chapter devoted to the *international* character of the *national* genius in the production of literary and artistic masterpieces. These are masterpieces not because they are national but because they are human, and M. Delaisi points out the constant variations in national taste. There is as little reality in the national literary myth as there is in the political myth. When it assumes a common inheritance from generation to generation, a literary system of unchanging tradition, the belief becomes little short of a vulgar illusion. Our author shows that this illusion is strongest among the least educated classes. The chapter is well worth pondering, as is so much of the contents of this really remarkable book, for its demonstration of the essentially international character of all art, to which breadth and liberality of culture contribute.

Of more than passing interest is the author's contention, we had almost said his demonstration, that the disturbances and bloodshed that have so often devastated the world and are attributed to religious intolerance, were really due to other causes. He tells us that religious myths are at their birth multiform, extremely variable and therefore

tolerant. Intolerance, he says, lies not in the myth itself, but springs from its *political* function. When it has attained unity, and becomes part of the social or political entity, dissidence in dogma is tantamount to a blow struck at institutionalism. He says this law applies as much to lay as to religious myths, and he reinforces his thesis with illustrations drawn from a profoundly impressive knowledge of history.

When it becomes necessary to save social institutions—institutions of privilege for the most part—the pretence of defending the religious myth is invoked for the masses, a pretence readily discarded as soon as it has served its purpose. The lesson is an important one as striking at the very heart of the notion (a notion which breeds intolerance) that one sect more than another in history has resorted to the weapon of persecution, or that the inclination to do so is inherent in the nature of religious sects.

Van Loon and Wells have sought to popularize history and in so doing have cheapened it. M. Delaisi has tried to do something different and of greater value; he has started out to discover the solution of existing problems of history, to search the heart of civilization, to give an answer why it has not succeeded. The attempt is worthy of all praise.

Yet the work fails—tragically fails. The wisdom that has traced so many economic realities has permitted the fundamental one to elude him. It seems almost pitiful that the intelligence that has set off so well the myth of nationalism against the ever pressing economic urge should be so utterly oblivious to the great question that looms behind all these very interesting speculations. Is there no such thing as a Land Question? Are the natural resources of the earth, the struggle for the ownership or control of which determines the policies of rulers and their ministers, to be utterly forgotten? At the conclusion the author writes:

"The world will only recover its equilibrium when, in the minds of each producer, the idea of interdependence has acquired the same value as that of salvation for the Christian, equality for the democrat, and the fatherland for the citizen. But how are the masses to acquire this consciousness? That is the vital problem which must be faced by all who can look beyond the surface of events."

Must it all then be summed up in this? And has the author actually abandoned all his economic realities only to fall back on a myth of psychology, lacking as little reality as the myths he indicates? Is it all to be resolved into a state of mind? And is a new consciousness to be evolved in the presence of these economic realities which have muddled our political conduct, our international outlook, our social life, and even the rationalizing of minds as keen and free from predilection as M. Delaisi's?

—J. D. M.

#### WHAT IS COOPERATION?\*

This is another of the Vanguard Press series treating of various phases of social philosophies. Socialism, Single Tax, etc., are, as our readers know, treated in books that have preceded it.

The author of this book is the outstanding authority on Cooperation and president of the Cooperative League. Cooperative Democracy published in 1923, and reissued in a revised edition in 1927, is the larger work of the same author on which the present manual is based.

There is here everything the general reader will want to know of the reasons for and history of Cooperation in the United States and in Great Britain, in which latter country the movement has attained such imposing proportions.

There is a chapter entitled "Criticism of Proposed Remedies" which is, on the whole, not unfair. On the subject of the Single Tax the author is in error in saying that "it would result in State ownership of the land." Perhaps, however, the author means people-owned, and this would be true in essence if not in form.

Mr. Warbasse says: "It would not change the motive nor method of business." He is silent, however, on whether it would or would not

\*What is Cooperation? By James Peter Warbasse. 170 pp. Cloth bound. 55 Cents postpaid. The Vanguard Press, 80 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. City.



change the mater of *distribution*, and that is the important thing, whether production be carried on cooperatively or competitively. Many Single Taxers are affiliated with the Cooperative League, but most of us regard it as only one of the proposals for economic betterment which must be largely nullified as long as the source of all wealth—the land—is the private possession of the few.

We may say that cooperation is better than the reasons given for it. Under our present system it has its value; under a system where the rent of land was taken by the people and all natural resources were peopled-owned, there would be a vast extension of cooperative enterprises, and these would be largely substituted for individual enterprise, though cooperation would never wholly take its place for obvious reasons. But its progress under economic freedom would probably astound Mr. Warbasse if he is fortunate enough to live so long. For the workers will then be free to cooperate as they are not now, for there is a partner in all productive enterprises with whom real cooperation is quite impossible—the owner of the land. Men who cooperate do so with the idea of each participating and contributing some effort which we call labor, but the landlord contributes no effort and no capital. Even if he throws in his land, rent free, he is only giving what was here before him. Usually, however, he will demand to be paid for his land, and if so there is just that much less for the real cooperators.

We have a fairly well grounded suspicion that Mr. Warbasse is not ignorant of this fact.

—J. D. M.

#### AMERICAN LORDSHIPS.

Dr. Thomas L. Brunk, of Alton, Ill., is well known to our readers for the essays from his pen that have appeared from time to time in these columns. He has now gathered together in a paper-covered book of nearly two hundred pages the essays on the early land proprietors and American land grants that appeared in the *Union Advocate* of Sioux City, Iowa, and reached through that medium some seventy thousand readers. A few of the chapters contained in the volume have appeared in *LAND AND FREEDOM*.

Clearly written, and showing evidence of great research, this book is a frank indictment of historic landlordism in America. Land speculation is shown as the trail of the serpent that from the time of the foundation of this government weakened the hand of the civil power and laid its corrupting influence in the high places of administration. It almost appears as if many of these early "Fathers" set out deliberately to reduce the population to the condition of a servile caste who should, they and their descendants, continue to labor for the enrichment of the landed proprietors to the end of time.

In this searching inquiry into the evil institution of unrestricted private land ownership which has left its poisonous fruits to the present generation, and is the real foundation of the swollen fortunes of the few and the poverty of the many, Dr. Brunk does not spare the "Fathers" and some of the earlier patriarchs who helped to lay the groundwork of this far-reaching and corrupting system. He is not deterred by the school-room deification of these imposing personages. Of William Penn he says:

"Penn must have known how New England flourished under the land-alloting system, as it was established sixty years before he founded his colony. But with all his professions of religion and pretense of making a place of refuge for his despised people he deliberately planned to profit by their presence on his empire land."

Of Robert Morris, who equipped forty-two vessels for privateering, Dr. Brunk writes:

"It was this loot that he turned over to Washington to help finance the Revolution. Our school histories praise this ocean robber for his services and say little or nothing of the tremendous services of Franklin while in Paris in providing nine-tenths of the finances of the Revolution which without his aid could never have been fought."

Nor does he spare Washington:

"He was an accessory to the organized bands who raided this virgin country and like Feudal Lords drove thousands of toiling yeomen

into tenantry, crime or beggary. From the fact that he sanctioned the acts authorizing him to issue patents for immense tracts to ruthless land speculators without due return to the government, is evidence that he justified the land speculating system and winked at fraud."

Dr. Brunk quotes from McMaster's history which he calls "most trustworthy:"

"In all the frauds and tricks that go to make up the worst form of practical politics, the men who founded our state and federal governments were always our equals and often our masters."

Dr. Brunk has not neglected the larger relations of his subject for these "personalities" while showing how the institution corrupted even the splendid characters of these men who helped to form our government. Our author knows his economics and has a good word to say of the attempt of the Puritans to bring about a measure of equality in landholding. And he makes this noteworthy comment:

"There is no prettier example in all history than the town system of the Puritans to demonstrate the law of wages. They attempted to FIX wages by law and failed, because wages were fixed by nature on the border lands where there was no rent. The earnings of labor on the cheap rentless land set the price for labor over all the old settled portions, even in the cities. For who would work for less than he could make on land accessible to all comers without cost and without rent?"

Our author has done an excellent piece of work. If we have any criticism to make it is that a somewhat more orderly arrangement of the great wealth of material here gathered together might have improved it. But that is after all a minor defect. The book is immensely interesting and the reader will be carried along to the end without fatigue. He will gain a new view of our history. He will perhaps gain also a tremendous impression of that insidious influence which more than anything else has made of our democracy so dismal a failure.

We bespeak for this work a large circulation. Especially should it go into the hands of the young who are influenced unduly by the school book standard of patriotism and pollyana philosophy current in everyday literature.

The work sells for fifty cents per copy and is published by the *Union Advocate* Press, Sioux City, Iowa.

—J. D. M.

#### LOCAL TAXATION IN THE EMPIRE

This is the title of a pamphlet of twenty-odd pages bound in stiff covers in which the former Colonial Secretary, Josiah C. Wedgwood, reviews the systems of taxation in Great Britain and the Colonies. It has a Foreword by Hon. J. H. Thomas, one of the prominent Labor members of Parliament, and, as stated on frontispiece, is "Published in association with the Labor party." We should be very glad to know that the members of that party would undertake to urge official recognition of the confusion that exists, and the necessity of making a clean sweep of the taxation anomalies that are indicated in various localities in Great Britain and in the Crown Colonies.

Though Colonel Wedgwood does not make an extended argument for any particular system, contenting himself with pointing out the infinite variety of taxes that exist today in the Empire, he does quote from Labor leaders, Ramsay MacDonald and Arthur Henderson, their perfectly clear statements for the transference or rent from private pockets to the public treasury, not merely for the additional revenue it would give, but as a means of opening up the natural sources from which wealth is produced. It is to be regretted that Mr. MacDonald at other times wanders away from the central truth which he is capable of voicing with so much force and clarity.

Col. Wedgwood touches upon taxation in the United States and gives instances which here and elsewhere show a wholesome trend toward a juster system. The pamphlet will be useful to our friends on the other side.

But to one argument advanced we must take a serious exception. We quote from page 5.