

May—June, 1938

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE-TAX REVIEW

An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901

The Plight of Man

William Scott

Where Marx Agrees With Henry George

Bolton Hall

Work of the Schalkenbach Foundation

The LaFollettes---Feudal Lords of Wisconsin

J. Craig Ralston

School News — Book Reviews — Correspondence

News Notes and Personals

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00

SINGLE COPIES 35 CENTS

PUBLISHED AT 150 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK CITY

LAND AND FREEDOM

An International Bi-Monthly Magazine of Single Tax Progress

Published by

LAND AND FREEDOM, 150 Nassau Street, New York

JOSEPH DANA MILLER, Editor

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE:—In the United States, Canada and Mexico, \$2.00 per year. Libraries and Reading Rooms, \$1.00. Club subscriptions, 5 for \$7.00. Payable in advance.

Entered as second-class matter Oct. 2, 1913, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1897.

MAY—JUNE, 1938

VOL. XXXVIII

No. 3 WHOLE No. 208

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WHAT LAND AND FREEDOM STANDS FOR

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

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

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

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

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

Please Make Subscriptions and Checks Payable to LAND AND FREEDOM

Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

VOL. XXXVIII

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Comment and Reflection

THERE are certain misconceptions into which some of our Single Tax friends fall occasionally and quite unconsciously. Ground rent is sometimes referred to as a "burden," or as "something to be avoided." Instead of being a burden it is a blessing, as natural and inevitable as the air we breathe. Ground rent is a normal provision for meeting current expenses of government and is created by the services of government and the social activities of the community.

GROUND rent (all of it) is the annual and compensating value of land, resulting from public expenditures. A high ground rent is payment for public services and social advantages created by the community. As such it is an equitable exchange if the payment is a 100 per cent *quid pro quo*. It is the diversion of part of this rent into private hands that is the menace, not ground rent itself. Because we have not collected the ground rent resulting from public services, taxes on industry are imposed in lieu of the just payment of ground rent. It is this procedure that has got us into the mess we are in.

SPECULATION in land, pressing the economic rent above the normal and extracting an abnormal increase in anticipation of future yield, *does* impose a burden upon industry. But this is quite another matter. No one has discussed this aspect of our problem more illuminatingly than LeBaron Goeller. The sale price of land, in including both the real and speculative rent over a period of years, interposes a barrier to immediate production, and shows the necessity of assessing the economic rent rather than the value of land, which is the capitalization of that part of rent remaining in private hands.

WE have used the term *just* payment. We would stress the *justice* of the remedy as George has done. It is well enough to indicate the scientific nature of the laws of political economy. But these are not like the laws of astronomy and chemistry. Economic laws are moral laws. They pertain to the actions of men in a free society where the economic law and the moral law are one. Henry George entitled one of his addresses,

"Justice the End, Taxation the Means." It is this aspect of the question that is most important. Our appeal is to the moral sense of mankind, to its sense of justice. To the failure to realize the importance of this is due the futility of the appeals to individual taxpayers that our proposal would save them thirteen dollars and twelve cents on their tax bills. Most of these appeals have fallen flat, for men are not to be moved by such considerations, despite opinions to the contrary.

WE have called "Progress and Poverty" "The Book of a Thousand Years." In pointing the way out of the long martyrdom of man no other existing medium can take its place. Its followers boast (and with reason) that Henry George has never been convicted of any serious error, that the great structure of reason that he erected remains uninjured by any attacks made upon it since it was given to the world.

IN the meantime many attempts have been made by those not unfriendly to the collection of the economic rent in lieu of taxes who seek to defend it by premises of their own, differing from those of Mr. George, though leading to the same general conclusion. Just how much of this is due to the fact that these writers are enamoured of their own subtleties, and just how much to a reasonable desire to translate into what they imagine is a more current and exact vernacular the incomparable reasoning, and equally incomparable language of the master, must be left to them.

BUT whatever is the animating motive of these books that seek to supplant the message of Henry George with their own interpretations, they do no particular harm. Those who follow the main contentions of Henry George yet seek some substitution of their own may do effective work. In this class Louis Wallis, whose book, "The Burning Question," is finding hospitable reception, is accomplishing much. Mr. Wallis differs from Henry George in somethings that are not really important, but this has not induced him to abandon any of the main principles. No one is doing a more far reaching work to advance our principles. He is not influenced by his vanity to substitute some economic credo all his own. He frankly avows the source of his inspiration and does

not seek to improve upon it, save in a matter of detail that need not trouble us, and in which he may be right.

A Lesson From the T. V. A.

ASSUMING that all those involved in the T. V. A. imbroglio are of impeccable integrity—an assumption that to anyone familiar with politics must seem charitable—the affair nevertheless indicates the improbability of governmental efficiency in industry. That this will be demonstrated factually by the Congressional investigation not even the Democrats doubt. In fact, if the disclosures prove nothing more they will be satisfied.

For nobody expects the government to be efficient. The motive that makes for efficiency—profit—is absent. To provide against this absence of sufficient motivation for conscientious effort political agencies are burdened with divided responsibility, a sort of self-spying system. Whatever else they may be, politicians are not fools. They know that patriotic exaltation is a poor substitute for profit, especially when even that compensation is subject to the vagaries of political trade winds. Divided responsibility and cross-checks are, in fact, provided not only to safeguard public interest as far as possible, but also to prevent that glorification which might result in political preferment for the zealous public servant. Every politician is jealous of every other politician.

Efficiency is the elimination of waste effort in the process of rendering service. Where exchanges take place in a competition system the elimination of waste effort is a determining factor. One does not exchange his services for those of a wastrel because one does not get as much as he receives from the efficient worker. The "higgling of the market" determines the value one will give in exchange for other values. And since we all seek to satisfy desires with the least effort, we exchange our values with those who give us most in return—that is, with the most efficient worker.

Where monopoly determines values, efficiency is no longer necessary. The monopolist can demand in exchange for his values more than he gives, since he is not threatened with competition. Government in business is, or tends to be, monopolistic in character. Wherever government has engaged in rendering service, it has invariably discouraged competition; in fact, the tendency has been to prohibit competition. The reason is obvious. The efficiency of private enterprise must result in the government business losing trade. Monopoly and competition cannot live in the same world.

It is interesting to note that when "hard times" hit us in 1932 the tendency of private business was to reduce prices so that the nation's reduced income could absorb more merchandise while the government post office monopoly raised postage rates. Private ingenuity went

to work to keep up exchanges; the government franking privilege went merrily on.

The "passion for anonymity" that characterizes scientists finds compensation in the acclaim of fellow-scientists for work accomplished. The most retiring of students appreciates the commendation of his peers, and this commendation is his profit-motive. The knowledge that worthwhile work will result in unstinted and sincere praise, if nothing else, is the spur that produces his best effort. Even the satisfaction of individual achievement may in itself be the price demanded by the researcher, the thinker.

Such considerations cannot however enter into work of a political nature. It is true that on rare occasions governmental officials have worked unsparingly for the public weal. The record of their disillusionment has not encouraged such action by others. On the other hand, the improbability of concrete achievement in the atmosphere of chicanery that is politics, to say nothing of either public or private acclaim, makes for that lack of interest which produces inefficiency. When one's job hangs on the whim of a political leader, it is more important to curry his favor than to do one's job right. In fact, that is the only way to hold one's job.

That is one lesson for the T. V. A. fuss. As the Congressional linen-washing proceeds much more dirt will become visible to the public eye.—F. C.

The Plight of Man

BY WILLIAM SCOTT

IN the final analysis, the real cost of a commodity is the amount of labor that one must pay to get it, and the real price is the amount of labor asked by the seller.

The natural tendency of real prices is toward lower levels, owing to invention and general progress. As commodities are produced with greater ease and accelerating facility, they tend to become cheaper, as measured in labor. One pays less labor for the things that less labor produces.

The economic progress of any country is measured by the rate at which real prices tend downward. Real prices could remain stationary only in a stationary society, and they tend upward only in a country on the downgrade toward barbarism.

Price and progress are two mathematic variables, so related that as one rises the other falls. This law is inherent in things and cannot be abolished, though society may ignore it and incur inexorable penalties.

Any rise in real prices indicates an abnormal condition in the body economic, just as a rise in temperature shows disorder in the animal body.

If some fell hand should destroy all machinery, prices would rise immediately, and life would become a strenuous

ous struggle for mere subsistence, as it was in the primeval jungle. Not only destruction of machinery, but any hindrance to production or distribution sends prices upward. Taxes on labor, capital, income and outgo tend to add themselves to the prices of commodities, thus reducing the purchasing power of labor, which results in decreased consumption and production.

Privilege, having achieved substantial monopoly of nature's gifts to man, appropriates all benefits of civilization, collecting enormous tribute from the many for the few. Prices rise or wages fall, and the masses, shorn of all the advantages of government, invention and co-operation, find themselves helpless and hopeless in a declining world.

This condition is brought about by legislation. We have tariff taxes, sales taxes, patent laws, franchises and monopoly of the earth inside and out—all tending to increase real prices, to the detriment of consumer as well as producer, for these two are one—a fact generally overlooked. Owing to legalized rackets, man as producer, receives less, and as consumer pays more, while privilege takes increasing toll of all human activities.

Nominal prices are expressed in terms of money. In this country we have the gold standard, though we are forced to pay our debts in something else. Gold, like other commodities, is subject to the law of supply and demand. As gold becomes scarcer or more plentiful, the value of the dollar tends up or down, while nominal wages and nominal prices of commodities other than gold tend up or down inversely with the dollar.

Professor Irving Fisher and his disciples would "compensate" the dollar by changing its gold content from time to time. It is their contention that prices would thus be stabilized and prosperity re-established. This was tried with uniform failure hundreds of years ago.

But let us examine the proposition in the light of logic. If the gold dollar were re-minted into two dollars, there would be twice as many of them, but each would buy only half as much as before. Nominal wages would be doubled, but the prices of commodities would be doubled, too, and the purchasing power of labor would be exactly the same as with the heavier dollar, and workers would be neither helped nor harmed. But debts and fixed charges would be scaled down, and the owner of money would lose half its value, as measured in goods or service; all of which is less drastic than it seems, if we remember that the creditor is generally a debtor as well.

So, it becomes clear that tampering with the dollar may temporarily affect the relation between debtor and creditor, but it can never solve any fundamental economic problem.

Furthermore, whatever may be done to the dollar, all money will remain unstable, as heretofore, while real prices will continue to fluctuate, as they have done from time immemorial, regardless of legislation.

Prices are mathematical variables, so related that if you raise them all, including wages, in the same ratio, you actually raise none. The process is analogous to multiplying both terms of a fraction by the same number. The old chimerical myth of the stability of gold is hardly more fantastic than the new delusion that higher prices are harbingers of better times. Prices rise in time of war, cataclysm, or national decay, and fall with the progress of peace and unhindered production.

Not gold, not money, not prices, but only law is stable. If God had forgotten to make the auriferous metal, or if some modern Midas should metamorphose mountains into gold, a day's labor would buy neither more nor less bread, and *homo sapiens* would still be the only animal too stupid to employ himself, as bees and beavers do.

Of all living creatures, why is this wretch alone out of work and unable to use nature's abundant gifts? What wine of wizardry has blighted his mind and palsied his hand so that he dares not even to touch commodities produced by himself?

The answer is found in one word; not the non-economic misnomer, "capitalism," or the commonly perverted *laissez-faire*, but the perfectly descriptive term, parasitism.

Viewed in the light of biology, the plight of man indicates that the parasite has begun to destroy his host. Dole, price control, inflation and dictatorships are merely futile, unconscious efforts of the host to escape. They are reactions to painful stimuli.

In all ages since the advent of the state, the parasite has operated through privilege conferred by government, such as the legal ownership of slaves, land, franchises, etc. These so-called vested rights have always been held as sacred by the parasite and host alike. This feeling originated in the fact that the parasite at first did military service for the state and paid economic rent for his lands and privileges. Thus the host was partly recompensed. The parasite at first was not wholly such. He held the land only in usufruct, paying for the privilege in service or otherwise.

But gradually, as in England, for illustration, the parasite ceased to perform any service for the state, and managed by fraud and chicanery to obtain absolute title to the whole island, while the government supported him by means of bounties and tariffs, called corn laws, and taxed labor for its own support.

This is the post-feudal system that George III handed over to us, and did us thereby more harm than he could have done by winning the Revolutionary War.

Since economic rent, which measures the benefits of civilization, and which is government's natural means of subsistence, is appropriated by the parasite, government is forced to confiscate the earnings of labor and capital in order to carry on.

The privileged parasite is coeval with the state. In

former times, whenever and wherever his exactions made life intolerable, men migrated to other areas beyond the reach of vested rights and perfect monopoly. But they took with them the very system that had caused their misery.

At last parasitism has reached its final stage. There are no more unowned areas to which oppressed populations may flee. The earth is as large as ever, and there is abundant room with ample means for subsistence. But the parasite, glutted with goods beyond his power to consume or his ability to handle, he forbids production, exercising his sacred privilege as owner of the earth. Friction is slowing the wheels of industry, while government applies more power without avail.

This condition brings into view an unprecedented phenomenon—millions of the people on the verge of starvation with nowhere to go and nothing to do. Government finding it impossible to raise revenue from the wages of idle labor, resorts to borrowing and to sales taxes, instead of collecting economic rent from the owners of the earth.

Preposterous as it would seem to an ultramundane mind, government even borrows money and levies taxes in order to hire the parasite not to permit labor to produce food. The official idea seems to be that if the bread eater pays more for his bread, he will get more bread for his money!

While imports are penalized and exports subsidized, as if man were perishing of excess goods, a grave crisis nears. For the first time in history slaves seek masters without avail. Disaster approaches, while old-time oracles babble like children, and government resorts to devices that have already failed a thousand times. The curtain falls and an epoch closes.

What next?

After full fruition, parasitism has reached its limit in the attainment of perfect monopoly backed by government. But society can no longer function, for this monopoly constitutes a judgment of ouster against mankind; a writ of ejectment from the face of the earth. Man, born in debt, has neither where to lay his head nor how to earn his bread. How shall he turn? There are only two roads open: one to despotism under dictatorship; the other to the freedom of *laissez-faire* democracy—not "rugged individualism," but the policy of letting labor alone.

All natural laws are simple and obvious; but logical thinking is difficult to man. Millions are out of work. What to do about it? The correct and logical solution is for society to let them work, for no man was ever unemployed but that government made him so. This solution was never thought of by any government. Dole, alms and bailing water out of the ocean are official nostrums that seem wise to statesmen, but not to bees or termites, with longer racial lives.

Having tried all things that ought not to work, what next? If government could be persuaded to abolish all taxes and collect economic rent for its own expenses, this measure alone would be the greatest step ever taken by man. The inevitable consequences would be:

1. The freeing of idle lands for idle hands, so that every man would have a home and be employed. Land and opportunity would become available, as if a new continent had been discovered.

2. Wages would rise, owing to the scarcity of men, because of vast numbers being drawn to free land and new opportunities.

3. Prices would fall, owing to increased production.

4. Poverty, pauper, and parasite would disappear together.

This is the road to peace and plenty without dictatorship or civic circle-squaring, called economic planning. This is the road to liberty for the living and away from the despotism of the dead. This is the road to happiness, sanity, enlightenment, civilization, safety and security. This is the road to democracy, but it has never been trodden.

There are but two roads. Which will mankind take?

Where Marx Agrees With George

BY BOLTON HALL

WE have Socialists, Communists, Trade Unionists, Employers Federationists, Anarchists, Free Traders, Tariff Reformers, Revenue Protectionists, Money and Credit Reformers, Prohibitionists, Religious Bodies, Georgians, etc., etc.

The pity is that workers for reform are so divided in their aims. Is there a possibility of reaching some common agreement; of co-ordination, of bringing plan out of chaos? All these may be divided into two classes: those who believe that ideal conditions are to be sought through authority and those who believe that liberty is enough. In chemistry a certain element will clarify a clouded mixture; in mechanics, the principle of economy secures simplification.

Our Socialists and Communists follow Marx, and both George and Marx largely agree on the evils of Land Monopoly, Taxation, and Protection. The first plank of the Marx and Engels Manifesto demands the diversion of the People's Ground Rent into the public treasury. The following statements in "Das Kapital" by Marx (Vol. I, pp. 842, 829, 830; Vol. III, 896-7-8, 956) also practically accord with George's teachings. "The expropriation of the mass of people from the soil forms the basis of the capitalist mode of production." "Where land is very cheap and all men are free . . . not only is labor very dear, as respects the laborer's share of the

product, but the difficulty is to obtain combined labor at any price."

"The starting point of the development that gave rise to the wage-laborer as well as to the capitalist, was the servitude of the laborer. . . . The expropriation of the agricultural producer of the peasant, from the soil, is the basis of the whole process." (Page 739.)

"In England . . . the great feudal lords created an incomparably larger proletariat by the forcible driving of the peasantry from the land, to which the latter had the same feudal right as the lord himself, and by the usurpation of the common lands." (Page 741.)

"The proletariat created by the breaking up of the bands of feudal retainers and by the forcible expropriation of the people from the soil; this 'free' proletariat could not possibly be absorbed by the nascent manufacturers as fast as it was thrown upon the world. On the other hand, these men suddenly adapt themselves to the discipline of their new condition. They turn en masse into beggars, robbers, vagabonds, partly from inclination, in most cases from stress of circumstances." (Page 758.)

In the Communist Manifesto of 1847, issued in London following a ten days' discussion by a Committee of which Marx and Engels were both members, the very first operative clause of that document called for "Abolition of property in land and confiscation of ground rents to the State."

In the International Socialist Review (Vol. VIII, pp. 643-646), Marx wrote: "In the society of today the means of labor are monopolized by the landed proprietors; monopoly of landed property is ever the basis of monopoly of capital by capitalism."

On Taxation and Protection, Marx says: ". . . Modern fiscal policy whose pivot is formed by taxes on the most necessary means of subsistence, thereby increasing their price. . . . Its expropriating efficacy is still further heightened by the system of Protection. . . . Protection was an artificial means of manufacturing manufacturers, of expropriating independent laborers, of capitalising the natural means of production and subsistence." He clearly distinguishes between landlord and capitalist. "Private land has nothing to do with the actual process of production. Its role is confined to carrying a portion of the produced surplus value from the pockets of the capitalist to its own." "Rent, instead of falling into the hands of the capitalists who extract it from their laborers, is captured by the landlords, who extract it from the capitalists." But while Marx aimed at abolishing "Capitalism," George attacked the evils attached to "Capitalism" through our land laws and other monopolistic laws.

"The landlord does not only receive interest on the capital of other people that costs him nothing, but also pockets the capital of others without any compensating return."—Capital, Vol. III, chap. xxxvii, paragraph 12.

"They (capitalist tenants) shouted for a reduction in

their rents. They succeeded in individual cases. But on the whole they failed to get what they wanted. They sought refuge in a reduction of the cost of production, among other things, by the introduction of the steam engine and new machinery. . . . Here high ground rent is directly identified with a depreciation of labor, a high price of land with a low price of labor."—Vol. III, part VI, chap. xxxvii, paragraph 24. (See also paragraph 20.)

"It (landed property) represents merely a certain tribute of money which he (the land owner) collects by the force of his monopoly from the industrial capitalist (and) the capitalist farmer."—Same work and chapter, paragraph 5.

Concerning the effect of Socialist regulation of industry, the futility of which the Georgeist is constantly emphasizing, Marx says: "The compulsory regulation of the working day in respect to its length, its pauses, the hour at which work shall begin and end, the system of relays for children, the prohibition of the employment of children below a certain age, and so on—necessitate an increased use of machinery,—a greater outlay of capital. As far as concerns the intermediate forms between manufacturer and domestic industry, and domestic industry itself,—they can no longer compete."—Vol. I, part IV, chap. xiii, sec. 8E, paragraph 18.

"The capitalist performs at least an active function himself in the development of surplus value and surplus products. But the land owner has but to capture his growing share in the surplus product and the surplus value created without his assistance."—Vol. III, part VI, chap. xxxvii, paragraph 45.

Showmanship in Education

BY WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB

WITH mankind searching as never before for its Shangri-la, with this new awareness of the people in the social ills of our times, with the Press still "free" in the democratic countries, it behooves us to leave no stone unturned in preparing leaders to promulgate the Science of Economics. Now, that the other sciences are pretty generally accepted by the masses, the problem of leading these same people into the knowledge of this science becomes simplified. We have reached that time, I believe, when we should make our reply to those who have studied our text (and countless other books on "economics") who are always saying to us Georgeists: "Now, what are you going to do about it?"

Is it not our moral obligation to enlighten the newspaper and magazine reader, the movie, play-going and forum audience, the radio and television public? Enlighten them on what? The School! The Henry George School of Social Science should become as well known to the man in the street as any of our great universities.

Endowments for its perpetuation and expansion can come speedily through two major means:

1. Improving its physical equipment. All of us want to see the day when the School is housed in a properly located building that speaks for its dignity, its strength, and its utility; when its faculty are full-time salaried workers.

2. The School's utilization of all resources that the various fields of information and entertainment offer for promotion to attain the ends of point one, above.

It is because this second point practically becomes the foci upon which the School's progress rests, that I intend to devote this article to such a programme. Space limitations necessitate my merely mentioning the means of attracting the thinking public; not the methods.

From the smallest pants presser shop employing the walking sandwich man, to the mighty utility buying the services of the oak-panelled publicity office, there is only one thought: Make the public conscious of our service to mankind.

Thuswise, should we make the public conscious of the service of the School.

First. The newspaper. There is hardly a story appearing in the daily press that does not revolve around an economic matter. Have we got writers who are taking these points up, as they appear in the papers, and writing letters to the editor? People want to know what makes the wheels go 'round. Surely, it is our job to show what wheels have the wrong spokes—or badly worn tires. Letters to the editors are read—and are printed.

There is not a play on Broadway that would last three nights if a publicist were not supplying the papers with salient points about the inner involvements behind that piece—despite the tremendous influence of crochety drama critics. Thus, with our School; keep it in the minds of the people. Every item that lends controversy to the theorem gives us a wedge on which to put our story on the editor's desk.

The magazines. Is there a single teacher writing on Fundamental Economics, in terms of reader acceptance. By that I mean, is this man sending in articles to *Scribners*, in *Scribner's* style, and that man to *Liberty*, in *Liberty's* style. There is a lot of "tripe" in magazines, economic and otherwise. A magazine depends more on presentation and subject matter, than it does on truth of contents. We have the truth. If we use the right style, presenting our subject entertainingly (I hate to use that word, too) more students will enroll for the course in a year than \$5,000 worth of magazine advertising.

If our field men could get to the editors of the village and rural weeklies, where land is more a drain than an income to its people, our programme touches that element that otherwise hardly scans our ads. in the *Nation* or *The New York Times*. Let the editors of these weeklies start the classes!

I can't begin to guess how many little magazinelettes are published in the country, but their circulation must total many hundred thousand people. These magazines go to the cream of the rebels, the minority that reads, then takes pen in hand, or mounts a soap-box. The readers of these little four-and-six sheet monthlies are the teachers of tomorrow. But it is patient contacting by the field men that will bring these media into our fold.

The stage. Almost fifty years ago a play called "Shore Acres" made a fortune for its author, James A. Herne. It was an attempt to discuss the land problem in the days when propaganda could be used only as a distillant in the main creative product. It is history to repeat that the play, despite its subtle evasion of the fundamental problem, did arouse people to that same problem, and interested them in Georgeism. Is there a modern play on the problem? Yes, at the Adelphi, called "One Third of the Nation," which treats of slum clearance in terms of land.

We are not interested in the platform and programmes of the Left-Wing parties, but we can certainly take a leaf from their book of experiences: We can form dramatic guilds among our graduates, and thereby acquaint a new audience with the School—at the same time that we are keeping our graduates close to us. Like the Federal Theatre play, indicated above, our writers should be creating other dramatic pieces on war, vice, political corruption—to bring to the attention of an ever-expanding prospective body of students the necessity of our government collecting economic rent.

Maybe you are one of those who look down on the movies as being fit entertainment only for 12-year olds. Go and see The March of Time's "Inside Nazi Germany." Look up "Zola," "Louis Pasteur," "Mr. Deeds Goes to Town," "Lost Horizon" at your neighborhood theatre. No propaganda in these pictures? The finest kind, and with no curtailment of entertainment value. Read what Frances Marion, highest paid scenario writer in the world, has to say about the presentation of social factors being gently woven into the fabric of a film story. It's all the rage now. Haven't we fiction writers in our movement?

Are we overlooking the 16mm. film? Most assuredly. More goods are being sold, more education being driven home, by 16mm. films than ever in history. There is a technique to this. This is the *one* medium wherein the largest total can catch the true essence of Georgeism without the editorial repressions inflicted by an outside medium of expression. The 16mm. film is produced exactly as we want to explain our work. With the recognition that the eye is the most potent factor in getting attention, and maintaining retention, this is the one medium that should be pursued immediately. It is inexpensive, it is entertaining; it provides an illustration for both lecturers and teachers.

Every social problem can be attacked, with the film, to show the solution as propounded by Henry George. Or, any author of a fictionized account of natural economics practice, conversant with our School's programme, I am sure, would make his story available. I can think of Ralston's "Shovelcrats" or Berens and Singer's "Story of My Dictatorship" as two good stories.

These pictures need not be in sound; they need not require expensive projection equipment. In almost every Georgeist class there is likely to be a member who owns a projector. A print of the film can be shipped from the School, so that cost of projection amounts to what transportation charges come to. A picture running a half hour, 800 feet in length, will do more to start a class off successfully with all large attendance of high calibred zealots, than any other promotion programme—providing the film is well publicized before the showing.

Radio. While I am not one of those persons especially influenced by radio promotion, this media must be tremendously powerful, else government, industry and commerce would not utilize it on so mammoth a scale. A series of broadcasts emanating from an original programme prepared by the School, in dramatic depiction, debate or simply well-prepared announcements, will further enhance the value of each class to its community.

Forums. We have never seen so many before. Why should the organizations which are contributing to fallacious economic thought have a monopoly on this media? When Town Talk of the Air is given each Thursday night, are there Georgeists in the audience who show that our economic ills must be approached from the natural economic point of view? Should the communists do all the boring within . . . ?

And local forums. Are the graduates from our various classes offering their services as speakers in the Sunday Evening Clubs in the churches. There is a high strata of intelligence in these clubs; the members are in the 20-30 age brackets.

Downtown window displays are a happy medium for making people acquainted with classes. Lacking dignity? Windows are used by the Boy Scouts, the Community Chest, the Chamber, and countless other civic associations. Every city has its share of empty stores. Every city has a Georgeist with a downtown shop. Twenty-five copies of Henry George's books, some bright placards, the *Freeman* and other publications spread about make your window. And, if you will do the job right, a lad or a girl to pass out the yellow pamphlet, and to make people acquainted with the locations and dates of classes.

I could go on with ten thousand words more, but better a little at a time. In Rochester we are endeavoring to see what sort of a laboratory we can establish for classes elsewhere. Our first class graduates the ninth of February. We meet in a court room in City Hall Annex. Point One for Publicity: Quality location. The Mayor is

giving the diplomas. Point Two: Justifies the attendance of the Press.

Our new term opens the following week: One class at the JYMA, and two more classes at City Hall Annex. Two of our teachers are old-time Georgeists, the third teacher, a graduate student (and instructor) at the University—and a graduate of our class.

As before, we are sending out 500 triple post cards supplied by the School. In each of the dailies will appear a "Letter the Editor" by myself, as Executive Secretary, and other letters over the signatures of various graduating students. In most cases I either supervise or write these letters to avoid duplication and provide correlation. Simultaneously with the letters appears a news story of the class opening. For the next two Sundays, five co-workers, secretaries and students, will distribute the pamphlet, "The School and the Course," with the local classes indicated by rubber stamp on the pamphlet's cover. These seven hundred pamphlets will be distributed to at least twelve young people's groups, meeting about 6:30 each Sunday evening; to the university library, to the economics department at the Public Library, and to the "Y's."

The Federation of Churches already has our announcement for their bulletin, with a request that pastors make announcements in the churches. Another announcement goes to the Chamber of Commerce bulletin. Of course, the weekly sectional newspapers will each receive a story; they are greedy for fillers, and their readers scan their papers from cover to cover. We also expect that Congressman Eckert will send us his address, "Land, Labor and the Wagner Act," in time for several thousand of those to go out.

We are hoping the day will come when a national service, originating from Headquarters, will supply us with movies, radio scripts, plays, carefully written feature articles for the newspapers, etc. For the time being we are utilizing our local resources. In our registration of 63 students for our first class, we checked back on each student and learned that:

Thirty came from daily newspaper announcements and Letters to the Editors; 6 from sectional weekly papers; 2 from Young People's Forum Announcement (made by an unknown friend); 7 through friends of Georgeists; 4 were Georgeists originally; 14 from 500 triple-cards.

If much of the travail that the average secretary goes through in writing a story acceptable to the newspaper (in order to get a decent amount of space) could be eliminated—if supplies other than the window posters could be sent the secretary, created, organized, and correlated by a New York publicity service or a full-time promotion man working for the School and all its extensions, the percentage of enquiry and registration could be materially raised. I believe in the advertising programme the School has undertaken in the *New York Times* and the weekly journals, but under the School's present re-

stricted budget, I believe it worthwhile to divide that appropriation between advertising and the buying of either promotion service, or the outright hiring of a publicity man who devotes all his time to selling the work of the Henry George School to the nation.

In other words, showmanship in education.

Causerie

BY THOMAS N. ASHTON

WOMAN'S WORK

MAN works from sun to sun," says the old adage, "but woman's work is never done."

Immediately there arises the vision of a toiling housewife or, in the scientific terminology of the United States Census, that of a "home-maker." The home-maker is defined as "that woman member of the family who was responsible for the care of the home and family," and we are further informed that this nation has (at the latest accounting) exactly 28,405,294 cases of this feminine fortitude.

It appears that there are nearly one and a half million families without a "mother" in this land of opportunity and triple taxes. Hired housekeepers are not rated as home-makers in this world of beano games, cross-word puzzles and multiple taxation—the sacrifice must be supreme, as to wages, before a home-maker's blue ribbon can be awarded for rearing a family. The more tragic part of the picture, as played up by the old adage, lies in the unsung, prosaic fact that nearly four millions of these home-makers are obliged to work at "gainful employment" in addition to—and in furtherance of—their unending tasks in keeping the wolf from the paint-peeled door as they keep the home fires burning in nondescript stoves. To these mothers of monotonous labor belong the distinguished service medals.

"That woman of the family" includes, of course, such girls of youthful years who have undertaken to carry the household burdens laid down by departed mothers, thus the ages of these womanly warriors might be anything from ten to three-score years and ten. Oratorical emotion-alists have at times dwelt upon the female labor question at great length. Senators and Representatives have struggled with "humanitarian legislation" seeking to prohibit the hiring of females at ages below a minimum which varies with the politics of the States. Laws on female labor, for hire, have taken the time and attention of our numerous Supreme Courts, wherefrom judicial decisions have emanated without any reference to the fundamental cause of child and woman labor.

In 1922 Justice Holmes was nonplussed by the reasoning of the majority members of the United States Supreme Court in the Adkins case which involved women, work, wages and morals. In a dissenting opinion Holmes said,

"I confess that I do not understand the principle on which the power to fix a minimum for the wages of women can be denied by those who admit the power to fix a maximum for their hours of work. . . . The bargain is equally affected whichever half you regulate."

In 1917 he dissented from the majority opinion in the *Hamer vs. Dagenhort* case involving child labor—girl-child home-makers included—"But if there is any matter upon which civilized countries have agreed. . . . it is the evil of premature and excessive child labor."

In both cases, as well as in a multitude of others passed upon to a legal finality by the wisdom of "the law," the economic duress which forces women and girls into labor competition with husbands, fathers, sons and brothers, is given no weight in seeking a final, lawful and binding conclusion upon the status of female toilers. In both cases, the majority and minority opinions of the Supreme Judges were exactly contrary to each other over an issue which never can settle such contentions—the final, legal indexing of women's wage-rights and child-labor rights now being settled by a fortuitous combination of men over a lesser combination of fellowmen—a mere matter of numbers, which at once disproves that we have "a government of laws and not of men." Thus the "rights" of women and children are settled (?) until the passage of time brings the natural Law of Consequences into revolt against uneconomic adjudications rendered by uninformed judiciaries.

What are the conditions today in respect to women and girls employed at "gainful" work? What can be done to remedy these conditions? If our civic leaders and tri-part governments, both State and national, simply ignore or wilfully refuse to learn and to apply the positive principles enunciated by Henry George, can we make better progress by challenging these negative conditions which now evoke naught but nonchalant acceptance as natural and inescapable results?

In the nation's roster of State home-makers we find Mississippi—the Magnolia State—leading the parade of States in the display of the greatest percentage of women and girls obliged to labor by day whilst keeping house by night. South Carolina—the Jasmine State—runs a close second. Louisiana—another Magnolia State—hits the low mark, with North Dakota—the Wild Prairie-Rose State—running next to low in the number of economic female slaves.

To gain a more comprehensive picture of the existing conditions relating to female enslavement under judicially-determined "freedom to contract," we find that Rhode Island—the shrinking Violet State—has more of the weaker sex, aged ten years and upwards, engaged as laborers for hire, than any other State in the Union. Massachusetts—the Mayflower State—sometimes known as the State of Mind—the home of culture and the birthplace of erudition—runs only a nose behind Little Rhody.

To West Virginia—the Rhododendron State—goes the iron cross for sending the fewest females (age ten and over) out into the world's uncouth competition for work and wages, whilst Idaho—the Syringa State—wins honorable mention comparable to the Rhododendron's record.

As we scrutinize the factual records of statesmanship among the States' enslavement of girls and women, the blossomy nomenclature of States' floral fragrance and femininity conveys a sense of tainted travesty upon female fragility. We are reminded of the story of six stalwart sons—grown to maturity and to physical perfection under the sacrificial ministrations of a doting, widowed mother—sons who compassionately relieved their maternal guardian of all future anxiety. "Dear mother, you have toiled long enough in bringing us to the threshold of manhood. No longer shall you slave for us—you are free to go out and work for yourself."

The magnolias and jasmines and prairie roses and shrinking violets and mayflowers and syringias have seen three-score springtime birthdays illumined in the morning sun since Henry George penned the powerful paragraphs which point the way to economic freedom for women, children and men as well, but as we foolish humans stand looking through taxation's bars our statesmen (?) see the mud, whilst Single Taxers see the stars.

DICTATOR DE LUXE

Political chaos had come.

From his sheltered window on the third floor of the State House the Governor looked out upon an ever-increasing mob which surged onward and upward toward the State Capitol. Frantic fear filled his mind and, with a furtive glance around his suite, he snatched at his hat and disappeared through his private exit.

A nondescript, timid soul paused in his walk as he passed the front of the Capitol building—paused to ponder the rushing mob which swept toward him with all the force and roar of an angry surf. Too long did this gentle stranger stand in the path of the shouting, struggling mass of humanity and, in surprising quickness, he found himself swept upward and onward into the Halls of Statesmanship—coming to rest only when the mob precipitately had rushed him into the Senate chamber. With uncanny alertness this unknown simple soul quickly mounted the rostrum and at once mustered all his strength to swing the gavel up and down upon the Speaker's desk.

Fleeing Senators and Representatives turned in their wild haste and automatically ran back to the Senate chamber—struggling through the mob finally to force their way into the Senate in a disheveled condition. Surprise swept their faces as they saw an undersized, anemic stranger pounding away with the gavel.

"This man must be the leader of this mob," said one Senator to ten Representatives as quiet fell upon the

raucous rabble. "We had better humor him lest we excite his wrath and perish at his command."

"The convention will be in order," commanded the Unknown Speaker. "The Senators will be seated. The Representatives will fill the chairs around the areas and also occupy the standing room. The citizens will repair to the galleries. The loud-speaker will be operated at once—in and out the corridors and at the main entrance. Relief is at hand. The sergeant-at-arms will lock the Senate doors and bring the keys to this desk. The convention will give its attention, in absolute quiet and with utmost respect. Any infraction by any member of this Parliament, of this last order, will be cause for throwing the member to the mob."

Nonchalantly did the Unknown Speaker select an old, brown, dilapidated book from a miscellany of tracts and pamphlets which yet he hugged to his breast with his free hand.

Calmly he faced his audience.

"I have come to restore the peace and prosperity of this naturally wealthy State," he began. "Jobs shall be had by all who wish to work. Industry shall be freed of its shackles. Capital shall go its legitimate way untrammelled. All this shall be done upon the completion of my message and instructions—it shall be done by immediate Act of this parliament, and within seven days this glorious Commonwealth shall be forever free of fear and famine and silly depressions."

The mob in the galleries—the mob in the corridors—and the mob out at the main entrance stood spellbound whilst they wondered who this Unknown Speaker might be. The Governor could not be found and the Lieutenant Governor was not far behind him.

The Unknown Speaker resumed his address.

"I shall be brief and to the point. My message is the essence of simplicity. Each day, for seven days, I shall read to you a portion of our future economic platform. Each evening I shall examine the members of this parliament as to what they have learned from my readings. Each and every fractious member of this parliament shall be thrown, unceremoniously, to the attending mob—thrown to be torn limb from limb."

Opening his well-worn copy of "Progress and Poverty" at page one the Unknown Speaker began to read the high-lights of paragraph and page.

The Unknown Speaker paused in his readings.

"In order that my readings may be absorbed by this august body with as little pain as possible, I shall frequently pause to permit the penetration of the thought. The mob awaits any and all members who are inclined to equivocate or to offer ill-considered arguments. My people and I have been patient during three centuries. That patience has terminated. We are here to stay until this book's teachings have been digested by this assembly

and legislation appropriate thereto has been enacted. No other course will be tolerated. The mob awaits. Bear with me and you shall enjoy peace and freedom once again, or else . . . the mobs are waiting inside and outside this public institution."

For seven days and seven nights did this nondescript, sallow, timid soul—this Unknown Speaker—carry on his nonchalant readings betimes; resting only when necessary to snatch a morcel of food or to sleep for forty winks, at which times unknown assistants who unobtrusively had slipped up behind him carried on his work and ready to awaken him if the parliament grew unruly. For seven days and seven nights the mob intermittently surged in and out the State House, counseling among themselves as to the promise which beckoned to them from the pages of "Progress and Poverty" through the raucous tones of the several loud-speakers. For seven days and seven nights the mob heard the brief and intermittent examinations conducted by the Unknown Speaker and his assistants. For seven days and seven nights the mob heard the patient reminders, from the Unknown Speaker to the parliament, that the mob awaited all recalcitrant members of the convention.

And on the seventh day the mob heard legislation enacted forever removing taxes from industry—forever taxing into the public treasury the site-values of land—forever abolishing involuntary idleness and economic slavery—forever abolishing the vices, crimes, nearly all disease, all alms of future programmes, all "work projects," all spectres of poverty in old age in every home, and all other contingent adverse conditions which arise from a devastating tax system.

Thirty days had scarce elapsed—industry was in full swing—labor was in great demand—capital freely was circulating—and the depression had become history. A Senator crossing the Park saw the Unknown Speaker approaching.

"Say!" called the Senator, "just who are you and how did you come to lead that mob into the State House?"

"I didn't lead the mob. They rushed me into the Senate chamber in their mad desire to reach your vanished Governor. I merely seized the opportunity to say a few words on Single Tax when I was interrupted on my way to circulate a few pamphlets in the suburbs. As to my identity, I am merely another Single Taxer."

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

Panicky apprehension at times has seized readers and listeners as they pondered the unequivocal statement of Henry George to the effect that rent taken in taxation for public purposes "virtually abolishes private ownership in land."

Without further understanding of the condition, George's words sound like the dawn of violent chaos and perpetual anarchy.

As a matter of fact there never has existed, in community life, an *unconditional* right, title or interest in land for exclusive ownership. No such right, or "private ownership in land," today exists to the benefit of the occupant thereof as against the authority of the State. Therefore, the taking of rent in taxation cannot abolish an "ownership" which never has existed.

The much vaunted "fee simple" is not a total, absolute, invulnerable title. All ownerships of land have been, in the past and are today, conditioned upon the payment of taxes or services levied by the sovereign power. Fail to pay your taxes and you lose your land; the State will sell it to liquidate your debt. As long as you pay your tax bills you may remain in possession with as much "ownership" as anyone ever can attain under any form of community jurisdiction.

There would be no change, in rights of exclusive possession or in the right to transfer title, under Single Tax. The State does not care who owns the land as long as the taxes due from the site are paid—neither under Single Tax.

"Private ownership," under either the feudal or modern form of government, is a relative designation. It offers nothing more than exclusive possession, and right to transfer title, until the sovereign authority decides otherwise.

Under Single Tax there can be no virtual abolition of private ownership in land to any greater degree, or in any effect, than has always been within the right of the community to exercise.

Under Single Tax there *can* be an actual abolition of the private appropriation of publicly-created site-values.

Ancient Authority

AFTER thoroughly tracing the title to a piece of Louisiana property his client desired to buy, a lawyer was told by the client that the search had not gone back far enough. The lawyer sent the following letter in reply:

"Dear Sir: There are no records available which concern the title to the above land any farther back than the United States Government.

"However, from a historical standpoint, I can enlighten you as to the title so that the objections you have raised will be waived.

"The land was acquired by the United States Government in 1803 by purchase from France under what we now refer to as the Louisiana purchase.

"France acquired possession of the land by conquest as the result of a successful war with Spain.

"Spain acquired possession of the land by virtue of the fact that a young man in her service by the name of Columbus, on the 12th day of October, 1492, discovered it and claimed it for Spain.

Ferdinand and Isabella, the King and Queen of Spain, got their authority for sponsoring the voyage from the Pope of Rome.

"The Pope of Rome got his authority by virtue of the fact that he said he was the vicar of Christ on earth.

"Christ got his authority by the fact that he was the son of God and God created the earth."

MELVIN M. BELL in the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

*The La Follettes, Feudal Lords of Wisconsin

By J. CRAIG RALSTON

LIKE our forefathers, we will use every power of government to open the frontier of this age. We will build stockades and forts to protect industrious producers from raiding squads—we will use its might to cut through the modern underbrush of worn out debts. We will use without hesitation its authority to suppress the modern counterpart of the savages—those stupid people who deny others access to materials that they themselves do not know how rightly to use."

In these brave words, Gov. Philip F. La Follette of Wisconsin, proclaimed the goal to which he and his brother Robert, the Senator, will lead the National Progressives of the La Follettes' new political party. He has not said what road they will take. The La Follettes, however, are not new-comers. They have traveled a long trail. It is possible to sight along the milestones that mark their course, and determine how near they will come to the point they set out to reach. So let's look at the milestones.

The La Follettes are income taxers. They believe in taxing the rich—taxation based on "ability to pay," as they understand the phrase.

Long years ago the elder Senator La Follette purchased the well known 60-acre Maple Bluff farm, on the outskirts of Madison, for \$30,000. With Madison's growth, the farm became urban residential property, and grew up to grass and unearned increment. After the old Senator's estate was settled, some of the choice sites were sold. They yielded more than \$50,000. The remaining acreage is assessed around \$90,000, but it will probably go on the market for more—provided pump-priming gets values back to where they were. The unearned profits of that land do not shock the La Follettes. Were a utility stock boomed to five times its original worth, it might intrigue them, and even become a campaign issue, but not the five-fold increase in the farm. Their attitude is that of the typical business-minded American landlord,—the land has "increased in value"—which is of course a good thing for the owners.

To the country generally, the La Follettes are best known for zeal in politics and reform. The milestones which thickly stud this field point to the well established La Follette faith in regulation, socialization and benign government.

La Follette taxes, and La Folette tax relief, must be analyzed together.

*Cheap land values and lower taxes made America more prosperous than Europe. The La Follettes have reversed this formula with higher prices for land and higher taxes. Mr. Ralston shows how it works. Besides this, and as a consequence, Wisconsin government is a maze of bureaucracies. This is the kind of society to which the La Follette party is heading.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

The show piece of the drive to wipe out property taxes and replace them with other revenues, is the income tax. It applies to both corporations and individuals. Who really pays the corporate tax is a matter of some contention, on which the state tax commission has not hazarded extensive opinion. Under a Supreme Court ruling, utilities charge their taxes up to operating costs. This is merely partial recognition of the fact that the public eventually pays all tax bills in the form of a consumers' price payment.

The up-and-coming Wisconsin youth who gets his first job pays on all income he makes in excess of \$15.38 per week. When he weds, he pays on all over \$23.27. These have always been Wisconsin income tax levels. In recent years, Senator La Follette has sought to embody them in Federal schedules.

The income tax commands the greater share of public applause, but it does not yield as much replacement revenues as other taxes—taxes not based on "ability to pay."

Pre-depression 1929 State revenues amounted to \$47,400,000. Of this sum, income taxes produced \$21,500,000. Other large items were gasoline tax (two cents per gallon), \$8,000,000; motor vehicle licences, \$12,000,000; railroads, \$7,000,000. After four depression years, the State, in 1935, raised \$46,800,000. Income taxes yielded \$9,000,000. Other important revenues were gasoline taxes (increased to four cents per gallon), \$15,000,000; motor vehicle licences, \$10,000,000; railroads, \$4,500,000. In both years transportation paid more than incomes.

Income tax enthusiasts hope to improve the showing. Prof. Harold M. Groves, University of Wisconsin economist and La Follette braintruster, shares the hopeful outlook of other addicts to the income tax.

"Its proponents," to quote Prof. Groves, "say that as administration improves and other states adopt income tax statutes, the income tax will replace the property tax as the major source of State and local revenues. They point to European countries to show that this can be done."

Without question, the Wisconsin law is the most successful state income tax so far enacted. In its first experimental year, the income tax yielded \$1,631,000. Through changes in the law and increased industrial earnings, it rose to the 1929 \$21,500,000 peak. Under stress of hard times, incomes stopped and so did revenues. Bolstered by our sur-tax levies, it attained the 1935 \$9,000,000 level—except for reinforcements it would have dropped to \$7,000,000. As a depression tax, it is somewhat of a failure.

The La Follettes have probably surpassed other statesmen in the "relief of real estate." They have created a

"tax free state"—a state supported by special and indirect taxes. Wisconsin real estate taxes are levied only by city, county, and local boards.

The State's shift to income and other special taxes is reflected in a comparison of Wisconsin's general property levy with similar levies in neighbor states. The Wisconsin general property tax is lower per capita than in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New York or Ohio. If all taxation be taken into account, however, Wisconsin taxation is higher per capita than in any of these states except New York. The difference goes into the "relief of real estate."

Real estate includes both buildings and land. When buildings are "relieved," they will not respond in a speculative way. Land will. Its privileged tax position will produce an accession of "unearned increment."

Sales taxes afford a clear illustration of "tax relief for real estate." In Arkansas, the share cropper pays a sales tax. This exempts the property of his landlord. The landlord's land absorbs the exemption benefit. It becomes more valuable, and the share cropper will eventually pay a higher rental for the use of more valuable property. To the share cropper is therefore shifted two new burdens—the sales tax, and higher rent.

A trifle more indirectly, the Wisconsin tax system produced like results—or, if it was not wholly responsible for their production, it did not prevent them. For a third of a century—throughout the whole La Follette era—farm land values, farm mortgages and farm tenancy have steadily increased.

In 1900 Wisconsin had 169,795 farms, comprising 19,862,727 acres, the land (exclusive of the improvements) valued at \$530,542,690. The mortgage debt was \$55,304,696. Of the farms, 77,490 were mortgage free; 65,589 mortgaged.

In 1930, the State had 181,707 farms, comprising 21,874,155 acres, the land alone valued at \$985,549,246. The mortgage debt was \$355,029,993. Of the farms, 55,509 were mortgage free, 86,680 mortgaged. The total mortgage debt had increased more than six fold.

In 1900, 55 farmers out of 100 owned mortgage free farms, 45 had mortgages. Of 100 farmers in 1930, 41 were mortgage free, 59 mortgaged. Between 1900 and 1935, farm tenancy advanced from 13.5 to 20.6 per cent.

The La Follettes are ambitious to do more.

"When the schools are financed mainly by the income tax, and the roads mainly by a gasoline tax, very little property tax problems will remain," says a current platform. There have been hints that the La Follettes would like to harness their public ownership and tax programs tandem to "relief for real estate" and trot along more rapidly.

The Progressive, the La Follettes' political weekly, extols public ownership cities which charge enough for light, water or power to pay the cost of government. This, says *The Progressive*, demonstrates "the soundness

of the principle of public ownership from the standpoint of the public welfare." Public ownership will be thus utilized to shift tax loads to consumers, and its benefits will be transferred to our landed gentry.

The La Follettes proceed with tax and tax relief programmes on the hypothesis that these instrumentalities will promote the more equitable distribution of wealth, or that they will open doors of opportunity to people who are on the hunt for the doors. There is nothing in the picture to indicate a successful climax for either aim.

Mr. Otto Cullman, chairman of the Manufacturers and Merchants' Federal Tax League of Chicago, says the great American landlord now possesses unearned increment amounting to \$180,000,000,000, whence he derives a daily income of \$20,000,000. Mr. Emil Jorgensen, Mr. Cullman's associate, estimated recently that 10 per cent of the people of the United States are most of the landlords—they own 90 per cent of the \$180,000,000,000. Forty per cent own 10 per cent of it, and the remaining 50 per cent own none. On the basis of these figures the crusade to "relieve real estate" will succor a relatively small and wealthy portion of the population. Its effect will be to sweeten the \$180,000,000,000 jackpot. It will exempt from taxation monopolists who control iron, coal, copper, and other raw materials and their sources, and enable them to tighten their clutch. It will also enhance the value of the La Follettes' real estate. It is doubtful if the La Follettes are even dimly aware of this fact. They probably believe that rising land values reflect newly created wealth to which possessors of the land hold the best title.

Sighting down the milestones that mark La Follette economic theory, one cannot see that they point the way for the National Progressives' new crusade.

The La Follettes are governmentalsists. A survey of recent La Follette platforms yields these remedies for the public's ills.

Government will establish a "planned economy" to guide the nation's life; it will see that every man and woman has a job "at a wage which the full productive capacity of society can afford;" it will finance public works; it will acquire and operate the railroads; it will own and operate utilities; it will own and operate water powers; it will manufacture war munitions; it will operate a government bank to lend the people money; it will provide social security in the form of varied types of pension benefits; it will classify lands and set some aside for farmers and some for forests; it will guarantee farmers and home owners against loss of farms and homes; it will control farm prices by means of publicity or co-operatively-owned exchanges where farm prices will be made; it will refinance farm mortgages at low interest rates; it will manufacture and sell farm machinery; it will regulate live stock and grain exchanges; it will make the distribution of milk a public utility, and regulate it; it will guarantee the farmer cost of production; it will

devise new ways to shift taxes from "real estate" to incomes and inheritances.

If the La Follettes pursue the line of march fixed by these programmes they will come to grips with no raiding squads, no out-worn debts, no "stupid people who deny others access to materials that they themselves do not know how rightly to use." Marauders of industry and "modern counterparts of the savages" will be safe for a long while.

Henry George School

NEW TEACHERS TRAINING CLASS

ON Monday evening, May 2, a new teachers training class was organized at the headquarters School in New York under the guidance of the Director of the School, Frank Chodorov.

All of these twenty-five students have taken the ten weeks' course in "Progress and Poverty," and have followed this with a six weeks' course in "Protection or Free Trade?" and another ten weeks' course based upon the "Science of Political Economy." Thus they have already spent twenty-six weeks in the study of George's books. A number of them have supplemented this formal study with the reading of other books and pamphlets by Henry George, and some have read George Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George."

The teachers training course is of indeterminate length. Each student purchases a copy of the "Teacher's Manual." He is instructed to re-read "Progress and Poverty" in connection with the Manual, to question the validity of these answers, to discuss improvement upon the questions. The class is instructed to make notes in these Manuals of any illustrations, arguments or stories which come up in the course of the sessions, so that they can use this material when they become teachers.

A different student is assigned to become a teacher of the teachers training class at each session. Mr. Chodorov and other instructors take their place in the classroom. As each question comes up the class discusses it, and the object is to bring up such objections as would normally come up in a beginner's class. If the class itself does not bring up a sufficient number of objections, the trained observers in the class start sharp shooting. Of course, sometimes the temporary instructor of the class cannot handle the questions that come up, and in that case the director comes to his rescue.

Previous training classes of the School have taken from fifteen to twenty weeks to complete the course. Therefore, it is quite likely that these twenty-five will devote the entire Summer to this preparatory work. They will be given classes in October. The plans of the School call for one hundred classes this Fall in New York City. There are at present only forty-one trained teachers in the city, and this new training class will not turn out

a sufficient number to carry out this programme. It is therefore planned to open up another teachers training class in three weeks, when the present classes in International Trade will have completed the course. There are 120 students in this course.

Attendance in the teachers training course is by invitation only.

New Courses for the Fall

FOR a long time the need for enlarging and rounding out the curriculum of the School has been recognized by the director and the trustees. Always the problem of space retarded the development and execution of these ideas. But during the summer a curriculum will be developed which will greatly increase the scope of the School.

A short course, probably not over six sessions, will be built upon "Social Problems." An experimental class or two will be started. Since Henry George suggested the reading of this book as preliminary to the study of "Progress and Poverty," the course will be given with that objective in view. It is believed that many students who enroll in our course entitled "Fundamental Economics and Social Philosophy," find the abstract reasoning in "Progress and Poverty" too difficult to encompass. A number of those who have dropped out of our classes during the first three lessons—where the dropping-out is greatest—have given the difficulty of understanding the book as a reason. Perhaps an introduction to this study through the reading of George's more popularly written book would ease the transition, make the study of "Progress and Poverty" less arduous, and thus increasing the number of those who complete the course.

The ten-weeks' course will not be abandoned. But one or two experimental classes, with "Social Problems" as a beginning, will be started this fall. By February, 1939, the results of this experiment may re-orientate our fundamental course.

To those who have completed the fundamental course will be offered six weeks on the "Principles of International Trade," followed by ten weeks of the "Science of Political Economy." Two other advanced courses are now being prepared. One is based on George Raymond Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George" (eight weeks), the other on Harry Gunnison Brown's "Economic Basis of Tax Reform." The sequence of these various courses have not yet been determined upon; they will be open only to those who have completed the fundamental course. A small tuition fee will be charged for all advanced courses.

Other courses that have been suggested, but which must remain in the discussion stage until means and methods are devised, are these: Public Speaking, Theory and Practice of Assessments and Taxation, Current Events, Research Methods.

Ours is a rather unique experiment in adult education.

One must almost return to the early pedagogical ideas of the Jesuits to find a parallel. There is no real guide that we can fully rely upon in our planning for a greater and more thorough school. Therefore, we must plan carefully, experiment, avail ourselves of opportunities, study results and rebuild upon our experience. Only time and conscientious effort will bring us to our ultimate goal—the goal of Oscar Geiger—The Henry George University.

The Henry George School at Northport, Long Island

ON Friday evening, April 8, the graduating class of the Henry George School of Social Science at Northport, New York, held a dinner at Muller's to celebrate the occasion and receive their diplomas. Inclement weather conditions obliged two to drop out, but with the ten members present, plus their leader, Mr. Eric Howlett, and two guests, the meeting was a singularly felicitous and interesting one. Eleven nationalities were represented among the forebears of the group: English, Scottish, Irish, Norwegian, Swiss, French, German, Austrian, Italian, Spanish, Polish. General discussion, specific practical questions propounded, and answers, either proffered or deferred, for further consideration, were the order of the evening. A concluding roll-call and questioning of members, to which each responded with a brief statement of his or her personal reaction to this first course, revealed not only the intelligent and active-minded interest in the subject aroused by Mr. Howlett, but also a general desire to pursue the study further under his guidance. More than half the group signified their intention to take the course in "Protection or Free Trade?" if he would organize it. Before the party dispersed, copies of *LAND AND FREEDOM* and the *Freeman* were distributed, with announcement of the special subscription offer to graduates.

Report of Field Director of Henry George School

JOHN LAWRENCE MONROE, Field Director of the Henry George School of Social Science, returned to the national headquarters May 20 after a month in western New York State and Eastern Canada, meeting with extension class leaders, correspondence course graduates and other friends of the School.

This trip further confirmed him in the belief that the correspondence graduates will supply class leaders in centers where there are now no prospective teachers. "A fine addition to the Toronto teaching staff came from a correspondence course graduate in the person of A. I. MacKay."

Mr. Monroe was greatly impressed by the growth of the School throughout Eastern Canada under the direction of Herbert T. Owens, Toronto, and John Anderson, Montreal, and their associates; many of whom are graduates.

"Howard Hogg and Miss Strehel Walton, extension secretaries respectively, for Toronto and Montreal are among these graduates," Mr. Monroe pointed out.

"Hamilton, Ontario, was put on the campus by the self-sacrificing efforts of Ernest Farmer of Toronto, who rode by bus eighty miles each week for over five months to take two classes through the fundamental course. His reward comes in the fact that in the fall there will be two elementary classes in Hamilton—both taught by his graduates. Robert Wynn, Hamilton's extension secretary, is a graduate of Mr. Farmer's first class.

"As graduates move from one city to another they invariably take the School with them. Mr. and Mrs. Frank Leach are Toronto graduates. Now they are up near Peterboro, Ontario, and they are planning on a class there in the fall.

Mr. Anderson of Montreal, can feel mighty proud that out of his first class came two graduates who have taught classes—Miss Margaret Bateman and Mrs. L. P. Boudler. Mr. Anderson has thus been free to teach advanced courses."

Mr. Monroe met with the Boston Chapter of the Henry George Fellowship on May 26, and with the Women's Single Tax League of Washington (D. C.) on June 5. The balance of the time until July 1, he will be available to cooperate with the School leaders in other centers of New England, and in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

GENEVA (N. Y.) STARTS CLASS

GENEVA, N. Y. The opening session of the first extension class of the Henry George School of Social Science was held April 21 at the home of Henry B. Graves, official of the Ontario Sand and Gravel Co., Inc. John Lawrence Monroe, field director of the Henry George School, outlined the purpose of the course. Mr. Graves will be the instructor.

Buffalo Joins Campus With Summer Class

BUFFALO, N. Y. Classwork of the Buffalo Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science will be inaugurated by a summer course in fundamental economics to be given at the West End Presbyterian Church commencing Wednesday, June 1, at eight o'clock. Reverend William Wylie Young, formerly of Toledo, will be the instructor.

Contributors to the Buffalo extension fund making the class-work possible include Henry C. Stark, Henry H. Work, Thomas H. Work, Dr. John B. Ernsmerc and Charles D. Blackhall. Assisting with the secretarial work is Frank D. Silvernail.

School Notes

At the opening of the Extension Class at Jamaica, L. I., an attendance of seventy-five greeted Dr. S. A. Schneidman who will conduct the course. The large number of attendants will necessitate the formation of two classes. * * * Allan J. Wilson of Cleveland, Ohio, who holds the record for the largest number of graduates in this city, graduated forty-eight from his four classes. At a dinner held in honor of the graduation David Gibson, Peter Witt and Marvin G. Harrison spoke. * * * The Teacher's Manual of the Henry George School will be translated in Sangli for use of students in Sangli, India, by John L. Gosheen of the Agricultural School of Sangli. He seems to think the times are favorable for interesting people in the Henry George movement here. * * * Frank Chodorov, Director of the Henry George School, gave an address at Arden, Del., on the economic causes of war. About fifty persons were in attendance. * * * Ernest J. Farmer of Toronto, presented diplomas to seventeen graduates of the Henry George School at Hamilton, Ontario, on April 7. * * * Lancaster M. Greene, teacher and trustee of the Henry George School, extended an invitation to Hon. Cordell Hull to address the recent Commencement. Mr. Hull wrote in reply: "Because of my great interest in your institution of learning and the work it is doing, it would give me great pleasure to take part in your Commencement exercises this year. I have given earnest consideration to the possibility of my sending you an acceptance at this time." Mr. Hull, however, found it im-

possible to do so. *** The New York Municipal Civil Service Commission will grant rating credits to all civil service employes who pass the sixteen weeks' course at the Henry George School. *** The total enrollments in the correspondence course have passed the four thousand mark. The Director of the correspondence course is Gaston Haxo, whom friends of the movement will remember. *** During the recent trip of John Lawrence Monroe, field secretary of the Henry George School, he covered 29,523 miles of highway east of Chicago and worked in 63 cities. *** A dinner of the New York faculty was held at the Hotel Luzerne, 79th Street, on April 29. *** William J. Schieffelin, one of the trustees of the Tuskagee Institute, reports a deep interest in the Henry George School in that institution. The president of Tuskagee is reading "Progress and Poverty" and a number of students are taking the correspondence course. *** A large gathering of the East Bay Chapter of the Henry George Fellowship was recently held in Oakland, California. The principal speaker was Joseph S. Thompson, prominent San Francisco manufacturer and well known Georgeist. *** John F. Bond of Greenfield, Mass., ending his class in "Progress and Poverty," has started a class in international trade. *** Professor George Raymond Geiger, son of Oscar H. Geiger, founder of the Henry George School, is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Antioch College. He is preparing a manual for his "Philosophy of Henry George," to be used in advance classes of the Henry George School. *** Ten sets of correspondence lessons in "Progress and Poverty" have been sent to the penitentiary at Rikers Island, N. Y., at the request of Lee Klauber, director of education. Mr. Kauber heard of the course from Clinton Prison at Dannemora, where a number of students receive the lessons regularly.

The Late Hon. H. F. Hardacre

THE HON. H. F. HARDACRE became interested in Single Tax at an early age. He was a seeker after better conditions for the working class, to which he belonged. When Henry George came to Brisbane Mr. Hardacre attended his lectures and very soon "saw the cat." With the late Mr. Murray Frazer, who was a land-nationalizer from Scotland, he formed the first Single Tax League in Queensland. Later he became a member of the Labor Party, and took every opportunity (as on "addresses in reply") to proclaim Georgeian principles upon the floor of the "house". Later as a cabinet minister he always pressed the importance of the land question upon his fellow ministers, helping to get very important measures passed which had the effect of freeing all improvements from taxation for municipal rates. By another act in which his influence is reflected all unoccupied land was made to pay two pence in the £ more than land in use. He was impatient at the slow progress his party made along Single Tax lines. He was heard to say: "Of all the acts we have passed, only those that are in accordance with the principles of Henry George are any good."

As a Judge of the Land Court he fretted when the law of the land prevented him from giving decisions according to the teachings of "Progress and Poverty," which he had made his own.

Many a little talk he had with his fellow judges who held him in respect, when they found existing laws inequitable, and were conjecturing what should be.

Mr. Hardacre was always at the beck and call of any body, however small or however distant, that wished enlightenment on the subject he was so competent to give. He often returned home at a late hour in the last train, having nearly a mile to walk at the end, up hill most of the way. Shortly before his death he addressed a meeting of clergymen of several denominations.

The Government gave him a State funeral which was largely attended. The Henry George League, of which he was the father, sent a wreath, and a Henry George address couched in such terms as would have been well pleasing to the deceased was read by one of the officiating clergymen who had been one of the company at the meeting just mentioned.—EDWIN I. S. HARDING.

The Talking Book Machine

THE following letter has been received by Alexander Pernod of Chicago, from a blind friend:

"It will be of interest to you and others who believe in the philosophy of Henry George, to hear that the Library of Congress has released to the twenty-two distributing libraries, 'Selections from 'Progress and Poverty' by Henry George' for the use of the blind on the Talking Book Machine.

The text is the same as the printed edition of the same title that can be found on the shelves of any library or book shop. It was transcribed into Braille a number of years ago for the use of the blind.

The reader of the recorded book is John Knight whose voice and clear enunciation has made him very popular with the blind. He starred with Robert Mantell and with Margaret Anglin two years ago in her revival of the Greek Tragedies.

The Talking Books are circulated for the exclusive use of the blind and can be reproduced only on the machine designed for that purpose, but they afford such wonderful entertainment that the blind like to share them with the sighted members of their family and their friends.

It is estimated that only 25 per cent of the blind read Braille and the Talking Book was designed for the use of those, who, on account of age or some other reason, could not learn to read the type. There are about eighteen thousand machines already in use and more are being placed every day.

Those followers of Henry George who would like to have a real intellectual treat would find one by hunting up a blind man and asking him to read this book to him.

EDWARD JAMES HALL."

To this Mr. Pernod adds: "There are ten records or disks, a record for each of the ten books in 'Progress and Poverty.' It takes about thirty minutes to run off a record."

TAX manufacturers, and the effect is to check manufacturing; tax improvements, and the effect is to lessen improvements; tax commerce, and the effect is to prevent exchange; tax capital, and the effect is to drive it away. But the whole value of land may be taken in taxation, and the only effect will be to stimulate industry, to open new opportunities to capital and to increase the production of wealth.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

ON the other hand, we who call ourselves Single Tax men (a name which expresses merely our practical propositions), see in the social and industrial relations of men not a machine which requires construction, but an organization which needs only to be suffered to grow.

"The Condition of Labor," by HENRY GEORGE.

AND it may be said generally, that businesses which are in their nature monopolies are properly part of the functions of the State, and should be assumed by the State. There is the same reason why Government should carry telegraphic messages as that it should carry letters; that railroads should belong to the public as that common roads should.—PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

Robert Schalkenbach Foundation Report

THE annual meeting of members and directors of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation was held May 24, 1938, at the offices of the Foundation.

An election of officers was held for the ensuing year, resulting in the following designations of office: President, Hon. Lawson Purdy; 1st Vice-President, Lancaster M. Greene; 2nd Vice-President, Albert Pleydell; Treasurer, Henry George Atkinson; Executive Secretary, Mrs. Antoinette K. Wambough.

Two vacancies arising from the resignation of Mr. Spaulding Frazer and the death of our beloved trustee, Mr. Edward Polak, were filled by the nomination and election of Mr. Ezra Cohen and Miss Charlotte Schetter.

The membership of the Board when the Foundation was first formed contained the names of Samuel Seabury, John Moody, Charles T. Root, Louis F. Post, James R. Brown, E. Yancey Cohen, Mr. Charles O'Connor Hennessey, Arthur Pleydell, Chas. H. Ingersoll, Frederic C. Leubuscher, John J. Murphy, George L. Rusby, Albert Schalkenbach, Lawson Purdy, Edward Polak, Frank Stephens, Richard Eyre, Walter Fairchild, Bolton Hall, John H. Allen, and our editor of LAND AND FREEDOM, Joseph Dana Miller.

Of that brilliant company, many have passed away, others have resigned and splendid new workers (trustees) have been elected from time to time, so that the present roster (including the new elections of officers at the recent meeting) stands as follows:

Hon. Lawson Purdy, president; Mr. Lancaster M. Green, Vice-President; Mr. Albert Pleydell, 2nd Vice-President; Mr. Henry George Atkinson, Treasurer; Mrs. Anna George deMille; Messrs. John H. Allen, John W. Angus, Otto K. Dorn, Walter Fairchild, Philip H. Cornick, Charles H. Ingersoll, Thomas Larkin, Frederic C. Leubuscher, Raymond V. McNally, Charles J. Post, Leonard T. Recker, George Rusby, Albert E. Schalkenbach, Bolton Hall, Ezra Cohen and Charlotte Schetter.

President Purdy reported that the Foundation has printed or bought from other publishers for distribution, 90,515 books.

The inventory stands at 11,453 books.

54,000 books have been distributed by the Foundation to the general public, libraries, bookstores, Single Tax groups, colleges, high schools and other institutions.

18,562 books have been sent by it to the Henry George School of Social Science and its extensions, on purchase, for use in the classes conducted by these schools, and also in some degree for the personal use of some of the extension leaders who engage in additional missionary work over and above the time given so generously by them to their classes.

6,500 books representing one-half of recent large printings of "Progress and Poverty", "Protection or Free Trade?" and "The Science of Political Economy" have been purchased by the local Henry George School for future use.

The current year shows 13,111 books sent out from the Foundation office, 4,410 going to extension classes, 3,874 to the public through Foundation work, and 4,827 to the local Henry George School.

President Purdy stated that the really fine "Science of Political Economy"—new American edition, the first single volume edition since 1898—has appealed not only to our own Henry George followers, but to the bookstore public, and plans are being made to obtain a wide distribution of the title.

Interest of the general public in this title and other Henry George titles was considerably furthered by the mention of the printing of 10,000 "Progress and Poverty", 2,000 "Protection or Free Trade?" and 1,000 of the new "Science of Political Economy", in Harry Hanson's Book Mark column, syndicated in a number of Scripps-Howard papers, and appearing originally in the May 3 issue of the *World Telegram*, New York.

In the early part of the year Mr. Morris Van Veen suggested to the acting secretary, Miss Peterson, that a donation of Henry George books to the White House Library would be helpful. Miss Peterson obtained information concerning the White House Library and received the permission of the secretary to arrange such a gift. Upon returning to the work at the office, the undersigned found that this was one of the matters to be forwarded, and further arranged with Mr. McIntyre, secretary to the President, that our trustee, John H. Allen, make the presentation. "Progress and Poverty", "Protection or Free Trade?", "Social Problems", "The Land Question", "The Life of Henry George", the new "Science of Political Economy", "A Perplexed Philosopher", "The Prophet of San Francisco" and "The Philosophy of Henry George", are now in the White House Library, a library started by President Hoover, to serve future presidents. Every four years a committee of publishers selects a list of books which are formally presented and added to the collection. Mr. Van Veen, noticing that the writings of Henry George were not included, was prompted to make this suggestion which was fruitful of much good.

On May 9, the office received a most cordial letter from President Roosevelt himself, stating that he was delighted with the gift, and that he, being not unfamiliar with the principles expounded by Henry George, was glad to have the set of books for his library.

A report of this acknowledgment appeared in the Hansen Book Marks column of the *World Telegram*, May 13.

Mr. Alfred N. Chandler, active for many years in forwarding land value taxation measures in the New Jersey legislature, spoke with Ex-Governor Hoffman recently

and gained the sincere interest of Mr. Hoffman in the principles of Henry George. A copy of "Progress and Poverty" with letter was sent to Mr. Hoffman at the suggestion of Mr. Chandler, who said that Governor Hoffman would read it and then have a further talk on the subject.

A fine letter—one of the best we have read—was prepared by Miss Mona McMahon of New Orleans and sent by the Foundation office with a copy of "Progress and Poverty" to Miss Dorothy Thompson.

Kathleen Norris walked into the office at noon one day last month. She is a stately, impressive woman, and she came quickly to the point. Having given some of her Single Tax pamphlets to a young man in a train who seemed interested in them, she desired more pamphlets for distribution and study. We supplied the needed assortment, the while listening to her plans for a book to be written after her present commitments with publishers have been completed. Her thought was to show the evil of certain forms of land-holding in a former generation, and trace the influence that that oppression had upon descendants, the theme to be presented in the form of a conventional "romantic" novel. Mrs. Norris expressed her faith in the growth of the movement, her delight in the work of the School and the Foundation, and she felt that the times were ripe for a nation-wide major movement. Mrs. Norris chatted about the splendid work that Jackson Ralston is doing in California. She sailed the next day for an extended cruise, but promised to come back when she is once more in New York, for literature and news.

Readers of LAND AND FREEDOM will be happy to know that a new American printing of three of Henry George's famous speeches will be off the press this week. If the demand is encouraging, three additional speeches will be published in the fall. We have been obtaining large supplies from Mr. Madsen of the English offices—Henry George Foundation of Great Britain—but it has been found necessary in order to supply the insistent demand for these speeches in lots of two hundred and three hundred at a time to print them in this country to obtain maximum and quick distribution. Two thousand copies of "Thy Kingdom Come", 2,000 copies of "The Study of Political Economy", and 2,000 copies of "The Crime of Poverty" are now ready at 5 cents per copy, or 100 for \$3.

The president reported that by arrangement with the Foundation, Professor George R. Geiger was encouraged to write a Manual for his book, "The Philosophy of Henry George". When finished it was turned over to the Henry George School to be used for the conduct of their new classes in "The Philosophy".

A recent letter from Prof. J. — reads as follows:

"I have noticed that you published at very reasonable rates, some years ago, various works of Henry George.

I am going to give a course here next year in which

we will make a fairly detailed study of this thinker. Is there any such thing from your press as the collected works of Henry George? I would like to know where I might secure such a set, and would appreciate it if you would let me know what you publish, and what the prices are."

After suitable answer was made and sample copies of "Progress and Poverty," and the Teacher's Manual for that book, published by the School, were sent to Prof. J. — it occurred to us that similar information might be desired by every history and economics teacher in the colleges and universities of the nation. Accordingly a letter was sent to some 1,500 teachers. Among the replies received is the following from Prof. M. — Colorado State College:

"I have your recent favor in which reference is made to a special study of the work of Henry George. From time to time we have made use of some of the literature published by your organization, and I am pleased to report that our students have taken a very direct interest in these publications. . . . We shall be interested in continuing our contact with your office during the summer months, and will be glad to consider the purchase of some further material for our classes next autumn. Assuring you of our interest in the work you are doing, I remain,
Prof. of Economics, Sociology and History."

ANTOINETTE K. WAMBOUGH.

Toronto to Entertain Annual Henry George Congress

FOR the first time since the organization of the Henry George Foundation in 1926, the annual Henry George Congress will be held on Canadian soil. For several years Canadian Single Taxers under the leadership of Alan Thompson, who has been a prominent figure at conventions, have been urging Toronto as an appropriate place for Single Taxers to gather, and in view of the attractions offered by Toronto and the recent expansion of activities in Canada, it was unanimously agreed that the invitation should be accepted this year.

Toronto has attained a reputation as a great convention city and because of its advantageous location, usually has record-attendance conventions. By rail it is only 11½ hours from New York City, 11½ hours from Chicago, and 14 hours from Philadelphia, Washington and Cincinnati. It is also very conveniently reached by water or by automobile.

Because the trip to Toronto will make a very desirable vacation journey for delegates, and weather conditions will likely be ideal at that time, the convention committee has decided in favor of an early convention and has chosen the dates of Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, September 7, 8 and 9, in anticipation of a large attendance both from the United States and Canada.

For the first time the Congress will be a joint gathering

of Canadian and American Single Taxers, and several prominent speakers representing the Dominion will participate in the programme. While the committee is still at work and has not yet completed arrangements, the following tentative programme, which is subject to possible modifications or additions, will give an idea of the scope of the discussions and the calibre of the speakers who have been invited to address this year's gathering.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL HENRY GEORGE CONGRESS

TORONTO, CANADA

SEPTEMBER 7, 8 AND 9, 1938

WEDNESDAY

- 9:00 Registration.
Chairman: J. H. L. Patterson, President, Single Tax Association of Canada.
- 10:00 Address of Welcome—Mayor of Toronto.
- 10:15 George E. Evans, President of Henry George Foundation of U. S. A.
- 10:30 A World Survey—Miss Margaret E. Bateman, Montreal.
- 11:00 Appointment of Convention Committees.
- 12:30 Luncheon.

AFTERNOON SESSION

- 2:00 Chairman: Anna George deMille, President, Henry George School of Social Science.
Progress Report Henry George School of Social Science.
- 2:30 The Parent School—Frank Chodorov, Director.
- 3:00 Extension Department—John Lawrence Monroe, Field Director.
Canadian Extension—Ernest J. Farmer.
- 3:50 Discussion.

EVENING SESSION

- Theme: The Unshackling of Business.
Chairman: John Anderson, Montreal, late Vice-President, Standard Brands, Limited.
- 8:00 Chairman's Remarks.
- 8:15 Why Single Tax Should Appeal to Business—Charles H. Ingersoll, President, Manhattan Single Tax Club, New York.
- 8:45 Music.
- 9:00 International Trade—R. J. Deachman, M. P., Ottawa, Ontario.
- 9:30 Discussion.

THURSDAY

MORNING SESSION

- 10:00 The Disastrous Results of Taxing Buildings—Harold S. Buttenheim, Editor *The American City*.
- 10:40 Slum Clearance and Housing in Canada—Hon. Norman M. Rogers, Ottawa, Canada, Minister of Labor.
Discussion.

AFTERNOON SESSION

- 12:30 Luncheon for Trustees and Advisory Commission of the Henry George Foundation.
Chairman: A. C. Thompson, Toronto, Ontario.
- 2:00 Conference on: How to Interest Businessmen.
(a) A. Laurence Smith, Detroit.
(b) Percy R. Williams, Pittsburgh.
- 2:40 Discussion.

EVENING SESSION

Theme: The Simplification of Government by the Single Tax.

Chairman: A. C. Campbell, Ottawa, Ontario.

- 8:15 Harry Gunnison Brown, Professor of Economics, University of Missouri.
- 8:45 Music.
- 9:00 Discussion.

FRIDAY

MORNING SESSION

- Chairman: Clayton J. Ewing, Chicago.
- 10:15 Report of Committee on Organization—Col. Victor A. Rule.
Discussion.
Report of Resolutions Committee.
Discussion.

AFTERNOON SESSION

- 2:00 Trip Through the Island Lagoon.

EVENING SESSION

- Theme: Single Tax, the Key to Employment and Comfort.
- 7:00 Banquet.
Chairman: J. H. L. Patterson, President, Single Tax Association of Canada.
Address: Hon. Peter Witt, Cleveland, Ohio.
Music.
Address: Hon. A. W. Roebuck, K. C., ex-Attorney-General of Toronto.

Local Land Value Rating in Sydney

IN the September-October issue of LAND AND FREEDOM, there appeared an article by our good friend, Fred Cyrus Leubuscher, in which he referred to taxation of land values in Australia and New Zealand as follows: "In a small way the plan is being tried in Sydney, Australia, and in New Zealand, but cannot have lasting results until at least building and improvement taxes are entirely repealed." This has resulted in a series of letters between Mr. Leubuscher and Mr. A. G. Huie, editor of the *Sydney Standard* and representing the Henry George League of Sydney, N. S. W. The letters contain valuable statistics covering twenty-three cities in New South Wales, which are too extended to print, but which we have placed on file. They cover such items as population—land values (capital) rates levied, reductions and increases, and also some industrial figures showing the nature of manufacturing.

Mr. Huie states that since 1907 in thirty cities outside of Sydney all local taxation has been on unimproved land values only and that Sydney has collected her local revenues in the same way since 1916. There are, however, certain exemptions such as government lands, school lands and property of religious bodies, and "these have increased all too rapidly." They now amount to 15 per cent of the total and the ordinary ratepayers are "overrated" to make up the difference. With this exception it would look as if New South Wales has, for local purposes, the straight Single Tax. However, the levy is on a capitalized or selling price basis, and whether the whole ground rent is taken or whether all improve-

ments in the land as well as on the land are exempted, is not clear. Mr. Huie does not say whether the effects expected by Georgeists are realized.

In his side of the correspondence, Mr. Leubuscher goes to some length to prove that a higher percentage of land values taxation obtains in New York City than in the cities covered by Mr. Huie's reports. With the masses of figures we are quite puzzled. It would seem to us that any city which exempted all improvements from taxation must automatically collect all of the ground rent. If this is so in New South Wales it is good news indeed. However, there are the rates other than for local purposes which cover the rate differentials and it is probable that some or all are assessed on improvements. We would like to hear more about it because from his reports we agree with Mr. Huie that "New South Wales is the greatest example in the world of applying Henry George's principles for raising local rates or taxes from land values."

Elements of the Housing Problem

"LABOR Must Demand Better Housing" is the title of a short article in the *International Molders' Journal* for April, 1938, part of an address by Robert J. Watt, American Labor Representative of the International Labor Office, Geneva, at the National Public Housing Conference.

There is no doubt that since labor produces everything we need and have, labor at least is entitled to what it produces.

Labor men realize that they build the de-luxe dwellings throughout the country, yet that probably never appreciate why they do not occupy them. It must seem rather strange that since labor produces the beautiful homes, the workers are compelled to live, frequently, in the most dilapidated and out-moded dwellings. It is questionable whether any labor leader has ever raised this point, or undertaken to tell why this should be. All they seem to talk about is "Labor Must Demand Better Housing of the Masses."

In his statement the writer says, "Labor has the most direct and intimate understanding of the nature of the housing problem." The American Federation of Labor today represents about 4,000,000 organized workers and their families, and an enormous percentage of these families live their whole lives in what experts call sub-standard housing, tenements in New York, shot-gun houses in Birmingham and shacks in every industrial town in America, and today there is a shortage even of shacks."

Rather a strange statement from a Labor Leader. Why doesn't labor build homes for themselves?—Answer: He waits for someone to give him a job and jobs are not

given out at the present time, for the reason that the builders cannot afford to put up dwellings and rent them at the price that the tenants can afford to pay. Causes: Several—Speculative prices of sites—high cost of material—continuous labor increases, jurisdictional strikes, and strikes for an increased wage just as the project is about to be completed.

There can be no quarrel with labor seeking a high wage. On the other hand, however, labor should give a fair return for that high wage. Continuous strikes delay the completion of the structure, but the carrying charges go on. Interest must be paid—likewise taxes. This is all reflected in the rent the owner must exact from the tenants.

We sometimes wonder whether labor leaders give much consideration to matters of this kind. We know that when wages are increased, the cost is passed on to the consumer. Labor gets a return for his product, whether it be a brick, a steel girder or a sheet of glass. We wonder whether labor realizes that labor gets absolutely nothing for producing a site. The site was there before man came on earth, and yet, when man requires that site for his needs, he is compelled to pay someone all that can be exacted, and labor must pay for it.

If labor would give attention to the amount of taxes that go into production and distribution, they may, perhaps, have another view of the labor situation and unemployment.

Since this subject refers to housing, it is well that we use housing as an illustration. According to the requirements under the Wagner Act, no room erected under Federal auspices shall cost more than \$1,250. A family needs four rooms on the average for its requirements. This means \$5,000 for an apartment. Taking the New York City tax rate as a basis, the taxes alone on the apartment will be \$150 a year. This is exclusive of the land tax. In Atlantic City, however, the tax will be nearly \$600, for there the rate is almost double that of what it is in New York. The New York rate is the lowest of any large urban center.

Present construction costs indicate that the wages in construction is 60 per cent, if not more, of the entire cost; 60 per cent of \$5,000 is \$3,000. When the structure is completed, the builder is compelled to pay a \$90 tax just because he employed labor in putting the building together. There is a similar tax on every other commodity and article going into the structure.

Under the circumstances, builders cannot be blamed for not going in for construction, since, after they employ labor, both in building and in preparing materials, a heavy tax is placed upon the project.

This should be the concern of labor and not urging governments to go in for subsidized housing. If labor can only pay \$4.00 a room a month and the cost of maintaining that room is \$10.00, the difference under a Federal

subsidy must come out of taxes, which are passed on to those who at that particular time can be forced to pay the increased taxes. Increased taxes on those whose earnings are higher will eventually reduce their purchasing power, for taxes take part of their earnings. This will bring us into the vicious circle of reducing purchasing power all around. A lack of customers is what causes business depressions. Customers only buy in accordance with the amount they have to spend. If it is taken from them in taxes, they must take it out of shelter, food and clothing.

Some day, somehow, labor may realize who is doing the pinching. They can no longer blame it on capital. Factories are closed down, mills and mines are being abandoned and the banks are loaded down with money which they are unable to lend. The fear of investing has reached a point where business men will not take a chance, since all they produce is taken from them in taxes. Clean up the tax situation, take the burden off industry and labor and the machine will begin to work.

Pro Bono Publico.

Single Tax Bill Passes the New Jersey Assembly

THE Sanford Bill 160 has been passed by the New Jersey State Assembly, after several years' effort by the Progressive League, and is now before the Senate, which will shortly adjourn.

This bill would permit any municipality to gradually, over a period of five years, reduce, and finally repeal at the end of the fifth year, taxes on machinery, merchandise, inventory and improvements, by collecting more of the public revenue from *all* land value now taxable.

The vote in the Assembly was 31 to 23 with a good prospect of its being approved by the Senate and signed by the Governor. In next issue we will give a review of the long campaign and the results.

LAND and FREEDOM, in reprinting the following editorial, takes this occasion to thank the *Newark Evening News* for its fair treatment of the subject, and especially for its kindness in publishing the many letters it receives from the advocates of land value taxation.

Newark Evening News, Newark, N. J. Saturday, May 14, 1938

APPROACH TO SINGLE TAX

There could be no better time than the present for serious and comprehensive study in New Jersey of methods of taxation. That is because governmental costs have mounted so rapidly that the tax burden has become almost unbearable in many municipalities. There has long been a considerable body of opinion, though it is not generally held, that taxing improvements as heavily as the land upon which they stand checks the stimulus to building on unimproved land or to demolishing outworn structures and replacing them with new.

This idea of making the land pay a greater part ranges among its advocates all the way from the Pittsburgh plan, under which land is

assessed at twice the rate levied upon improvements, to the Single Tax theory of Henry George, by which the land would bear all the burden. The New Jersey Assembly has just passed the bill of Mrs. Sanford, by which, in municipalities that adopted the plan after a referendum, taxes on buildings would be stepped down 20 per cent a year for five years. At the end, those communities would be taxing land alone. This is a graduated approach to an out and out Single Tax on realty.

The Senate may not pass the bill this year, but the mere fact that it has been passed by the Assembly cannot fail to direct public attention to the advisability, or no, on the part of individual municipalities of reconstructing the basis for tax levies. Particularly might this be the case with communities where land, assessed at a low rate because unimproved, is being held off the market for a future high price, whereas there is need for building either for business or residential purposes. Obviously, the same sort of reasoning would not apply to an overbuilt community where houses, factories, lofts and stores go begging for occupants.

The present basis of real estate taxation, however, does penalize the individual who makes investments to keep his property up to a point where it is really contributing to the well being of the community. On the other hand it lets off easily the individual who does not improve his property or lets the structures on it deteriorate.

In any general modification of the basis for levies, of course, one town's meat could be another town's poison. But when the application is made only to communities that vote for it, that objection is met. Whether there are New Jersey municipalities that would look with favor on taxing unimproved land as highly as that upon which revenue-producing structures stand is another question.

The California Campaign

SINCE last writing you, the campaign in California has been crowded with events, some apparently minor in nature, but possessing elements of great importance. Let me begin with one of the most striking.

By one of the flukes which so frequently happen, there fell into our possession three significant letters, which I can only briefly outline. The first was from the secretary of the San Francisco Real Estate Board, and which evidently went to all the real estate boards of the State. After pointing out that "the advocates of the Single Tax" were circulating an initiative petition to repeal the sales tax and substitute the "Single Tax" in its place, and would seek to obtain names in cities other than San Francisco and Los Angeles where their time had expired, the secretary says that, "This Board, together with certain other organizations, is making a strenuous fight to prevent the Single Taxers from qualifying. If we can prevent their securing the necessary number of names it will save a long and expensive campaign prior to the November election."

The next letter in date was from Robinson & Co., advertising agents of San Francisco. This refers to the letter just described, and gives in detail the process to be pursued to keep us from the ballot. After discussing methods of watching and influencing the movements of our agents, the letter continues: "We would also thank you to check with the various newspapers and ascertain if an ad. is placed for petition circulators. If so, please

telegraph us immediately and we will *send our wrecking crew, and move them out of town.*" (Italics mine.) He adds: "Our plan of operations is to stop them from getting any signatures in your city and county on this particular petition."

In another letter, four days later, Robinson spoke of the necessity of getting from every notary and county clerk the names of all solicitors so that they could be communicated with and promised other work for the surrender of work in our interest. Robinson concludes, "We can stop the proponents from qualifying this petition if every county will be on the lookout and advise us immediately an attempt is made to procure signatures."

All the methods outlined and more have been followed, but we had hardly expected such frank acknowledgment. Some of the papers in the State have commented on the letters as an effort to nullify the initiative and referendum, but the majority have remained silent. Of such is the "freedom of the press."

Meanwhile it was reported to me that three persons whom we had employed as solicitors had been paid \$2 apiece for the petitions and had surrendered them to an agent of the opposition. In short, as result of this we made a demand upon the man charged with the payment and without much demur and under legal notice he returned to us the identical petitions.

In Oakland we have affidavits showing that offers of appreciable sums for petitions with and without names had been made to our workers, and the statement made that hundreds of our names on petitions had been bought. There is enough to convince us that possibly several hundred solicitors had been bought off. As a result of all this, damage suits will be shortly commenced against the principals in San Francisco and elsewhere, and one woman lawyer is in serious danger of disbarment proceedings.

But what of progress? Last reporting to you I said that we were around 15,000 names short. When the count of the clerks of Sacramento and San Joaquin counties shall be complete, we will lack "on the face of the record" as the lawyers say, about 6,000—perhaps less, and off the record and under way, is a very large share of the lacking names. We have no cause for anxiety on that score. We will be on the ballot, unless the State Supreme Court takes us off, and this we do not expect. The law was strained to the last point two years ago and no court would like to be asked to go further, as it would be compelled to do to prevent the people from voting on our proposition.

Is our proposition important enough to justify sacrifice in its interest on the part of believers in industrial freedom? If the desperate struggle to keep the people from voting on it means anything, you may so believe. If you pay any attention to the statements made by the research division of the State Chamber of Commerce,

one will still strongly so conclude. That division reports that the amendment will on the average take three-fourths of the land rental-value, and in some instances 100 per cent. I think this an excessive estimate, because it is apparently based upon the idea that the assessed value of land is its full value, though this is generally put at 50 per cent of the true worth. Of course, there are unknown elements entering into the calculation. Speculative values will take an undoubted slump, and on the other hand there will be a renewed demand of land for actual and beneficial use. However, the Chamber of Commerce estimate shows the fundamental nature of our proposition and how deeply it cuts.

It is time for those who want to do more than lip-service to the cause to which they profess devotion to wake up to the great meanings of the conflict in California. If they want to fight on the side of the Lord at a real Armageddon, now is the time to do so. If they are interested in the rapid education of the masses, and this must come if the Republic is to continue, let them gaze on the field here, where thousands are undergoing the throes of a real enlightenment. Let them no longer feel that what is so often called the "Single Tax" is an esoteric doctrine, only to be understood by the initiates. It is a simple, straight-forward living thing, capable of statement in a very few sentences and appealing to what we call the "common man." That is what we find out about it in California.

I cannot close without a brief tribute to those associated with me in the fight and particularly to Noah D. Alper of San Francisco and Harry H. Ferrell of Los Angeles. Without their self-sacrificing aid, I do not see how the fight could have been carried on.

Palo Alto, Calif.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

Activities of The Manhattan Single Tax Club

MR. INGERSOLL'S visit to Fall River was very interesting. He addressed 100 members of the combined Lions and Kiwanis Clubs in a straight talk to the business men, which was very well received. Dr. F. M. Padelford, who secured this appointment for Mr. Ingersoll, was chairman of the meeting, which was followed by a long period of questions. In the evening, Dr. Padelford marshalled a meeting of his personal and economic friends and gave the guest speaker a fine reception.

Mr. Ingersoll's current radio schedule is as follows: Mon., WCNW, 2:30 p. m.; WWRL, 11:15 p. m. Tues., WFAS, 10:45 p. m. (Romance of Time). Wed., WCNW, 3:45 p. m. (Time: the stuff life is made of). Thur., WLTH, 8:15 a. m. Fri., WPEN, 9:45 a. m. (Phila.); WDAS, 12:45 p. m. (Phila.); WSNJ, 2:45 p. m. (Bridge-

ton); WTNJ, 7:45 p. m. (Trenton). Sat., WLTH, 2:00 p. m.; WWRL, 11:15 p. m. Sun., WBIL, 8:15 p. m. The Public Service Forum (C. H. I., director).

1400 to 1500 k.c., except WBIL, 1100 k.c., 5000 watts.

The Public Service Forum:

The present period has developed more strongly economic in its trend than formerly; especially such discussions as Earl Browder, Dr. J. P. Warbasse, Wm. J. Schieffelin and Orville Grahame were of this type.

The following were the Public Service Forum Hour's guest speakers and their subjects since our last report:

Mar. 6: E. M. Barradale, Port Authority, "A Bi-State Agency for Cooperation." Mar. 13: David Burpee, Seedman, "Flowers." Mar. 20: Paul P. Rao, Member of N. Y. Bar, "Should Judge be Permitted to Comment on the Evidence to a Jury?" Mar. 27: Mrs. Wm. Dick Sporborg, Consumers Taxation Committee, "Who Pays the Bills?" Apr. 3: H. B. Anderson, Citizens Medical Reference Bureau, "Premarital Medical Examinations." Apr. 10: J. P. Warbasse, Cooperative League, "Cooperation." Apr. 17: Orville Grahame, Young Republican League, "Republican Party." Apr. 24: Earl Browder, Communist Party, "Isolation as the Path to Peace." May 1: Wm. B. Duryee, Milk Research Council, "Should Milk be a Public Utility?" May 8: Wm. J. Schieffelin, Citizens Union, "Savings Bank Life Insurance." May 15: Adrian P. Burke, Delegate, Constitutional Convention, "The New Constitution—and You!" May 22: Seymour DeKoven, Anti-Capital Punishment League, "Capital Punishment." May 29: Theodore Schroeder, "Commonstock Law Revision."

Following are selections from the Ingersoll broadcasts:

WE THOUGHT THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY WAS SETTLED IN 1865 WHEN THE SOUTH SURRENDERED TO GENERAL GRANT. But not only do the progressives insist that we still have slavery—wage slavery as a part of our monopolistic industrialism—but here is the novel proposition: that Italy is ending slavery in Ethiopia, from whence the slaves we liberated are imported here. Yes, it stated that the Duce has freed the land from monopoly, and so has given these slaves real freedom.

YOU CAN USUALLY TELL WHEN YOU ARE COMING CLOSE TO MONOPOLY BY THE AMOUNT OF DISTURBANCE THERE IS. The Harlan trial is supposed to reflect an aggravated case of unionism where sixty-four coal operating companies in Harlan Co., Ky., have been in violent conflict with their employes for years. Now the criminal courts are trying to place the responsibility. Here is monopoly of the basic kind that should have our exclusive attention until it is eliminated. These coal companies and their employees are only left with approximately half their real earnings to divide between themselves. The royalty collectors from the coal lands and the consumer taxes we have, do this trick of monopoly.

HERE IS A COLLEGE PRESIDENT WHO IS COMING OUT INTO REAL LIFE AND SAYING REAL THINGS. (And I'll say this is something for a college president.) President Dyxstra has succeeded Glenn Frank at the University of Wisconsin; and you may wish to pause for a

moment, wondering why he has. You can get Frank's size by reading the news about the Republican rebuilding committee. So far, its head, Mr. Frank, hasn't said anything that I have noticed, though he has a great reputation as a liberal, progressive, and so forth. Now, maybe Dr. Dyxstra gives us his measure when he says that "democracy requires an economic base!" In these four words, he has said about all that needs to be said on the failure of our democracy, our business, our industry, our prosperity, and our civilization. Well, after saying all this I read the rest of what the Doctor said, and find he spent himself in the headline—not one word to show what kind of economics or in fact, that he had in mind any particular economics. So he must take his place with "the other professors."

OUT IN TULSA WHERE THEY APPLY MASS PRODUCTION TO DIGGING OIL WELLS AS THEY DO IN LONG BEACH, CALIF., they have developed automatic machinery. It is the fate of humanity, where they get something for nothing, which is what monopoly is, to pile in and overdo it. In Long Beach, there are something like 300 derricks on a few acres where perhaps three, or at the most thirty, wells would have got all the oil. But crazy monopolistic speculation had to run its riot. The Tulsa gadget is a machine that digs a 2-mile deep well, steering clear of all interferences and planting 75 tons of pipe just by touching buttons. Though this in our department of "industry," it is a case of where industry is lending itself to monopoly, and a monopoly that needs more attention than almost any other at this particular time.

AN INTERESTING STORY FLOATS ACROSS TO US FROM THE LITTLE BRITISH EMPIRE, where at one time they had a feudal system, that though having a terrible reputation, really was better than their present system of landlordism, which as Lloyd George said, "makes the people of Great Britain trespassers on their own soil." This is from Cardiff, Wales, and is brought to us by Lord Robert Crichton Stewart, whose daddy, the Marquess of Bute, *owns* this great city, and especially the coal lands surrounding it, whose rating is an even \$100,000,000. This is monopoly; this is basic monopoly; this is the kind of monopoly that makes living high and wages low. In other words, creates poverty, unemployment, and business depression, and it is not confined to Great Britain—only a little more refined there.

Hear Ye, Hear Ye, Hear Ye!

THE discovery of new evidence sometimes is sufficient cause for re-hearing a case at law. therefore we have a precedent, in the activities of society, for re-opening the case of Taxation vs. The People. Until we prove to the Law, in its wisdom, that all prior adjudications affecting the taxation of industry have been founded in error, all our tax-reform efforts can meet with no better reception than a curt "stare decisis."

As the earth's age now is computed as being 12,000,000 years *more* than formerly figured, surely our civic leaders can spare a short time wherein to consider our petition and new evidence. The insignificance of the ratio, between the age of the earth and the time involved since the advent of private title to public land-values, should be of weight in gaining for us the superior deliberations of the Court of Public Opinion.

Energetically wiping our square-framed specs and adjusting them to the bulb of our nose, we stand, adorned

in our powdered wig, barn-door breeches and shad-belly coat, at the public Bar.

Respectfully sheweth your petitioner:—

(1) We deny the allegation of Editor Adams of the *New York Times* Book Review, that man's "collapsed conscience" has resulted from the teachings of Karl Marx. We affirm that Marxism is an effect and not a cause—that it is "the unscientific protest of the dissatisfied."

(2) We allege and affirm that the so-called "collapsed conscience" comes from a demoralization of homes, factories and farms by our iniquitous system of taxing industry whilst sanctioning the private pocketing of public land-values.

(3) We deny each and every allegation that our tax system is founded in logic, by logicians, for a logical form of government.

(4) We deny that leaders of old were of sound and disposing mind when they disposed of publicly-created site-values to private persons, and that all precedents flowing from this act are null and void and of no effect other than chaotic.

Our newly discovered evidence relates to count No. 4, in this petition, and we offer as our first witness Dr. Alexis Carrel who now gives expert testimony, relating to the brain and other organs of man, to the effect that each organ dies at its own rate. The brain dies in a matter of minutes; the kidneys die during hours; the hair of the head continues to grow for weeks; etc, etc.

Wherefore your petitioner alleges and affirms that the old-timers' brains were dead when they inaugurated our system of taxation whereby the laborer was taxed upon his products whilst the lord of the land appropriated land-values which he did not create—which were created by all his fellowmen in the community.

Wherefore your petitioner prays that the annual private awards of public values be set aside and that the same be caused to be paid into the public treasury. Your petitioner further prays that the taxes upon industry be declared illegal, unjust, null and void and without warrant, because of having been originated by persons *non compos mentis*.

And your petitioner further prays that, inasmuch as nature does not recognize man-made laws, where there is a conflict between those of man and those of Nature the laws of Nature shall prevail because they will anyway; and your petitioner, still praying, asks that man-made laws—particularly those relating to land, labor, capital, taxes, *et. al.*, be conformable, warp and weft, to the laws of Nature.

And your petitioner respectfully requesteth a ruling that all the gurgle and buzz, rant, cant and crow, set forth in the declaration in support of "ability to pay," be stricken from the defendants' answer as to why industry has been taxed into bankruptcy whilst the exploiters of land-values have waxed wealthy.—THOMAS N. ASHTON.

The Main Obstacle to Peace

BY JOHN PAUL

The following is an Editorial from Land and Liberty, January 1919, of London, England

THE fighting men had gone out in defense of the land, but when the fighting ended they were to return as they had left, landless. If they aspired to a patch of ground and to a decent house fixed on an idle half-acre where there was light and sunshine, the same old monopoly price had to be paid. Before our volunteer Army and our conscripts set out to meet the foe they were shown by the Government a striking picture of a soldier taking leave of a home with a garden bearing the inscription: "Is This Worth Fighting For?" To millions of sailors and soldiers from the over-crowded slums this was at once a piece of grim humour and a dream to be realized. This fetching poster was the work of our politicians, and now they talk and plan as if they were determined that the dream shall not become the realization. . . .

Let us look at the one grand hope that arises out of the ashes of the great devastation, the League of Nations. What is it but an inspiration set in the clouds, where it must remain so long as the existing economic dispensation prevails? We search in vain through the writings and the speeches of the leaders of this new crusade for any recognition of this fundamental truth.

Behind the longings and aspirations for the great Peace lies the problem of getting a living. No question is settled until this is settled. It is the bottom question. The land, the storehouse that "Nature owes to man for the daily supply of his wants," has been parcelled out by Kings, Emperors and Parliaments, and sold for a price at the public auction rooms like so much private property. Robbed of their natural right to the use of this storehouse, the opportunity for peaceful industry, men gather at the gates of any kind of factory open to them. Millions in a Europe so conditioned get their living in the making of armaments, and in its dependent industries.

It is officially stated that in 1914, Britain, Russia, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy spent among them £390,330,361 on armaments. The mass of men who get their living in and through this huge industry have none other to turn to for employment; very many have been specially trained by the Schools to fit them for the higher-grade positions in the great arsenals and ship-building centres. This is where the opinion that supports and maintains the Balance of Power policy is to be found. This is what stands athwart the League of Nations and reduces the idea even in the hands of its most competent votaries to a meaningless formula. Even now, at the very birth of the idea championed by the greatest democratic leader in sight, the passionate cry is heard from all quarters of the globe that it is a lost

cause. Blame for this is hurled as usual at the heads of men who stand or who seem to stand for the opposing principle. Not a word nor a single sign to indicate that the cause of the failure is to be found at the bedrock on which society itself rests.

In some quarters optimism turns to pessimism, and human nature, poor, misunderstood and much maligned human nature, stands charged with a due share of the failure to rise to the great occasion. Amid all this grief and lamentation the plain truth is before us. The problem is mainly economic and not altogether a question of politics. The getting of a living is the dominating factor, and so long as it exists will provide the atmosphere and the opinion which petrifies and circumvents those who strive so diligently for a sound and enduring Peace system. Our well-intentioned peacemakers are up against a hard stern fact born of human needs. Men with bodies to feed and clothe cannot freely step into the hell of unemployment to satisfy the cravings of their higher nature or respond much to an appeal for any high purpose. If that were not so, war and the lust for war would have been banished long ago. If we would have peace we must first have justice.

Let us give human nature a chance; let us emancipate man from the bondage of economic slavery and then look with assurance for the opinion that will abolish the armament industry. So long as men must regard work as an end in itself instead of as a means to the higher life, and natural avenues to alternative employment are shut in the face of those who must find work or starve, we shall preach in vain about the urgency of a League of Nations. The fundamental question of the restoration of the land to the people must first be dealt with. The unequal distribution of wealth which property in land determines will hold men firmly to the lower levels of thought.

What is wrong with the world can still be named: ignorance, contempt and neglect of human rights. Let Nature's wide field for human progress be set free; let wages rise to full earnings point; let the workers feel they are not any longer on the verge of starvation, that they need take no thought for the morrow; let the just claims to a fuller life be recognized; let the slogan of liberalism, equality of opportunity, remain no longer the cold abstraction it is; let the pace be set for the co-operative commonwealth. This is the way we must travel if we would have the great Peace League in our day and generation.

MANIFESTLY, work is not an end, but a means; manifestly, there can be no real scarcity of work, which is but the means of satisfying material wants, until human wants are all satisfied.

"Social Problems," by HENRY GEORGE.

Allons Monsieur le Professeur!

LATE in January the *New York Times* magazine ran an article by L. H. Robbins under the heading, "Sprague Points to a Broad Path to Recovery." The impression one received in reading the article was that Professor Sprague realizes the importance of stimulating industrial production at this time. He emphasizes his point by adding "extraordinary expansion in some line always attends recovery from a major depression." He does not add though that, according to our present system (of taxation)—and this goes for other countries as well—a major recovery is always followed by a major depression.

The point is, do we want a recovery that will shift the pain of our present economic ailments from the present to some future generation or do we desire a recovery of a permanent nature to be enjoyed by our children and their children as well? It no longer appears to be just a question of wanting a lasting recovery inasmuch as our civilization seems to have taken all the shocks it can absorb under our present way of doing things. The rebound must be enduring if our civilization is to stop in its current slow process of disintegrating and reverse the trend towards a fuller development of the personality of man.

The recent economic report rendered to the British and French governments by the Belgian economist, Mr. Van Zeeland, contained a remark which, undoubtedly, was intended for sceptics. Said Mr. Van Zeeland, "No effort is ever completely lost if it does not succeed all at once." To return to Professor Sprague, it should be pointed out that in order to have an extraordinary expansion we must have something out of the ordinary. This is not economics; it is plain English. Now it certainly would be extraordinary to witness the abolition of all taxes which fetter production, foster bureaucracy and short-change the consumer, and the substitution in their place of a Single Tax on the economic rent of land. The approach to the problem can only be through educational channels such as those with which Professor Sprague is already identified. For the doubting Thomases let Mr. Van Zeeland's words be repeated, "No effort is ever completely lost if it does not succeed all at once." In this instance the efforts would be negligible in comparison to the ultimate results. Why not give the matter some serious thought, Professor Sprague, either blast the idea out of existence or throw your support to the Single Tax? Allons Monsieur le Professeur!

R. JOSEPH MANFRINI.

**Help to extend the influence and circulation
of "Land and Freedom".**

Late News---Important

THE Citizens Union of New York City have recommended to the Constitutional Convention now in session at Albany the following amendments:

"The Constitution should specifically permit lower tax rates on improvements than on land. This would encourage "says the Union," the proper use of land and tend to prevent its being held out of use for speculation. If the rate on improvements were reduced the present tax limit would permit a corresponding rise in the rate on land values, but would keep the aggregate tax for purposes affected by the limit within 2 per cent of the aggregate property assessment."

TAXATION OF LAND VALUE INCREMENT

TAXATION of increases in land values should not be subject to tax limits. Large profits, "says the Union," are often realized by owners of land because of public improvements or growth of the community for which they were in no way responsible. It seems reasonable to take for the community which created them a much larger part of such profits than present restrictions allow."

The Citizens Union of New York City are a group organized for the express purpose of bettering the conditions of the state as well as of the city. It is an unpartisan organization. The president of the Union is William J. Schieffelin.

Reactions and Results of Trade Restrictions

Extract from address of Bue Bjorner of Copenhagen at Fifth International Conference for the Taxation of Land Values and Free Trade, London, September, 1936.

STATESMEN of almost any country of the world are willing to tell you that all the evils, the sorrows and the dangers of the economic crisis have been forced upon their own country by other nations. The self-sufficiency desires of other nations are everywhere considered sufficient defence for joining the madness of national self-sufficiency and for undertaking such measures that are supposed to further the national self-supply. Foremost amongst these measures are naturally the restrictions on foreign trade, the tariffs, quotas, bi-lateral trade agreements, etc., which we can label with the name of Trade Restrictions.

If you live in a large country with a complex economic structure it may not be so easy to learn from the actual results of trade restrictions how they really work. It is my belief that we, who live in a comparatively small country, with a less complicated economic structure, may more easily find the touchstone by which to test the value of such trade restrictions. This is the reason why some observations on the Danish experiment of State-controlled foreign trade may be of interest at this International Conference.

For the last four and a half years practically the entire Danish foreign trade has been under the control of the "Foreign Currency Department" of the Danish National Bank. Exporters of Danish goods are compelled to put all payments for their export sales at the disposal of the National Bank (though they may deposit through a number of ordinary banks) and all importers of foreign goods must

apply to the Foreign Currency Department for import permits before they are able to declare or enter foreign goods into Denmark. You are not allowed to import an automobile or a pair of shoes, not a lump of coal nor a piece of soap into Denmark without the consent of this Department. (Valuta-Kontoret.)

When Great Britain went off the gold standard in September, 1931, Denmark decided to join what has later been termed the "Sterling Group." Certain measures were adopted by the National Bank in order to enable itself to control the foreign currency exchange, but the power of control of the foreign trade was not given the National Bank until January, 1932. At that time Germany doubled the import duty on Danish butter, thus endangering our butter exports to Germany, which at the time amounted to about £3,000,000 a year. The fear of the results of the alleged decrease of this comparatively small part of the Danish export trade (totalling for 1931 about £90,000,000) opened the road for the legislation which put the entire foreign trade under a State control, the likeness of which was only to be found in Soviet Russia or in the history of Mercantilism, of 150 years ago.

The import control of the Foreign Currency Department (Valuta-Kontoret) is intended to serve a triple purpose, namely:—

- (1) Safeguard the Danish currency.
- (2) Serve employment and production purposes.
- (3) Serve as an instrument for foreign trade policies ("active trade politics").

It was evident that a decrease in export sales would leave the nation with lessened means for purchases of import goods, but the novel idea was this: that under such circumstances there would be the risk that the foreign currency funds of the nation might be spent on an import of manufactured goods and "luxuries," so that there would be no adequate funds for payment of raw materials to agricultural and industrial enterprises. Lest this should happen or lest an overwhelming import should endanger the rate of exchange of the Danish currency, a Bill was passed giving the Minister of Trade and Industries the extensive power of control over foreign trade through the said office of the National Bank, at the same time furnishing an instrument by which to open the doors of foreign nations to Danish goods, by using Denmark's buying power as an equivalent.

A numbered list classified about 200 different groups of goods, comprised in 20 main groups, and the import of any goods in any of these groups was prohibited unless the office furnished an import licence for the goods under the said group. Import licences are issued three times a year for periods of four months each time, and the importer must, one month before the licences are issued, fill out an application stating the amount for which he intends to buy goods of any of the 200 groups during the next four (five) months, from which country he intends to buy them, and from which country the goods originate.

When all these applications have been collected from the thousands of importers and after they have been summed up, the Currency Control Board will decide how large a sum it will allow for any group and for purchase in the various foreign countries, and the amounts will be allotted to the applicants in proportion to the sums for which they have demanded import licences. The total sum for which import will be granted is fixed by the Control Boards in proportion to the supposed total amount of the country's exports for the same future period. The decision as to what kind of goods will be permitted, and the decision as to where the goods must be purchased, is made from a complex consideration of questions related to current trade agreements, the quotas of foreign countries, etc., and also of questions related to industrial protection and self-sufficiency. With some slight exceptions, the right to apply for import permits is limited to those importers who were importing in the year of 1931, and the import permits are given in proportion to their import during that year.

Said in a few words, this system sets aside some of the most im-

portant functions of the individual merchants and puts the whole import trade under control of an office staff with but little understanding of trade affairs. The importers can no longer purchase what they reckon the market needs, they can no longer buy the goods in the quantities they want, nor at the times when they deem it most profitable, and they cannot buy in those markets where they wish to buy.

Needless to say, the immediate result of such restrictions is an abolition of the natural price-quotation, as the result always will be when other factors than Demand and Supply are involved in the fixing of the price. A very moderate estimate last year showed the total of the overcharge paid on Danish imports to be somewhere between two and a half and five million pounds sterling, which is more than the total value of that butter export to Germany, which caused us to adopt the control system. Of course, the Danish consumer does not get off as cheaply as that. Besides the overcharge paid out to the producers in those countries where importers are permitted to buy, the Danish consumer must pay an overcharge to the importer and retailer, which is natural when the import quantities are curtailed, and the overcharge will, of course, be largest on these kinds of goods on which the restrictions are in reality an embargo. The further result of these overcharges is that the costs of the national production rise artificially, leaving the production less competitive in the international market. It is not quite clear how a procedure like this is likely to further the first purpose of the system: Safeguarding of the currency.

With regard to the second purpose of the system: Safeguarding national production and combating unemployment, the system has not been very different from others of those trade restrictions which are usually tried for the same purpose, such as protective tariffs. Naturally sound and competitive lines of production are putting some of those now employed *out of work*, and some new industries, which are established under shelter of the restrictions, are putting some unemployed *to work*, so that the employment is temporarily on the march towards lines of production which are naturally the weakest. At the end of the year 1934, those industries which had advanced as the result of the trade restrictions, employed some 20,000 people more than in the last normal year of 1930, while the industries that could not benefit from the restrictions had about 5,000 people fewer working. The net result of these revolutionary trade restrictions was so far to put about 15,000 people back to work (including 11,000 women workers, out of whom not less than 7,500 were absorbed by the clothing industry and who were mainly taken away from household work.) With a permanent unemployment in Denmark of some 100,000 workmen, the result is not overwhelmingly large!

For the furthering of national production—the self-supply ideal—the system soon proved to be a two-edged sword. In the beginning the Foreign Currency Department worked mainly with curtailing of the import of finished goods and a more liberal import of raw materials for the older and also for the new established industries, which was in accordance with the political assumptions for establishing the system. But in the long run this function of the system was doomed to conflict with the last purpose. The system as an instrument for foreign trade policies. Countries to which Denmark was connected by the bands of trade very soon showed reactions towards her way of bargaining: offering to buy raw materials only, in return for finished goods, industrial and agricultural. It is, however, the wish of almost any country haunted by the idea of self-supply, to import raw materials and to export finished goods. As long as individual merchants are more or less free to carry on the trade, such wishes will influence the direction of international trade very little, for not even the most determined desire to sell goods will lead to trade, if the corresponding demand does not exist. But when a government establishes a system, by which it is able to dictate the direction of the country's purchases, the selling desires of the most powerful groups of producers of other countries will soon be put forward through the respective governments and their commercial attachés;

and reluctance in meeting the selling desires will eventually result in further trade restrictions, with the view of closing the respective market for the other nation's export goods.

Miscellany

HOW MILK RIVER THRIVES UNDER SINGLE TAX

In 1929 the village adopted the 100 per cent single tax system, that is, eliminating taxes on improvements and placing "taxes" on land values. At that time the village was in debt to the bank over \$1500. Today, the village does not owe a dollar, with a surplus of \$2760 cash on hand. Hospitalization and indigents are promptly taken care of out of the treasury funds. They have the finest graded streets and drainage of any village in southern Alberta.

The civic authorities do not desire to accumulate a large surplus in the treasury year by year, but to give it back to the people who paid it in, by public improvements, labor and services without additional levy on improvements. It works and has been very successful and satisfactory to the ratepayers of this village.

Lethbridge, Alberta, *Herald*.

REP. BRUCE BARTON URGES TAX SHIFTS TO CUT IDLE RANKS

A thorough overhauling of the tax system in encouraging rather than destroying jobs was urged by Rep. Bruce Barton at an association meeting in New York City on April 21.

He said that 400,000 young people are looking for jobs in New York, and that "no social order is safe that fails to provide occupation for the energies and answer to the hopes of youth." He emphasized that "our whole tax system tends to hamper, strangle, diminish production, and force downward the standard of living." "It is a system that rewards non-production and penalizes production."

"It enriches speculation in unused land but it clutches tighter at the throat of any business that seeks to produce more wealth and provide more jobs."—N. Y. *World Telegram*.

THE NEW DEAL TAXES

One year Aunt Hester had a college boy doing general work about the farm. He was alert and willing and sure knew how to comb his hair. One day Aunt Hester had him string a new clothes line for her. Little Cerise, Aunt Hester's balmy boy, watched him perform the task and saw that he strung it directly over the chopping block. That afternoon, when the hired hand started to split up some wood he couldn't find the axe. Both he and Aunt Hester hunted high and low for it, but they couldn't find it until they brought a little pressure on Cerise, who admitted he had hidden it. Asked why he had hidden the axe, Cerise explained that once he tried to split wood under a clothes line. He said when he swung the axe it hit that clothes line then bounced and hit him on the cranium. "That's why I haven't got much sense," he explained. "Help's scarce, and I thought maybe you wanted to keep that hired man, brains and all." If Cerise were here today he'd know you can't string a line of state and county expenses over your head and then stand under 'em swinging an axe at taxes without getting into trouble.—*Pink Rag*.

REJECTS THE TERM CAPITALISM

The word "capitalism" is a counterfeit coin which has been circulating as legal tender in economic discussion. There is no such condition as capitalism. The reason for poverty in the midst of plenty is due to the fact that a certain few hold title to legal privileges by which they are able to assess the many of the improvements and advantages of civilization. It is not necessary to increase the functions of government to bring about justice; in fact, the less government the better. All that is necessary is to abolish privilege. Father Michel abhors communism, yet he uses the phraseology and reasoning

of communism. I suggest that he read, "Rebel, Priest and Prophet," the life of Dr. Edward McGlynn.

H. ELLENOFF in the *Commonweal*.

JOHN JAY CHAPMAN ON HENRY GEORGE

The last chapter of George's book, "Progress and Poverty," where he gets to describing the New Jerusalem of Single Tax, with fruit trees growing in the streets—no courts—no crime—no poverty—are really so much like Don Quixote that I was startled. He is rapt. He is beyond reach of the human voice. He has a harp and is singing—and *this* is the power of the book. It is preposterous. It is impossible. It is a romance—a rhapsody—a vision—at the end of a long seeming scientific discussion of rent, interest and wages—in which discussion his *destructive* criticism of other people must be admitted to be very strong—conclusive—but which leaves his own work subject to his own criticism). This burst of song, being the only lyric poetry of this commercial period, is popular.

From "John Jay Chapman and His Letters." Page 174.

BOOK REVIEWS

A GRAND OLD MAN

FRANCIS W. MAGUIRE

"Philosopher and Reformer. By John C. Rose. 133 pp. Price, \$2.00. Illustrated The Rose Publishing Company, Pittsburgh, Pa.

We are not likely soon to forget this veteran of the movement for nearly fifty years.

There have been more spectacular figures for economic emancipation. But this modest, unassuming servant of the cause had few equals. Few have given of themselves so ungrudgingly. To have distributed literally tons of literature and to have accompanied such distribution with wise counsel and interpretation will not seem as important as the noisier activities that command the front page of newspapers. But it was engineering work such as is demanded of those who must break ground for the advance. And to this task Maguire brought a thoroughness and devotion that set him apart with those who are doing yeoman work in rearing the structure that is being built for the benefit of posterity.

Nor must it be thought that this activity comprised the limit of Maguire's service to the cause. Mr. Rose has told of his organizing work which along with those who labored with him gave us the Henry George Foundation and the still flourishing Henry George Club of Pittsburgh.

He did not have the advantages of a higher education but he was a persistent reader and he had the faculty of epigrammatic statement, samples of these are presented in Part II of the work.

Maguire, like all large-minded men, was of a tolerant spirit. His philosophy had taught him that man was innately good and that the meaner traits so often exhibited were born of the exploitation and tyranny to which he had been so long subject.

The writing of this book was a labor of love. Mr. Rose admired Maguire and he has furnished us with an affectionate tribute to his memory. We are glad to welcome it.—J. D. M.

HOW NOT TO GOVERN A STATE

A Financial History of Maine. By Fred Eugene Jewett, Ph.D. 12 mo., 233 pages, Columbia University Press, New York City.

"Come with me and I will show you with how little wisdom mankind is governed," said the Swedish statesman. Come now with Professor Jewett and observe with what insensate folly the affairs of a state are directed. We doubt not that the financial history of Maine is paralleled by the history of nearly all the states. But it is with the State of Maine that we are concerned at the moment.

As far back as 1784 Maine and Massachusetts were united as an integral part of the Union. The question of separation began to be agitated, and it is interesting to observe that differences in the imposi-

tion of taxes were the cause of this agitation. But it was not until 1820 that separation was finally effected and Maine became an independent State.

Nearly one-half of the land of the new State was public land. We are reminded by Professor Jewett that speculation in Maine timber lands in 1833 rose to "fantastic heights." The revenue from the sale of public lands as recorded by the Land Office exceeded in that year the sum of all the taxes.

For a time Maine lived like a drunken sailor on the sale of its public lands. So large was the revenue from this source that in 1835 the State tax on estates was abandoned, which served further to intensify the land speculation mania. It doesn't seem to have occurred to any one in authority that the real remedy would have been a tax on the rental value of these lands. But they were no wiser in their generation than we. Then came the panic of 1837, the inevitable consequence of the fiscal policy followed by Maine and the rest of the Union.

Then Maine started on an experiment in "farm relief" with the usual disastrous results. An Act was passed in 1837 granting a bounty of two dollars on every twenty bushels of wheat. This experiment in "priming the pump" cost the State \$153,981.75 in 1839. We must bear in mind that the sum bears little relation to the vastly greater sums we are accustomed to think of in the days of Franklin Roosevelt. But it was large for the time.

When Maine went on its drunken spree on the revenue derived from the sale of its public lands it was obvious enough that the time would come when there would no longer be any public lands to sell. By 1856 most of the best timber lands had been sold and receipts from this source had become negligible.

Then began the hunt for "new sources of revenue." How familiar sound the words! The State obstinately refused to avail itself of direct taxation. For nearly a century the stupid politicians of Maine had set their faces like flints against any form of direct taxation. There were constantly recurring deficits and constant increases in taxation to meet these deficits.

A Permanent School Fund had been established in 1828 and thus Maine was able to add substantially to the revenue for education. If some more reasonable modification of this plan, which at least recognized the State's right to its public lands, had been adopted Maine would never have needed to raise a penny from direct or indirect taxes. But Maine like most of the states was only piecemeal wise.

With what wisdom the finances of the State were conducted may be gathered from the fact that the State debt in 1913 was \$269,000 and in 1936 was nearly thirty million!

All the evils under which the State suffered can be traced from the time when it began to squander its natural resources. Professor Jewett tells us that in the sales of half the public land of the State a relatively small proportion passed to actual settlers. Most of it was sold in large tracts. Massachusetts had passed a law providing that no more of its public lands should be sold but that permits to cut timber should be issued and that the land be retained in perpetuity—another partial recognition of a better social policy.

In the meantime recurring periods of land speculation went on at an appalling rate. Professor Jewett quotes Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury in the administration of Lincoln, Johnson and Arthur, as follows:

"The wildest speculation that has ever prevailed in any part of the United States was in the timber lands of Maine. In 1832 it became known to people in Massachusetts that a great deal of money was being made by a few investors in Maine timber lands. . . . The lands were offered by the State at very low prices and those who bought early and judiciously did make what were then considered large fortunes by their investments. . . . Lands bought one day were sold the next day at a large advance. The lands were bought and sold over and over again, until lands which had been bought for a few cents an acre were sold for half as many dollars. As is always the case where speculation is rampant

and inexperienced men become speculators, dishonesty was in the ascendant."

By the end of 1853 the most valuable lands had been sold and with the grant of 700,000 acres to the European and North American Railroad in 1868 practically all of Maine's timber land was gone.

So closes one more tragic state history of which our annals are full. And again we revert to the comment of the Swedish statesman quoted at the beginning of this review and thank, too, Professor Jewett for his confirmation of the truth of that comment.—J. D. M.

Correspondence

STEVEN BYINGTON CONTRIBUTES A FEW WORDS ON INTEREST

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

As to the theory of interest, Henry George had the right idea when in "Progress and Poverty," he took Bastiat's illustration of the plane and the planks and worked it out arithmetically. But he made a slip in not noticing that capital is useful, not only in making other products, but in reproducing itself. Take George's figures, add to them the point that the man with the plane can make a new plane in less time than a man without a plane would need for that job, and George's computation will then give you the basis of interest at once.

Ballard Vale, Mass.

STEVEN BYINGTON.

A NOTE ABOUT DICK STOKES

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Dick Stokes, steam shovel salesman extraordinary, Oxford product, attracted the interest of the Henry George Foundation of Great Britain through his outstanding purchases of "Progress and Poverty." It seemed that he had absorbed the philosophy of Henry George through one of his professors at Oxford and bought quantities of "Progress and Poverty" for distribution on his travels of about 40,000 miles a year about the world.

After the first evening of the London Georgeist Conference of 1936 Miss Helen Denbigh and the writer spoke on the HGSSS. Mr. Stokes, or Dick, as he soon became over Scotch and Soda (without ice, thanks, though he had an electric refrigerator), expressed keen interest in the School methods as a means of teaching the Empire those broad principles of life which he had learned from "Progress and Poverty."

From that first evening there was no effort spared by R. R. Stokes to promote the active interest of delegates of every country (and particularly those of his own Great Britain) in establishing HGSSS. The charm and taste of his bachelor home and the generosity of his lunches, dinners and cocktail parties, helped no end to interest delegates in learning more about what the Henry George School could do for their own communities.

Success to such a warm friend of the HGSSS is a thrill to every Georgeist; Mr. Stokes' election is a member of Parliament was signaled by the starting of HGSSS classes in his constituency, and our hearts go out to him in his programme to enact the principles of Henry George into British law.

N. Y. City.

LANCASTER M. GREENE.

WE THINK MR. BAILEY IS IN ERROR

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In the letter-discussions of the subject of interest, let us hope that the result will be a clarification of the Law of Interest, if there is such a law, to the end that the Science of Economics will be rounded out and made definitely stronger in principle.

We start off with two factors, viz., land and man. Man applies labor to the land and gets food. This is the natural reward of his labor and is called wages. If he acquires by this labor, a surplus, it is called wealth. Out of this simple process we get the principle. "That all wealth is produced by labor applied to land."

This principle should preclude any such thesis that this wealth,

which came into being as the wages of labor, could of itself produce other wealth which would not be the wages of labor. L. D. Beckwith says that a calf is half interest and that growth is also largely interest. If this is true (with other claims that when wealth becomes capital it naturally and ethically produces other wealth in the form of interest), then we will have to place interest along with man in the trio of factors which form the basis of economic science. This will give us land, man and interest. This assumption also alters the first principle to read: "All wealth is produced by labor and capital," applied to land.

So, too, we must revise our concept of rent. Rent does not arise from natural differences in the productivity of land. It does not arise at all until society is organized. Some form of social organization must precede the appearance of rent. After this is done, rent becomes the measure of the advantage a location gives to exchange. This location may be given added advantages in the form of public service, but it is this advantage in exchange that determines rent. Exchange is the determining factor in any form of society. Civilization itself is determined by the freedom and ease of exchange and degree of exchange facility.

Again, land itself does not generate rent. It is location. The amount of rent is then automatically determined by the facility with which exchange can be carried on. That exchange is then determined by the degree of social organization. This puts society in the role of sole claimant to rent.

That any other value, or product, arises from the use of capital than wages and replacement, seems improbable. If we remove privilege and allow labor its full reward, we would be unable to locate any return to capital as a producing factor.

Patent rights and other forms of privilege distort our vision, and the ever present element of land monopoly gives us so false a premise that we easily get off the course of logical thought. The entire advantage in the use of capital, if used under free conditions, would go to the consumer of the product, and not to the owner of the capital.

Del Rey, California.

E. O. BAILEY.

FISKE WARREN, "ENCLAVIAL GEORGEIST"

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

"What can the Henry George School of Social Science do for the enclaves?" This query in many forms, was the constant thought of Fiske Warren at the 1936 Georgeist Conference in London. I had met Fiske the year before in New York, at the Henry George Congress, where he heard much of the vigorous young institution, but seemed only mildly interested.

This retiring and lovable man sought me, as delegate of the School, before breakfast, for lunch, tea or dinner, to ask questions about this School which had aroused his interest. He finally decided that the HGS was safe for the enclaves, whether or not members should decide to change them to bring them more in line with Georgeist philosophy. Ignorance of Henry George's works on philosophy and the science of political economy, had allowed room for the most remarkable rumors concerning the enclaves. It was said that the low rents and taxes of residents was due to charity on the part of Mr. Warren, or on the other hand, that enclaves are a very subtle money-making scheme.

We became warm friends in the course of two weeks in London, and Fiske invited me to come to Tahanto, the enclave in which he lived and had the most active interest. In the light of the full moon (this is customary meeting time), I met the members of the enclave. At the close of the meeting twenty-seven members enrolled for a HGS course in Fundamental Economics and Social Philosophy. The difficulty of obtaining teachers is now offset by the smooth efficiency of the Correspondence Courses; there will undoubtedly be greater interest than ever since the loss of Mr. Warren's leadership and guidance forces members to try to understand the management of enclaves thoroughly themselves, both as to immediate details and as

to background, basis for founding and possibility of expansion and change, to obtain more nearly full benefits from the Georgeist philosophy of freedom.

Their jealous neighbors, whose cost of living is higher than that of dwellers in enclaves, will be asking what is going to happen to enclaves now. It's up to the members to take HGSSS courses for their own information and to offer them to others as a way of explaining their meaning and possibilities. Why is Mr. Rockefeller so generally well liked? It is merely what he does, or is it more the way it is handled by his Ivy Lees? With its low pressure methods of asking and searching with, the Henry George School can do much for the enclaves.

N. Y. City.

LANCASTER M. GREENE.

NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

THE death of George A. Schilling of Chicago, at the age of eighty-seven, calls attention to the distinguished career of a devoted follower of Henry George. He was born in Baden, Germany, and was a cooper by trade. Alice Thacher Post, who knew him well, pays him this tribute in a letter to LAND AND FREEDOM: "He was a very able and good man and self-educated to a remarkable level of efficiency in administrative work and understanding in the field of intellectual ideas. Above all he was a lover of mankind." Governor Altgeld appointed him secretary of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1893 and the voluminous report he prepared was quoted many years after its appearance for a resume of exact knowledge of labor conditions in Illinois. We had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Schilling in Chicago on the occasion of the Henry George Congress and heard from at intervals.

HARVARD COLLEGE has distributed 4,000 copies of the Harvard Reading List in American History, and among the books recommended is "Progress and Poverty."

BENJAMIN W. BURGER addressed the Bellaire, L. I., Democratic Club, on April 28, at the instance of Dr. S. A. Schniedman.

THE Henry George Club of Victoria, B. C., of which Alexander Hamilton is president and Fred W. Dacey, secretary, have petitioned the Royal Commission on Dominion Provincial Relations to adopt the taxation of land values. Its specific recommendation is to levy an adequate tax on gross land values, make drastic reductions in import duties and abolish the sales tax, poll taxes and business licenses. The petition is a well-worded appeal and the ethical and fiscal reasons for the change are fitly joined.

AN illustrated article of four columns under the title "Milk River Thrives Under Single Tax Administration," appears in the Lethbridge, Alberta, *Herald* of March 25. We quote from it elsewhere in these columns.

THE California Non-Partisan League has been organized with headquarters at 214 Loma Drive, Los Angeles, and Ross Building, San Francisco. Dr. F. W. Roman is chairman of the state executive committee and George M. Calkins is managing director.

MR. BENJAMIN W. BURGER extended an invitation to Judge Rosenman to avail himself of the correspondence course of the Henry George School. Judge Rosenman is a friend of Mr. Burger, besides being one of President Roosevelt's closest advisers. The Judge writes: "While I appreciate your offer I fear I shall be unable to avail myself of it."

THE *West Coast Recorder* of Port Lincoln, South Australia, contains several items referring to the campaign of E. J. Craigie for the General

Assembly. We are glad to report that Mr. Craigie was triumphantly elected.

WE learn from Miss Florence Garvin of the death of her half brother, Sumner Garvin, at the age of twenty-eight. In ability and personal appearance he strongly resembled his father, Dr. Lucius F. C. Garvin, Single Tax Governor of Rhode Island. Our sympathy is extended to Miss Garvin and family.

A LENGTHY and very admirable review of Stephen Bell's life of Dr. McGlynn appears in the *Standard* of New South Wales from the pen of S. V. Larkin. A review of the same work also is contained in the *Square Deal* of Toronto, from A. C. Campbell of Ottawa.

EMIL KNIPS of Fairhope, Alabama, writes: "It was surely Good Friday when we had the pleasure of pulling out of the mail the March-April number of LAND AND FREEDOM. The first article I read was, A Forgotten Hero, Joseph II of Austria. Then I turned to the delightful Causerie of Thomas Ashton."

HENRY B. MAURER of Cranford, N. J., was honored by the Mosquito Extermination Society of New Jersey, at its recent convention in Atlantic City. Mr. Maurer has conducted a twenty-five year campaign against the mosquito and has been long and favorably known for his Single Tax activities.

AT a meeting of the Henry George League of New South Wales, we note the presence of J. R. Swope of Johnstown, Pa., to whom a cordial welcome was extended. Mr. Swope paid a tribute to the late Warren Worth Bailey, one time editor of the *Johnstown Democrat*, as readers of LAND AND FREEDOM will recall. Mr. Swope referred to the Pittsburgh half rate tax on improvements and felt sure that if the people were allowed to vote the half rate, tax would be adopted more generally.

A GROUP of the alumni and friends of the Henry George School met at an informal meeting at the home of Anna George deMille on April 21. Dr. Mendelson of Philadelphia, gave some interesting recollections of Henry George whose intimate friend he was. Joseph Dana Miller followed Dr. Mendelson with similar recollections. About thirty-five were present.

MISS MARGARET E. BATEMAN, who is associate editor of the *Square Deal* of Toronto, was a recent visitor to the New York Henry George School and created a most favorable impression. We voted her a tower of strength to the Canadian movement.

A MINISTERIAL friend of Edwin I. S. Harding of Toowong, Queensland, Australia, writes Mr. Harding regarding Francis Neilson's "Eleventh Commandment," as follows: "It is quite the best so far that deals with the religious angle, and that is the angle that has always appealed to me. I am now endeavoring to absorb as much as possible by reading it very carefully a third time."

JOHN M. MILLER was on the screen and the front page of many newspapers for his feat of carrying United States mail in an autogyro from the Chicago airport at Cicero to the roof of the new postoffice building, a ten-story building in that city. He made the round trip in about eight minutes. It was part of a celebration of the National Air Mail week. Miller's regular run is from New York to Chicago. A graduate of the Henry George School and at one time a teacher, he drops in at the Chicago Single Tax meetings when he can.

EDWARD J. HANNAH, one of our subscribers, has been appointed to the Queen's Industrial Commission by Borough President Harvey of Queens.