

January—February, 1939

# Land and Freedom

FORMERLY THE SINGLE TAX REVIEW

*An International Record of Single Tax Progress Founded in 1901*

## Public Education as a Course of Social Action

Will Lissner

## What Has Become Of Communism?

Frank Chodorov

## Separation Of Trade And State

Ernest O. Kooser

## Work of the Schalkenbach Foundation

Antoinette Wambough

Book Reviews — Correspondence — News Notes and Personals

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# LAND AND FREEDOM

An International Bi-Monthly Magazine of Single Tax Progress

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JOSEPH DANA MILLER, EDITOR

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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

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No. 1

## Comment and Reflection

SOME surprise has been expressed at the appointment of Harry Hopkins to the post of Secretary of Commerce, for it does not appear that he has had experience in business, nor has ever been anything of a student of commerce. The point is not well taken. Knowing nothing about business he will make an ideal Secretary of Commerce under the new interpretation of the laws governing business, which is the production and distribution of wealth.

WHEN a man enters business he finds, no matter what business it is, that there are lots he did not know about it. He finds what are sometimes called the laws of political economy which he had never heard of before. He usually pays so little attention to these laws that he winds up in bankruptcy. Sometimes, most frequently indeed, his failure is due to circumstances over which he has no control. There come business depressions, and these are attributed for the most part to divine visitations or the blunders of the other political party. Get rid of the party and things will be on the upturn again.

IN the situation as it exists today the appointment of Harry Hopkins is ideal. We are positive that he does not believe that there are any laws of business, that he entertains the same views that his chief does, namely, that the laws of political economy vary with each decade. Roosevelt has told us in so many words that he has observed the changing teachings of what certain deluded people call the "science of political economy." The laws of political economy are what is taught from time to time in the class room, and are constantly changing. There are no fundamental principles.

WE need therefore feel no surprise that the newly created Secretary of Commerce has had no experience in business or commerce. It is due to the absence of experience that the appointment seems to us a peculiarly appropriate one. As there are no fundamental principles, nor even well trodden paths to be pursued, here is a tabula rasa for the new secretary to experiment with. That is as it should be if the new theory is to be followed that

the only laws governing the production of wealth and its distribution are those to be determined by experimentation at the hands of Brothers Roosevelt, Ickes, Hopkins, Frankfurter, Wallace, et al.

WHEN the world was planned, which was some time ago, provision was made for the needs of mankind. The plan appears to have been the satisfaction of human desires by the application of labor to land. This appeared to be so obvious that little attention is given in the Scriptures or the religions of the world. The method of making a living seemed so plain that any mention of the method by the Original Planner seemed quite unnecessary. Here was a world rich in natural resources. Merely to scratch the surface was to provide wealth in abundance.

PERHAPS it was not foreseen that stupid laws and the greed of man might set at naught the beneficence of the plan. Instead of relying upon the simplicity of the plan man at once began to substitute cumbersome and complicated planning for the simplicity of natural laws. A few long range thinkers sought to arrest this tendency by citing natural laws and their simplicity. Among these more enlightened pathfinders were Turgot, Patrick Edward Dove, Cobden, and a few of the poets. But nothing was done about it by the lawmakers. These are the last to learn anything. Even the professors in our universities were a little ahead of them. Most all of them were free traders, though they did not understand all that was involved in free trade.

THERE is no such passionate adherence to the doctrine of protection as there once was. Perhaps subconsciously the masses of the people who are not converted by argument are partially impressed with facts such as the period of depression through which we are passing—if we are to pass. We owe Secretary Hull a debt of gratitude for his reciprocity treaties. It seems a rather roundabout way to accomplish a purpose, namely, that we shall cease taxing ourselves when other nations cease taxing themselves. But Secretary Hull has at least made it clear that trade involves reciprocity and connotes a *two-way traffic*. It may be that through several doors the protective tariff is on its way out.

## NOTICE

**J**OSEPH DANA MILLER, the Editor, has been confined to his home the past few weeks as the result of an accident, which, however, was not serious. This will account for the delay in getting out the present number of LAND AND FREEDOM and in answering correspondence.

CLIFFORD H. KENDAL  
JOS. HIRAM NEWMAN  
CHARLES JOS. SMITH  
Associate Editors.

## Death of Norman C. B. Fowles

**I**T is with profound sorrow we announce the death of Norman C. B. Fowles, who succeeded Oscar H. Geiger as Director of the Henry George School. Next to Oscar he was the best beloved member of the faculty, an admirable teacher and a real orator, thoroughly grounded in the philosophy of Henry George.

We have arranged for a more adequate recital of his life and services, with tribute to his memory from those who knew him and loved him best.

## Land Owners Pay No Taxes

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the lusty and painful wailings of land owners against high and oppressive taxes, I think it can be shown that they pay no taxes. It may require some brief explanation of elementary economics to make this clear to the casual reader.

About 125 years ago David Ricardo, an Englishman, formulated the law of rent named after him. Being a natural law, it had always existed, but had not received much attention. It may be stated as follows: "Rent is the *excess* product or value of any land over that of the poorest land in common use."

The poorest grade of land in common use is that from which the user, with the usual application of labor and capital, can produce a minimum acceptable living, and nothing more. He cannot pay rent nor taxes. Less productive land is "submarginal," and will not be used. Whether land is supermarginal, marginal or submarginal depends upon quality or content, and location.

Let us suppose a farmer on marginal land, applying the usual amount of labor and capital, can produce 25 bushels of corn per acre, or its equivalent in other products, and that his products will supply a common living for himself and family, and no more; it is plain that he cannot pay rent. Without rent such land has no commercial value. It may have speculative or future value, which we are not considering.

If another farmer on a better grade of land, with the

same application of labor and capital, can produce 50 bushels of corn per acre, or its equivalent in other products, there is an excess of 25 bushels. This excess is "rent," or "ground-rent." It is a free gift of nature. It has cost nothing. It is sometimes called the "unearned increment." It goes to the land owner without any compensating return by him. It is this that gives land commercial value.

Now suppose a careful business man has money to invest, and desires a safe and certain income from it. After canvassing the market with care he finds a tract of land for sale occupied by tenants, who pay rentals of \$1,500 a year. It can be purchased for \$20,000. On inquiry he finds the taxes, 2 per cent, are \$400 a year. There are other trifling expenses about highways and enclosures and collecting rent. It will pay 5 per cent or a little better on his investment. And he invests.

Is it not clear in this case that the gift of nature, ground-rent, has paid the tax, and without cost to the new owner? Is it equally clear that this is an average case? I think it is. For we must use the word "average" in applying the natural laws of economics to our millions of citizens and our millions of acres, each different from the others. Our measuring rod may not fit the individual case with accuracy; some will buy or sell a little above the economic line; but an equal number will buy or sell a little below.

The purchaser of lands, consciously or unconsciously, claims a rebate or discount of ground-rent value sufficient to cover taxes and other common charges, so as to secure the net income he expects, usually not less than the current interest rate. Is it not a fact that he must do so or suffer a loss? The owners of land desiring to sell recognize this as a natural law. They may demand what they think they should receive; but purchasers finally fix the price. Buyer or seller may be unconscious of a discount of ground-rent value to cover taxes; but it is there. The owner pays no tax; nature's gift, the excess ground-rent, pays it, and on the average pays the owner his expected return. The purchase of land is not the cause of ground-rent, but net ground-rent is the incentive to purchase. Marginal land is not purchased for use, but for speculation, if at all.

The land owner pays no tax. He is not a producer. He adds nothing to the wealth or well-being of society. In spending his ground-rent he is only a consumer of goods produced by others. If he makes a gift of his income he only transfers it to other consumers. To tenants all land is marginal, for the landowner takes all above the margin, leaving the tenant only wages and interest.

But a building and its taxes are in a very different economic category. A building is capital, a product of human labor, as any student can explain. It produces no economic rent,—no gift of nature. While land is subject, for value, only to demand, supply being constant and without original cost; buildings are subject to the law of supply and demand. Their value is primarily



based on cost of production, varied by many circumstances. They are produced only in answer to demand.

If our careful business man should decide to invest his \$20,000 by erecting a business building in a suitable location, his tenants must earn their living, and interest on their capital. Then out of their occupations they must pay annual "rent" to cover the following items:

Taxes on the building at 2 per cent, \$400; repairs, 1 per cent, \$200; insurance, \$50; heating, \$300; light and water, \$150; janitor service, \$300; owner's time, vacancies, etc., \$200; risk and interest on investment, 7 per cent, \$1,400; obsolescence,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, \$500; total, \$3,500. The above is only a crude estimate.

These costs, unlike ground-rent, must be added to cost of goods and services sold by the tenants. There is no gift of nature here,—no *excess* unearned income. But the investor is a benefactor, adding to the assets and the convenience of the community. Should he be taxed, and the investor in a gift of nature go free of taxes?

JOHN HARRINGTON.

## Economic Justice and Religion Coming Cataclysmic Schism

BY T. E. McMILLAN

**J**USTICE is the one word in the English language which is in itself sufficient to connote all that is worthy and desirable in human relationships. In what I prefer to call the natural justice movement, the word freedom is often given an equal status with justice, but freedom is essentially a child of justice. Everywhere, despite unflagging energy and abiding loyalty to the ideal, justice appears to be fighting a losing battle. Why?

In New Zealand we have for over half a century had partial applications of natural justice, inasmuch as varying amounts of the natural social salary (commonly called "economic rent of land") have been publicly collected, and used for social services. Such partial applications have for a time shown good results, having forced into more intensive use large areas of land, both urban and rural. It cannot, however, be gainsaid that after a time the effect is to increase the number of persons who are seeking to gain by landlord parasitism: the hundreds of "small men" who had taken up the land thus released by the few large landlords soon wanted to speculate with the still increasing social values of the environment, increases due to the closer settlement, in both town and country, and thus where formerly the enemies of justice could be numbered in hundreds, their numbers increased by thousands! The partial measures acted like the sowing of dragon's teeth, by a modern political Cadmus, which grew up into fierce parasites maintaining the old system from which men formerly suffered. Once sufficient justice was meted out to take them off the labor market and put them on the land, they greedily and selfishly

turned out the Liberal government under which the closer settlement was effected, and put in a reactionary party that had promised—and kept its promise—to allow them to speculate with the added social values. Had the full annual value been annually collected by the State, there would then have been no speculative value to gamble with, but there is no known case in human history where any major reform of a century's old evil has been swept away all at once, unless by bloodshed, and there is no more likelihood now of any overnight full reform. In these circumstances, what must be done to ensure that the movement will be pushed on to complete fulfilment, instead of taking one step forward and two backward?

### SPIRITUAL AND MATERIAL

Thorold Rogers, in his "Economic Interpretation of History," states that the drive, the moral fervor that imbued the armies of Oliver Cromwell with the invincible spirit of victory, was due to the teachings of the Lollards of the 14th century. These Wicliff "poor priests" went about the country teaching the people not only their particular religious views, but also instructing them as to *their natural rights in the soil*. It was this force, coming down through the centuries, that provided the dynamic quality of the men and women who fought for religious and political freedom in the 16th century. There were men who saw that the fundamental basis of freedom, the equal rights in the soil, must be secured if the masses of the people were to be emancipated from economic slavery, and this was the aim of the Digger movement and of the Levellers. But what happened there? Exactly the same thing as happened in New Zealand three centuries later: a partial improvement in conditions took all the fine fervor out of social reform, the old religious drive having spent itself, leaving reform based mostly on material welfare. This point is well brought out in a paragraph in "1649. A Novel of a Year," by Jack Lindsay. Some restrictions lifted off trade, and other secondary measures eased the general lot somewhat, and the reform that men like Winstanley and John Lilburne were after petered out. To the present writer's mind, only a great spiritual revival can provide the driving force necessary to imbue men and women with the enduring, self-sacrificing moral fervor without which justice must everywhere become submerged in a tide of collectivist slavery, and freedom trampled in the dust.

### AN EFFECTIVE APPEAL

Thorold Rogers also tells us how, in the fight for justice and freedom, the hierarchies of the churches worked hand in glove with the plutocratic and parasitic exploiters, while the common clergy battled for the "common people," for God's justice to the masses. It will be so again, and the religious world is in for the greatest schism of all time. It must come. Those who are not for God's justice are against it. Let them choose their respective



grounds. I will conclude with a letter from my pen which appeared in the October, 1938, issue of *The New Age*, organ of The New Church (Swedenborgian) Australian section. (I do not happen to belong to this Church, as I am just plain kitchen garden Presbyterian, which allows enough scope for my rights of private judgment.) The facts are that the Editor of *The New Age*, Rev. Richard H. Teed, had an article in the August issue, the tenor of which may be gleaned from the following opening sentences: "Every morning when one opens one's newspaper nowadays one does so in a certain spirit of trepidation, lest one should find some frightful horror awaiting one there." The horror he had in mind was an outbreak of war between the leading nations. It seemed to me that the author was really sincere, and not merely indulging in the usual clerical, pseudo-religious window-dressing, so I sent him the following letter, which he published in full. I may add that one of the members of his church (Mr. A. H. Noar) and others had some two years ago got a motion in favor of restoration of the people's rights in the land value passed at a conference, but the minister himself had not, as far as I could gather, committed himself to the policy until the November issue of 1938, the one following the October number with the subjoined letter in:

#### DIVINE GOVERNMENT VERSUS FACTITIOUS FAILURES

To the Editor:

Dear Sir,—Powerful in their appeal to all practical idealists to be up and doing, your Notes in the August issue of "The New Age" trenchantly observe that this age is already one of barbarism, each nation watching the other, looking for a chance to pounce! Why have we reached this pass?

You, Sir, touch upon various matters in the field of economics, a science which deals solely with the equitable distribution of wealth and not with its production. I suggest that a proper understanding of the economics of Scripture will provide us with all the keys to economic problems, and that the first thing to understand is the full implication of the first verse in the Bible. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." It follows from this that the earth is the Lord's, and not the property of any earthly landlords! The only true right of "ownership" is that the owner has produced the things said to be owned. In the economic sense, this covers all things bought under free conditions and honestly, provided that the seller had a clear and moral title to the thing sold. Well, as Necker reminded the French nobles, there were no deeds and parchments in heaven conveying to them, or to anyone else on earth, the Earth. Land cannot really be "owned," either individually or by the State. Ownership, then, resolves itself into this:

1. The individual rightly owns those things he has, under free and honest conditions, produced, either by making them himself, or fairly purchasing them from another who had a clear title to them. This is the true right of private property, and applies to labor products only, and not to the earth, the air, the sea, the sunlight, which are the common possession (not in "ownership") of "the children of men"—of all of them, otherwise some must be economic slaves.

2. The social values of environment, which we misleadingly call "land values," naturally accrue, by laws of nature, irrespective of whether a given section of land in a progressing community is "owned" or not; or whether the said "owner" is asleep or awake, sane or insane. This is the fund which accrues, under God's laws, as society

develops, and may fairly be said to be the divine provision for all necessary social expenditure in the social state—above the jungle.

3. By the natural law of property, the Earth belongs to the Divine Producer thereof, and to none other. The Earth is the Lord's.

Now look at what happens because we do not abide by the divine economics. Britain and France parcelled up Morocco (non-Spanish area) between them, keeping the Germans out by threats of force backed by warship movements. Italy was given Tripoli to keep her "sweet." This was the grievance the then Kaiser Wilhelm kept harping on, and is what he meant by the famous phrase, "A place in the sun." Baffled, he set to work to build up the German navy, and the final act was the World War. Not until the Natural Justice policy is adopted, bringing in free access to the raw materials of the globe, to the Earth, with no monopolies, national or international will the spectre of war recede. The Natural Justice policy consists of socializing the social value of environment ("land values," including the market economic rent of the raw material areas, such as for oil, coal, minerals) using that Natural Social Salary for all public revenue, and abolishing all taxation. "Tax gatherers" and "sinners" rightly appear in the Bible as synonymous terms. Matthew was a tax gatherer (falsely and wilfully translated as "publican," to oblige King James when he had the Bible translated), and Matthew had to give up tax gathering before he could become a follower of the Christ: it was impossible for him to be both a tax gatherer and a Christian!

You mention "great landowners," and this is the real foundation of the matter, for international financiers would be helpless were Natural Justice adopted. Their money is valuable only because it is backed by the raw materials, the great deposits of oil, iron, ore, fertile land, and other natural resources that are fought for. Likewise, were that monopoly of the earth broken, bringing in with it world free trade, then there would be nothing left for which war would or could profitably be waged, and thus the armaments industry would fade out. (See "Chain the War God," by Victor A. Rule, D.D.)

You also mention the Transvaal, Ireland, India, Abyssinia, Japan, China. In every case the bedrock cause of the troubles was, and is, land rent monopoly, the denial of the fundamental truth in the first verse of the Bible. As the Rev. Conrad Noel says in his fine, scholarly recent work, "Life of Jesus," all the social ills of the early Hebrews were due to violation of the Deuteronomic laws against land values monopoly and usury, and the consequent oppression of the people by mortgaging and taxation. Unfortunately—as Noel caustically observes—what we now call Social Justice was of old called Holy Justice, but if we want to hear about Holy Justice, we must go, not where there are pulpits, but to secular platforms! Well, what are we going to do about it?

#### NATURAL GOVERNMENT

As one who has put in ten or more years of hard and enthusiastic work in behalf of social justice, holy justice, honest government, an equitable distribution of wealth, aiming to relieve man of the fierce, tigerish struggle for mere material sustenance, the conviction slowly dawned upon me that we shall never get this vision realized until we adopt the form of government fashioned for us by the Creator.

In the above heading the word "factitious" appears, and it was put there with thoughtful deliberation. Its definition (Universal English Dictionary) is: "Artificial, as contrasted with natural; sham, unreal, spurious." That is a good description of our forms of government in the world today, and while we have them it will be useless to adopt the suggestion in the article for the world's statesmen to "reason together," for such conference could only be like the last one: a modern Tower of Babel. Let us, in chastened mood, observe Nature's method of government, that is, the divine way.

We see, right throughout Nature, that organization is strictly according to occupational activities, all in groups. Thus we have shoals of different kinds of fish, various flights of birds, herds of cattle, swarms of bees, and so on. Human beings, when they are free to



do so, also organize according to occupations:—Farmers, commercials, clergy, journalists, carpenters, masons, doctors, lawyers, and all others organize in occupational groups, according to their interests in life. Under this system, the ablest individuals rise to the top, and thus each species has the greatest possible survival value in its leadership.

We must adopt this natural, God-ordained way for our national and international government. Each group, as above illustrated, should be able to send its delegates to Parliament, just as they now do to a national or international conference, and there legislate on all matters affecting them in common, purely sectional things being left severely to the internal group organizations. Even animals will act in common, one species warning the other of a common danger, but each retaining its group government intact. This divine method would abolish our present silly and suicidal party politics, and give us a democratic aristocracy; that is to say, a government composed of the best and ablest persons in all major walks of life. All women's organizations, once they reached the quota in numbers, would automatically be able to send their delegates to Parliament, with no need to face the stupid hurly-burly of an election. It would provide, in a much simpler and more satisfactory way, all the advantages claimed for such factitious systems as proportional representation and automatically provide for referenda, recall, elective executive, and other advantages.

We actually did adopt God's form of government when we first came out of the jungle into the clearing, but we have, in the complexity of progress, got right away from our natural social foundations. So we are back in the jungle. When we adopt the system God made for us, we shall have the master key to the solution of the social problems that now baffle and break the hearts of high-minded men and women. The Natural Laws are all simple, direct, infallible, unchangeable. By obeying them we shall come to the Kingdom on Earth, and by no other way. They are of the Kingdom. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness" (that is, rightness, justice), "and all these things" (material well-being) "shall be added unto you."

Yours faithfully,

Hohaia Street, Matamata, N. Z.

T. E. McMILLAN.

In the next issue the Rev Teed showed that my judgment of the sincerity of his article was not astray; moreover, that his moral courage is equal to his sincerity, for under the heading of "Permissions," he enumerated certain things that the true Christian, the man inside the fold, must set his face against, the one we are specially interested in being as follows:

"Licensed theft: All usurpation of the land as private property, and the consequent robbing of the community of the land rental values."

My view is that we must adopt God's laws *in full*, and this means the *natural* method of government as well, as shown to us in the forms of government adopted by both animals and human beings in free and natural conditions. God is the Sole Dictator, and His laws must be obeyed, every jot and tittle. Churches in general have their choice: they must throw in their weight on the side of natural (divine) justice in respect of the moral distribution of wealth according to earnings, individual and social, or they will inevitably go down into the bottomless pit along with the ruin of human justice and freedom, the rehabilitation of which can only be effected by restoring the natural living foundation, as expounded

by the natural justice movement in various countries, and in which the British Empire and the United States of America should act as beacon lights to a distracted world.

In its deepest deep, the malady is Spiritual, and the remedy must come from Spiritual sources. Here is the opportunity of the Church the world over to rejuvenate itself and set the faces of humanity Godward.

## The Workman Still is Greater Than His Work

THERE must be some reason why, of all the works of God and man, human society is the only one which is apparently incomprehensible, unworkable, and unsolvable. The planets have moved in their orbits for millions of years with perfect regularity, plants and animals develop into symmetry and beauty, and individual man stands at the summit of creation, "the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals." But the greatest work of man, society, is another name for chaos.

These lords of creation, on an earth which is a storehouse of riches, and equipped with all strength and wisdom to turn these natural riches to the satisfaction of every desire, stand more helpless than a tethered animal, more helpless than the trees of the forest, and die of hunger or live in wretchedness on "charity" and doles. But this helplessness comes only with the development of society. Perhaps the reason for this chaos in society is that society has been organized upon a principle which is absurd, and therefore incomprehensible and unworkable.

As the Declaration of Independence recites, and as common sense perceives, "governments were instituted among men," that is, instituted by men. Governments are the work of men, men are the workmen, the makers of governments, and "The Workman Still is Greater than His Work."

By what distortion of human intelligence can we now build a society on the principle that government is the master, that the province of government is to direct human activity, and that human activities may be carried on only subject to the approval of government? When men create governments and then endow them with power to direct the activities of men, they have created a Frankenstein monster which can only drive men to destruction. The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath. Governments were made by men, for the uses of men. Men were not created for governments, to be the puppets of government.

The doctrine that the work is greater than the workman, that governments were instituted to control the lives of men, is as ancient, as honorable, and as absurd, as the doctrines that the earth is flat. No man can serve two masters, and one must be supreme. Either man is



the lord of creation and government is his work and his servant, or government is supreme and men's province is only to be ruled.

Men who have turned over to government the direction of their lives can have no reasonable grounds to object to any form which that direction may take. They must willingly accept the mode of life laid down by their government, whether it be fascist, communistic, or nazi. If government wisdom must direct the economic lives of men, how much more important that government direct men rightly in the matter of religion and in the realm of thought.

A government which has been given power to bar its citizens from the natural resources of the earth and from a place to work, a government which, in consequence, must either watch its citizens starve, or institute a system which directs every act of employer and employee, must end in a totalitarian state which controls the thought and the religion of its "subjects."

The justification for government interference with personal freedom is the helplessness of the poor, and the poor are helpless because government has sanctioned the appropriation and the control of the earth's resources by individuals. Populations are barred from any chance to employ their labor, their labor is "dumped," and government can save them only by interfering with employers. This is a vicious circle which will never be broken except by throwing open the natural resources of the earth on equal terms to all. A government which would rent the lands, the patrimony of all the citizens, on equal terms to all, would collect such ample rents that it would have no occasion for taxes, and every man's earnings would be left to him in their entirety.

In a society where all men were free on equal terms to the earth's resources, and where government was barred from interference with any man's work, and above all, barred from piecing out the earth to the more successful, every man would be employed, he would employ himself or take employment where his work would produce the maximum in wealth or services, and he would exchange this maximum of wealth for the forms of wealth he desired. There is no imaginable interference of government which could increase this man's comfort and happiness; but it could put an end to his work and conduct him to the bread line.

The root of all evil in the society of men is that men, the lords of creation, have abdicated their lordship, and of government, the work of their hands, they have made a golden calf before which they fall down and worship, a Frankenstein monster which will grind them to powder. Government is absolutely necessary for the protection of human rights against the assaults of the criminal. When government goes beyond this duty and assumes control of human life, and interferes with the natural rights of men, it can produce nothing but the infinity of mischiefs we see around us.

No laws which legislators may enact will ever make human society workable; nothing but a fundamental change in the constitution of a state, restricting the duties of government to guaranteeing the complete and equal freedom of all men, and prohibiting interference by government with the natural rights of any man. This sounds radical, and it is. When a pyramid is standing on its point, when a tree is planted with its roots upward, nothing less radical than a complete reversal will restore them to their normal functions. When men have been reduced to the status of cogwheels in a tractor, when intelligent human beings have placed the direction of their lives in the care of a bodiless, soulless, mindless abstraction, the work of their hands, the inevitable chaos can never be restored to order except by a complete reversal, with every man as the sole arbiter of his destinies, and government protecting him against any interference with his freedom.

I appeal to:

Americans who see communist, nazi, fascist, and twelve other varieties of terrorism, tearing apart the Americanism we used to know.

Victims of religious, race, and class persecution.

The man out of work.

The man whose income is too low to provide decently for his family.

The high school and college graduate for whom the world has nothing to offer but the park bench.

The employer who is burdened with income taxes, capital gains taxes, and a hundred other taxes, with sit-down strikers, and with 15,000 government "regulations," until he does not know how a business can be run.

Those who would like to keep the money they make, instead of being the target for the next tax raid.

Those who believe that government could be run on business principles, paying for what it gets, and getting what it pays for.

The man who is willing to work for what he wants, rather than to live on the labor of others.

The man with a sense of fair play, willing to take his chances with a fair field and no favor.

I appeal to every man except the men who have monopolized the earth and its resources, and who make a living by keeping the world out of work.

## WE CAN HAVE PROSPERITY AND PEACE WHEN WE WANT THEM

There is no reform which can correct the evils of society so long as government stands upon the necks of men: no "back to the land," no old-age pensions, no wage and hour laws, no New Deal can correct the evils which will pour in an endless stream from the mindless, soulless abstraction, government, so long as government is given the power of direction. A government authorized to



direct will direct, it will set its own bounds to the limits of its direction, and the sky will be the limit.

Every evil from which any of the above-mentioned classes is suffering is one form of perversion of government functions, and there is not one of the evils which would not be cured automatically by the restriction of government to its function of protection, and the restoring to men of their natural rights. In the limits of this article it would be impossible to go into these manifold evils, but the writer would be glad to correspond with any one who should feel that the above claim is in error. Liberty would cure every evil of society as surely as the sun lights every nook and cranny of the earth.

The day on which these classes decide to forget their classes, and join in one universal demand for the restoration of men's natural rights and the restriction of government to its proper function, will see the end of all persecution, religious, race, and class, the end of unemployment and exploitation. It will also sound the death knell of wars, because there would be nothing for which nations could go to war. And nothing else will ever end these abominations, because an absurd system can produce nothing but abominations.

Perhaps, among the classes I have mentioned, may be found a new Moses who will lead us out of the wilderness and into the daylight of human freedom, where man will be once more the lord of creation, and government his able assistant, helping him to heights beyond "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome."

HENRY J. FOLEY.

## School Opens Monthly Forum

THROUGH the initiative of Herman Elenoff, a monthly forum was started in the Henry George School of Social Science on Sunday afternoon, February 6. The speakers at the opening session were Morris Van Veen, whose subject was "Why Labor and Capital Stagnate," and Donald MacDonald, Alaskan member of the International Highway Commission, who spoke on the problems of the engineer in a monopolized world.

The Students Room in which the forum was held was filled to its capacity of one hundred and fifty. The discussion following the talks was lively. The next forum meeting will be held on Sunday, March 5, at 3:30 P. M.

## The Use of Force

IN 1756, when the French allied themselves with hostile Indians and began building forts in Western Pennsylvania, the Quakers relinquished the government of the Province of which they then had complete control. They said they could reconcile their difficulties with the Indians, but not with the land grabbers.

ERNEST O. KOOSER,

in pamphlet, *The American Form of Government*.

## Some Thoughts on Organization

WHEN a truth is revealed to men and becomes a matter of conviction, the first thing that occurs to them to make their work more effective is to organize for more efficient cooperation. This is the most natural procedure to members of all faiths and convictions.

*To All Save the Followers of Henry George*

The leaders of the movement in the early days opposed to organization exercised a benumbing effect on the movement. This was true in a measure of Louis F. Post and Bolton Hall. Their policy was to work through existing organizations. This betrayed us into apparent support of superficial and often conflicting doctrines.

A perusal of the old time *Public*, under Mr. Louis F. Post, will reveal us now as advocates of William R. Hearst, Public Ownership of Public Utilities, the Income Tax, Three-cent Fares, etc., etc., and the amazing conglomerate of bewildering proposals.

And all because we were without a strong organization standing for what we believe in.

It was this policy, and not organization per se, that led to the impression that the movement was for sale to the highest bidder. It was this policy, and not organization, that lost to us the political self-seekers. This could not have occurred had the Henry George movement been solidly organized with a declaration of principles which permitted no such misdirection. But we left the door open for just such desertion by those who sought political preferment through these means, and we have no one to blame but ourselves.

The opposition to organization, not at all formidable at this time, springs from a misunderstanding as to the consequence of a very different policy.

## Rent or Ground-Rent

IT is not necessary in order to secure equal rights to land, to make an equal division of land. All that it is necessary to do is to collect the ground-rent for the common benefit. I use the term ground-rent because the proper economic term, rent, might not be understood by those who are in the habit of using it in its common sense, which applies to the income from buildings and improvements, as well as from land. In speaking of rent or ground-rent, I, of course, mean the whole annual value of land.—HENRY GEORGE.

To make land common property by abolishing all other taxes, appropriating rent for public expenses, would be in Great Britain but a return to the ancient method—a retracing of the steps by which land once acknowledged as the common property of the whole people, has been made the private property of the few.

HENRY GEORGE, "Social Problems."

## Public Education as a Course of Social Action

BY WILL LISSNER

ONE of the surest signs of virility in the Georgeist movement is the criticism which constantly appears of the strategy and tactics with which Georgeists are engaged in working for the establishment of an ethical, democratic social order. Throughout their history, Georgeists have never taken strategic policies and tactical efforts for granted. Even when embarked upon them they have continued to scrutinize, study and weigh their efficacy. It is because of this that they may claim to merit, at least in part, Professor Broadus Mitchell's generous tribute to the intelligence of their efforts.

In the framework of this the Henry George School of Social Science has a prominent place. As the most successful effort undertaken in recent years by those who believe that the socio-ethical economics and the progressive social philosophy of Henry George deserve a more influential role in American thought, it is, of course, representative of the most progressive tendencies in the movement. Even before the permanency of the venture was as definitely established as it is today, those who were contributing valuable time or were sacrificing income or savings to support this institution constantly questioned its course.

This deserves to be set down, if only for its historical interest.

### I

This tendency of Georgeists is derived, of course, from the social philosophy that animates them—from the framework of ideas to which they refer practical problems whose solution is not found in measurements. It is only natural that the tendency should have been especially marked among supporters of the Henry George School of Social Science; Oscar H. Geiger was its founder.

I can still hear Oscar Geiger's voice ringing in my ears, expounding the principle—one of his most cherished convictions derived from the Georgeist social philosophy—of an inner unity between ends and means that bars any divorcement of ends from the means with which they are sought to be achieved, that demands, nay, even furnishes the same criteria for the determination of practical methods (as, say, the choice of economic devices) as are employed in the selection and formulation of practicable aims (as social goals).

I can still see the look of justifiable pride which brightened his face as he showed me, in his apartment one day, the exposition of this principle by his son, Dr. George Raymond Geiger, in the galley proofs of "The Philosophy of Henry George" which the author's father was then engaged in checking. The whole book itself bore testimony to the principle. Oscar Geiger thought his son's

work was a precise statement of his own convictions in more modern language than that in which he had arrived at them; I thought—privately—that the son had shown himself worthy of his father, that the father had made himself worthy of such a son.

The doctrine that the end justifies the means—falsely ascribed to the Jesuits who immediately proscribed the one Jesuit book in which it appeared around the turn of the sixteenth century—was one Oscar Geiger never tired of refuting with weighty, reasoned argument.

No follower of Thomas a Kempis—or Groot or whoever it was that really laid down the injunctions in "The Imitation of Christ"—ever engaged in this type of soul-searching more earnestly than the supporter of the Henry George School of Social Science, a fact which I think deserves to be entered into the record.

I can speak of these matters with some assurance. Before the School opened its doors I was a student. I think I may claim to be one of the very first students on those grounds, because, since there was yet no School then for him to refer me to, Oscar Geiger was kind enough to have me visit his home weekly throughout the winter preceding the School's establishment so that he could tutor me personally in the subjects which later became its curriculum.

On the other hand, the claim would be a sentimentalism: Oscar Geiger was a teacher all his life and hundreds must have preceded me. But at any rate, when the School opened its doors at last, I was one of the eighty-four students of the first year. Joseph Dana Miller was a frequent visitor and a welcome one. Oscar Geiger yielded the rostrum to Stephen Bell when we took up international trade. Frank Chodorov used to come in from Minnesota or some other outlandish place to discuss the School's problems with its director.

Norman C. B. Fowles, who passed from among us the other day, sat next to me in the only classroom. And I can still remember the light in Oscar Geiger's eyes one day at the end of that year when, haggard with overwork and worry, he fixed an evangelical look upon Fowles and me and said: "Never mind about me. The work will go on. Your consciences will never let you rest easily if it doesn't."

(At Oscar Geiger's funeral not many days later—an outpouring of student affection that jammed the school's limited quarters—Norman Fowles recalled this to me as one summoned on a mission; and later he told me that it was this that determined him to accept the vacant directorship over the urgent objections of his physician and family.)

### II

Most of the debate of the School's supporters centered about its charter from the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York (the State Education Department). Oscar Geiger went to great lengths to get



this and it was granted, I think, only as a tribute to his own integrity and scholarship and to his extraordinary capacity as a teacher.

Actually, the School he visioned had only dubious prospects and uncertain support. He himself was staking his small lifelong savings and—perhaps I ought not to speak of this lest it embarrass a friend—his largest contributor was one who was sacrificing an unbelievable percentage of an executive salary. The prospects of continued support were more meagre than the prospects of students.

One of the things that helped hasten Oscar Geiger to his grave, I think, was the diffidence with which most of the movement's veterans greeted his effort. Call a roll of the trustees and incorporators, add half a dozen to a dozen more names, and you have a complete roster of the old-timers who were willing to gamble with the founder.

There has been a lot of band-wagon jumping in recent years, but all of the remarks cast about "recent adherents to our movement" (with an implied emphasis on the adjective) will not erase the speech of Oscar Geiger at Town Hall in 1934, when he told how everyone he tried to enthuse about the School had sought to dissuade and discourage him except a handful of men and women he named and pointed out. Even Charles O'Connor Hennessy, who turned out before his death to be one of the School's most valuable supporters, had no faith in Geiger's effort at the beginning. Hennessy used to admit it, with a frankness and honesty one finds was not contagious.

The Board of Regents was willing to wait five years before it counted the books in the School's library (Bolton Hall was forever in a dither lest its size be inadequate) or examined more closely the need for the School, the practicability of its methods, the adequacy of its equipment and its financial support. It must take pride in faith in intangibles now that the School is permanently established and its advanced technique the admiration of experts in adult education.

Oscar Geiger considered, and rightly so, I think, that the granting of the charter marked a turn in the history of the movement. Joseph Dana Miller, who more than any other of Henry George's close associates is qualified to speak upon this history, once wrote, it should be recalled, that the movement wasn't in the business of making history, its own or the country's, in the years just preceding the School's founding.

Oscar Geiger would point out that Georgeists had tried the method of political coalition with a third party, in George's time and in our own. (Geiger was a ring-leader in the Committee of Forty-eight, the abortive venture in 1920.) He would point out that Georgeists had tried concentrating their forces on a single state, Delaware. They had tried the method of setting up their own political party. They had tried initiative petitions in several states, referenda in many, independent

legislative action in municipalities, states and even in the Nation. They had made deals with the old parties. deals with the new; they had been sold out more than once. The political results justified R. G. Tugwell in writing in an encyclopedia that comparatively little had come of George's far-reaching work by way of practical achievement.

Actually, at the time when he launched the School, Geiger looked upon the movement's situation as a challenge to him and to all who cared. Many seem to overlook that in the post-war years, when a delusion of speculative prosperity gripped the country, the movement fell to such a low estate it was a miracle Joseph Dana Miller, through the movement's organ, *LAND AND FREEDOM*, was able to keep it alive.

Oscar Geiger understood that Mr. Miller's single-handed achievement was no neat trick but an heroic effort which taxed his every energy. He made this clear in a speech on his aims and hopes for the Henry George School, read for him by Mr. Miller at the Seventh Henry George Congress in Memphis in 1932. He said then:

"It is thirty-five years now since Henry George left this sphere of life. Those who knew his philosophy while he lived are all now on in years and few are left to carry on the work that he began. Those who did not know his teachings while he lived, likewise are on in years and burdened with cares, and comparatively few of these have more than heard of him or of his books. Those who have come upon the scene since he has gone, have had little chance and very poor advantage to learn of the great truth which he made clear and which alone can make men free."

John J. Murphy had been obliged to report to the Fourth International Conference to Promote Land Value Taxation and Free Trade in Edinburgh three years earlier: "... In general it may be stated that, during the World War and since its conclusion, there has been little effort to affect taxation—national, state or local—by legislation." Mentioning the brief list of Georgeist activities then, he concluded: "The men engaged in the work include several of the most devoted men in the movement, but they fail to obtain the general support of Single Taxers, nor have they been able to attract any considerable measure of public attention. . . . I wish I could present a more optimistic picture."

The School, as Oscar Geiger visioned it, was a break with all the unsuccessful methods of political maneuvering. It was a new course. To establish an ethical, democratic order, he believed, it was not enough to write economic devices for its achievement into the statute books. First, he thought, the masses of the people through their leaders must be helped to discover what they really wanted and needed in this respect and then they must be helped to discover how they can obtain this. It was because he saw no royal road to the good society, no short



cut to economic democracy, that he tackled the herculean task of founding the School.

### III

Oscar Geiger recognized the job as one of education, one of adult education. (It happens that my own higher education was largely in this field, so that we had a common interest in educational techniques and used to discuss them—I had an academic interest in the field only, for my profession is in quite another field than teaching.)

This educational job, as he saw it, was the basic one; above all, the neglected one. Create an informed influential public opinion, he felt, and the political side of the task would take care of itself. This educational job, he thought, could only be done when the educators went among the people in the role of educators. Not as propagandists. Not as politicians. Not as agitators for a special interest. Not as missionaries for scripture and calico. Not as paid evangelists, but as leaders of groups of earnest, selfless men, seeking the truth wherever it might be found. The charter, he believed, established that character in the institution he founded.

We used to recall his position when we debated whether the School would prosper best with the charter or without it. We used to recall how we alumni (I among them) would say to him, with typical youthful impatience:

"We've got the vision of a free society, and we've got an understanding of its concrete economic foundations. But now that we've got it, what will we do with it?"

And we used to recall his bland reply, ever reiterated to alumni:

"Now that you've 'got' it, what will you *do* with it? I don't care what you *do* with it; because I know what you'll *do* with it."

He did know. I would have realized this even if, in the few months before his death, he had not confided in me his intimate opinions about current social tendencies and about what he thought the movement ought to do in the event that it was confronted with certain alternative situations, situations which then, as now, were likely to develop.

He did know and we've been *doing* it, just as he had planned that we should. The record of our activities and influence is there for anyone to examine who wishes to; it is neither a short nor an unimpressive one. We have consciences and we sleep at night. That record is a vindication of Oscar Geiger's belief that the charter would never hamstring the School, would never bar effectual action.

We did recognize in our discussions that the charter did keep the School within certain limitations.

For one thing, it assured that the minimum of educational standards, which distinguish New York State Schools alone from all others, would be maintained.

It assured that the director would be a man with some experience in the conduct of a responsible enterprise and

some culture, as Geiger, Fowles, Dorn and Chodorov have been, rather than a glib wire-puller.

It assured that the teaching would be in the hands of competent instructors rather than the windbags who always infest movements.

It assured that the endowment would not be dissipated in overhead—in providing jobs for professional executive secretaries, the "bureaucrats of causes."

It assured that every penny of financial contributions would be used for educational purposes and not diverted to political adventuring.

It assured that those who came to seek guidance in the fulfillment of their responsibilities as members of humanity and as citizens of their country would get that guidance; and it assured that they would not be letting themselves into the clutches of unscrupulous manipulators of the popular will.

It assured that the corporation's board of directors—the trustees, a hand-picked, self-perpetuating body like the governing boards of all Georgeist organizations but in this case, as in that of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, no affront to the organization's democratic philosophy since its status as a hand-picked self-perpetuating body is one peculiarly suitable for endowed educational institutions and one dictated for these alone by tradition and law—would be held to their responsibilities by a higher power, a written contract entered into with the representatives of the people of the State.

And it assured, finally, that an adequate plant would be maintained, with adequate equipment.

To be sure, we recognized these things as limitations, as others have so recognized them. But the more we thought about it the more we welcomed these limitations. They were not the least among the factors responsible for the success of the School.

### IV

The mention of the maintenance of educational standards recalls an amusing incident. The special techniques of the School—use of the discussion method, relation of theory to current events having living reality in the student's own world, the active participation of the student in the educational process, employment of the catechetical method not to teach but to set off the discussion among students by which they teach themselves when under competent leadership—these were, of course, laid down by Oscar Geiger. But when he passed on, his teaching materials covered only part of the present curriculum and were in the form of notes which required not only editing but adaptation for less skilled teachers than he was.

This was done, but with Oscar Geiger gone we always suspected the adequacy of the supplementary work. We once were worried because a minority of registrants did not complete the course. Mrs. Anna George deMille, daughter of Henry George and indefatigable president of



the School's board of trustees, and I were dispatched one time by Otto K. Dorn, the trustee who was then the director, to pay several visits to Professor John Dewey to see what could be done about this problem.

Professor Dewey, whose system of progressive education has remoulded the practises of the teaching profession in many parts of the world, studied our registration and attendance figures. He questioned us about our teaching materials and we explained that we were always uncertain about them and used to fashion them from experience in the classroom, test them under varying conditions and constantly revise them in the light of further experience. We thought we needed an expert to change our system completely.

After he had looked over the materials and talked to one or two friends, Professor Dewey entertained us again. He seemed quite amused when he explained that the student loss we were worrying about actually was one of the lowest in the whole field of adult education and really was a remarkably successful record.

He told us, in the kind, gentle way that is characteristic of this foremost scholar and educator, that he thought we really ought to carry on as we had been doing, in the assurance that an expert, no matter where we recruited him from, could not much improve the method that seemed, on the basis of the results we related, to do our job so efficiently.

Some time before, well-intentioned professors had sought to make clear to me what distinguished the progressive methods of Dr. Dewey and his collaborators from traditional ones. But it was only after I pondered these remarks of Dr. Dewey that I realized that the basic test of an educational technique was whether its procedures were drawn from life and projected back into it, not whether its theoretical basis followed fullsome expositions in forbidding textbooks; whether it worked, not whether it squared with the traditional opinions of experts.

And it was only then that I realized why Oscar Geiger would not even open his School until he had experimented with his method, until he had tested his techniques at Pythian Temple in Manhattan, until he had tempered his ideas in the fires of practise. It was only then that I came to understand that the veneration Geiger accorded Dewey was not merely homage to a courageous social theorist, but acknowledgment of intellectual debt to an educational practitioner.

## V

We, of course, have become permeated with the School's theory of action in the course of applying our energies actively along the lines that it demands. We understand the theory because we have always seen it in relation to the life around us in which it has its only meaning. These things seem so simple and commonplace to us that sometimes we cannot look sympathetically upon otherwise intelligent persons who seem to misunderstand our method,

to miscomprehend that our method is a precise course of action distinguished by a zone, not a line, from any other upon which the movement has embarked.

The evidence of this misunderstanding has always been small but it may be growing. So perhaps it is well that someone should turn from pursuit of that course of action and take the trouble to define it in measured terms, to explain what it implies to set down in limiting prose what has become known by conversation, debate and more direct experience to the thousands identified with the School over the country.

The misunderstanding is grave enough to require plain-speaking. That most of those who misunderstand are those who have not been active as teachers, secretaries, administrators, financial contributors or in other capacities in the School's crusade for economic literacy should not deter us; it is to be expected that those who divorce theory from the experience out of which it sprang, from the experience to which it is to be applied, should be the first victims of confusion.

These persons demand: "Do you not abjure politics?" And we say we do, not merely to the extent demanded by the charter, not merely because the charter demands it (for we could give up the charter with an infinitesimal amount of the trouble it took to get and keep it) but because we, as members together of an institution, have foresworn political maneuvering as a matter of principle.

"Then how," they declare triumphantly, "do you expect to put our principles into practise?"

There is a naïveté implied in this declaration that one who—as I did—followed a state's politics for several years as a professional observer can readily appreciate. Apparently these people think that the statutes which now are the laws of the land were enacted primarily as the result of pressures generated by political clubs, the offices of legislators or the headquarters of legislative associations. Students of society ought to know, nevertheless, that he wastes his time who raises straws against the winds of legislation in these halls. The laws, regardless of where their technicalities are whipped into written form, arise from the offices—or the drawing rooms—of private individuals for the most part. And particularly of the tax laws it can be said that the last place to look for an intelligent discussion of pending legislation in this field is in a political club.

But the answer to our triumphant friends has already been given. We have abjured politics, but what we specifically have abjured is *politics as the predominant field of our collective activity*. As individuals, we have not abjured life, nor politics as a department of life. (With Father Edward McGlynn we can say that when we took the cross of service to humanity in this crusade we did not surrender our temporal citizenship.) We follow our course of action not as a method of expounding principles—as principles apart from practise we have no interest



in them—but we follow it as a method of putting the principles into practise.

It is amusing to see these very persons raise the question and in the next breath tell us frankly that we are doing an excellent job of teaching Henry George's principles. For if our course of action were not a method of putting Georgeist principles into practise it would be a negation of the fundamental principle that distinguished George as economist and social philosopher. John Dewey set this out very clearly when he wrote (in the Foreword to G. R. Geiger's "Philosophy of Henry George," Macmillan, New York, 1933, pp. ix-x):

"Henry George is typically American not only in his career but in the practical bent of his mind, in his desire to *do* something about the phenomena he studied and not to content himself with a theoretic study. . . . There is something distinctive in the ardent crusade which George carried on. His ideas were always of the nature of a challenge to action and a call to action. The 'science' of political economy was to him a body of principles to provide the basis of policies to be executed, measures to be carried out, not just ideas to be intellectually entertained, plus a faint hope that they might sometime affect action. His ideas were intrinsically 'plans of action.'"

If the spirit of Dewey, father of a successful educational process, is found in the School—and I think I have indicated how large a debt the School owes to the educator, its honorary president, a debt which would have been incurred even if Dewey had never set foot within its doors, if there had not been the slightest intimate contact between the institution and the educational philosopher—even if the educator had never said a word about George's or anybody's social theory—if the spirit is found there then its course of action is truly a method of putting principles into practise.

For if Dewey's idea, Dewey's process, mean anything at all they are identified with the notion that democracy is the growth of popular enlightenment, not a form of popular rule. Understanding, in this view (I avail myself of the phrases of a recent commentator who happens to be, and not by accident, a socio-ethical economist), is more important than authority. Thus democracy can be identified with education in the broad sense as a process for achieving this popular understanding.

"What makes the devices of suffrage and representation important, and what makes them work in so far as they do work, is general literacy, the growth of the informed interest of people generally in their general as well as individual concerns," notes Professor C. E. Ayres (in "Dewey: Master of the Commonplace," *The New Republic*, New York, Jan. 18, 1939, pp. 303-6). ". . . The keynote of modern education is its continuity with life. That is what Dewey has stood for always—the continuity of learning with doing and living—and not for any particular educational fad of the 'child-centered' schools. Its most important result for the country as

a whole . . . is a phase of the larger process of the realization of democracy and the emergence of the modern mind from immemorial tradition."

Dr. Dewey himself summed this up back in 1903 when he wrote (in "Studies in Logical Theory"):

"Thinking is a kind of activity which we perform at specific need just as at other need we engage in other sorts of activity. . . . The measure of its success, the standard of its validity, is precisely the degree in which thinking actually disposes of the difficulty and allows us to proceed with the more direct modes of experiencing, that are forthwith possessed of more assured and deepened value."

In this way, says Dewey's most recent expositor, "he closed the abyss between thought and things on the brink of which generation after generation of philosophers had mulled and stumbled." Dewey said this in a word when he declared that the fundamental assumption of his point of view "is *continuity* in and of experience."

It must not be overlooked that the democratic principle was explained by Dewey in the same terms as those employed by Henry George.

"Social reform," George wrote in "Social Problems," "is not to be secured by noise and shouting; by complaints and denunciation; by the formation of parties or the making of revolutions; but by the awakening of thought and the progress of ideas. Until there be correct thought, there cannot be right action; and when there is correct thought, right action *will* follow. . . . The great work of the present . . . is the work of education—the propagation of ideas. It is only as it aids this that anything else can avail."

Dewey understood the democratic principle to be "precisely that of solving problems not by 'decisive' authority but with understanding and the slow but eventually sure seepage of ideas through the whole community." (Parenthetically I might ask if it is not true if the advocates of temperance, who obtained enactment of the Prohibition Amendment by the most skillful political strategy, had understood what these plain sentences imply, would the old-time saloon with all its attendant evils be the curse it is today?)

The School has had two alternative courses before it. It could have developed as the training school of a sect, training recruits for the sectarian activities traditional with an isolated group. Or it could make itself a positive force spurring the growth of enlightenment in the whole community—it could undertake the task of building the ethical, democratic social order that the first school would only dream about and its few adherents would never live to see. It has chosen the second course and is in the thick of the struggle. It is true to the principles of libertarian democracy to which George, Dewey, and Geiger, devoted their careers.

(To be Continued)



## Robert Schalkenbach Foundation Report

CERTAIN reviewers have developed a more than professional interest in the books of Henry George, partly through correspondence with the Foundation. They have not only written good reviews, but have given that fresh, enthusiastic touch to the writing thereof, which means so much in leading the reading public to investigate.

Mr. Andrew Bock of the editorial staff of *The Financial World* says, in the December 14th issue:

"As in many of the famous author's former writings, this one ('Social Problems') contains references to political, economic and social conditions remarkably similar to those which face us today."

Mr. Michael B. Scheler, after correspondence with the Foundation office, and receipt of "Progress and Poverty," "The Science of Political Economy" and "Social Problems," wrote in delightful vein as follows:

"Another social thinker of the 19th century who is now receiving wide attention, is Henry George. As the depression, world-wide in extent, shows no signs of abatement, after nine years of havoc, the Single Tax, one of the prime pillars in the structure of Henry George's system of economics and philosophy, is once more brought forward as the solution for the ills of capitalism. Whether one agrees with Henry George or not, one certainly cannot claim the distinction of being a fully cultured person, without a fair acquaintance with George's teachings. . . . And expense can no longer serve as an excuse to anyone for not availing himself of the writings of Henry George. The Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 11 Park Place, New York, was organized and subsidized by interested and lofty individuals, for the specific purpose of re-issuing George's works, and works about his writings, at prices as low as a movie-house seat."

There followed in *Dynamic America* (December), Mr. Scheler's reviews of the above-mentioned three books. He requested "The Philosophy of Henry George" and "Rebel, Priest and Prophet," mention of which will appear at some later date, in a symposium that he plans on the subject of Henry George and his influence.

Oscar Baradinsky, literary editor of the Westchester Features Syndicate serving newspapers in the Westchester area, has been generous with space for reviews that have appeared in a chain of his newspapers. The latest reviews were those of "The Land Question" and of "Protection or Free Trade."

From the editor of *Industry*, Calcutta, India, comes a request for review copies. This magazine reviewed very adequately the Anniversary edition of "Progress and Poverty" when the Foundation launched its first printing in 1929, and we look forward to good reviews from

this source during the next few months for the later titles.

The editor of a mid-western newspaper has written a splendid editorial "Born 100 Years Ago—A Great American." The story of Henry George is told, and accompanying this boxed editorial, in the same issue of the newspaper, there is printed the complete text of our pamphlet "Steps to Economic Recovery," by Professor John Dewey.

With this editor's permission we will release copy of the editorial, slightly adapted, to a number of newspapers and trade papers, accompanying each release with a pamphlet that can be used by the editor in one or two issues.

Anyone who is desirous of having his home town newspaper receive material of this kind should apply to the Foundation, sending the name and address of the editors and the newspapers.

Mr. Bolton Hall, an honored senior director of the Foundation, is mourned by the many friends on the Board, and by all who knew this brilliant man. He passed away at Thomasville, Georgia, on December 10, 1938, at the age of eighty-four years. He was the author of seventeen books. In the accounts of his life which appeared in the *New York Times* and *New York Herald-Tribune*, unusual prominence was given to Mr. Hall's life-long activity in the Henry George movement, and to his establishment of a Single Tax colony at Scotch Plains, New Jersey.

### FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE

A steady stream of letters from all parts of the world has come to the Foundation desk ever since the first request for news was made, last July. Many and varied are the messages that come. Particularly sad are those from Germany, Austria, and the bordering countries. They bespeak in restrained way, of the dangerous times. Mr. Ferdinand Mero of Budapest, sends a Christmas greeting as follows:

"May the Henry George anniversary year bring the realization of his principles at least in such countries as yours; in my country, on the contrary, the sad German principles will be realized."

And from Santiago de Chile, Mr. Jorge Gustavo Silva writes:

Dear Madam:

I am in receipt of your communication regarding the "Christmas Offer and the Book Catalogue '38," all concerning the work and doctrine of Henry George

I feel very pleased being in contact with said organization about which I would like to get more information as I am very much interested in same. Also please furnish me with some of your pamphlets and any other valuable data you have on hand.

In your "book catalogue" there are some publications which I am personally interested in and which I

have in mind to send for. Some of them I intend to translate into Spanish.

I have founded a League in the name of Henry George whom I admire for his writings and good literature.

Very respectfully,

Jorge Gustavo Silva.

Mr. Markham, center of a most active group of George-ists in Australia, is in constant touch with the Foundation office. His letter making suggestions as to the opportunities that exist for George men and women to make 1939 an outstanding Centennial Year, are of special interest. He suggests issuing a photograph of Henry George—having a competitive oration, the winner to deliver the oration at a Henry George night to be organized in each city.

We are glad to announce that a beautiful color portrait of Henry George has been produced by the Foundation, that there are about 1,000 copies available, for use by Henry George clubs and societies and individuals, and that the photographs come in a handsome grey folder, ready for framing.

A sample copy of this portrait is being sent to various extension leaders throughout the United States, so that it can be shown to the pupils and graduates of the local Henry George Schools.

From Mr. Huie and Mr. Wilson of Bathurst, New South Wales, we received word of the work done in that district. A copy of a new printing of Mr. Huie's well-liked pamphlet "Natural Rights" was included. Mr. Huie tells us that Alderman Firth printed 20,000 as a gift to the New South Wales League.

Although the Christmas season has passed, requests for the books offered in the Foundation's Christmas letter still come in daily.

Of the 11,000 people circularized from the Foundation's own list of names, and the 3,000 names given to it by the School of recent graduates, a tremendous response was obtained in terms of books and pamphlet demand, and consequent nation-wide circulation and distribution.

Approximately 600 books were wrapped and packed as gifts, and given to that many people, with the compliments of a Henry George friend! All of these new contacts were added to our list for future mailings of pamphlets and literature. More than 2,000 pamphlets were distributed in special directions.

Often this kind of distribution suggests to some one the advantages of getting a group of people to read a particular pamphlet. Thus Mr. Van Ness of Mountain View, New Jersey, made it possible to send 200 of the pamphlet "Why Penalize Building?" to the New Jersey Lumberman's Association, in time for a meeting that organization held in January at Newark.

A lieutenant commander at the Naval Supply Depot at Norfolk, Virginia, ordered one of each of George's books for some friends in his Naval Supply colony.

A Miss Turner in Colorado sent the unabridged "Progress

and Poverty" to a County Commissioner, a City-County Attorney, and the president of the local lumber company.

Mr. Karl Fisher, Land and Tax Commissioner of Chicago, sent one copy of "Progress and Poverty" to the Chairman of the State Tax Commission of Denver; the Chairman of the Board of Assessment and Review, Des Moines; to the Chairman of the Illinois Tax Commission; the Chairman of the Jefferson City State Tax Commission; the Chairman of the State Board of Equalization, Helena, Montana; of the State Tax Commission, Wisconsin, and to the Director of Taxation at Pierre, South Dakota.

From our circularization of foreign friends, Mr. Axel Roulund of Denmark sent us an order for twelve copies of "Significant Paragraphs" to be sent to twelve of his friends in the United States. Likewise, a lady in England sent for ten copies of the same book to go to her friends in this country and in Westmoreland and Cumberland, England.

A Wesleyan university professor sent for pamphlets; Professor King of the University of Pittsburgh sent for 100 "Causes of Business Depression"; and Merle Conti of Teachers College, New York, sent for 30 "Significant Paragraphs" to be used in his class readings.

Mr. Boon of Durham, California, sent ten friends a copy of the Bengough "Up-to-Date Primer," which continues to amuse and instruct. We have printed 1,000 copies and very nearly that many have been sent out since the pamphlet or booklet first appeared.

Originally delivered by Mr. Buttenheim as a speech to the Toronto Conference, last September, the article "Unwise Taxation as a Burden on Housing" was published by the *Yale Law Journal* (December, 1938). Reprints are now available at 10 cents the copy (15 for \$1). The Foundation has 500 copies for distribution. Some of them will be sent as samples to extension leaders for their information and examination. The balance are on hand for general use.

Miss Bateman's "World Survey" or "Who Owns the Earth?" continues to be in demand. A sample copy has been sent to 400 teachers and pupils of the Henry George School and its extensions.

The Foundation makes grateful acknowledgment to its treasurer, Mr. Henry George Atkinson, for a file of rare pamphlets and material on economic subjects suitable for inclusion in the library.

ANTOINETTE WAMBOUGH,  
Executive Secretary.

That we should protect the rights of others as scrupulously as we would have our own rights respected, is not a mere counsel of perfection to individuals, but it is the law to which we must conform social institutions and national policy if we would secure the blessings of abundance and peace.

"Protection or Free Trade," by HENRY GEORGE.



## Bolton Hall

THE Old Guard Passeth! Again we have to record the death of an old comrade, a faithful disciple of Henry George. Bolton Hall passed away on December 10, last, in Thomasville, Ga., whither he had gone in search of health. He was eighty-four years old, and a goodly portion of those years had been spent in preaching and teaching the gospel of Henry George. From his college years Bolton Hall had espoused the cause of the under-dog, the oppressed, the needy. But being a true individualist by nature, a tendency aided perhaps by the fact that he himself had always had enough of the world's goods and had grown up in a cultural background, Bolton Hall was not carried away by Marxism or any form of collectivist philosophy. He found what he sought in the doctrines propounded by Henry George, an understanding of the fact that the only legitimate function of government is to prevent us from invading the rights of others. And having found it, he spent his life in the endeavor to enlighten others.

Not merely by preaching. Bolton Hall founded the American Longshoreman's Union and was instrumental in getting that interesting Scotch-Irish Longshoreman's leader, Edward McHugh—also known as the Savior of Skye—to come to this country. Some of us are old enough to remember the amusingly ironic episode of McHugh's arrest in a longshoreman's strike, and then his release with apologies. But he had been kept locked up long enough to break the strike! Bolton Hall had made that episode known to many who might not otherwise have heard of it.

Bolton Hall is also widely known as the founder of the Single Tax Colony of Free Acres, the "Father of Free Acres" we called him. He gave the seventy-five or eighty acres to the colony under a deed of gift by which the land could never be bought, sold or speculated in, but was to be given in lease, for shorter or longer term as desired by the lessee. Mr. Hall had a little house there himself, was present at the Town Meetings by which the affairs of the colony were regulated. He loved that beautiful little spot at the foot of the Watchung Hills. All those of us who ever lived there remember the tall figure in a blue peasant blouse—his customary Free Acres garb. But in spite of his desires to be taken for a real "worker," Bolton Hall could not hide the fine intellectuality of his aquiline face, the quiet good-breeding of his manner. "Tolstoy without a beard," I called him. "And without a conscience" was his answer. But he did himself wrong there, for Bolton Hall possessed in high measure that social conscience which all great reformers and their true disciples possess. He lived in a world of theory, some might have said, but he tried always to put his theory into practice. He loved working with tools. If one asked what he was doing when he was up the roof of his little house, hammering away at a loose shingle, or dig-

ging in his garden, he would answer; "I'm trying to *earn* a living." This by contrast with his legal work and particularly with his real estate business, which he called "making a living without earning it."

That will always be my pleasantest memory of my good friend, Bolton Hall; his delightful quiet humor, his philosophic attitude which seemed to take so little account of practical things, but yet was founded on a clear understanding of economic truth. Bolton Hall had never known poverty himself, but he realized to the full that poverty is the crime of our age, when mechanical invention should make life easier for all of us, whereas, in spite of it, man's inhumanity to man continues. He saw just where, and *only* where, man could be inhuman to his fellowmen.

Bolton Hall's father was a famous preacher in the New York of many decades back. There are still folk who remember the name of Dr. John Hall of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church. And when Bolton Hall began to talk Henry George and take up his "reforming" activities, doubtless many of those old New Yorkers shrugged tolerantly and murmured something about "ministers' sons." But Bolton Hall—who, by the way, was born in Ireland although most of his life has been spent as a citizen of New York,—Bolton Hall went on teaching and preaching Henry George's doctrines with tongue and pen regardless of the amused tolerance of the circle in which he belonged by birth.

In the January issue of the *Freeman*, Frederic Cyrus Leubuscher tells an incident in Bolton Hall's life that is known to very few. In 1900, it seems, the Democratic leaders offered him the nomination for Governor of New York. They saw an opportunity in his popularity with the working-class. But with their offer went the demand that they be allowed to dictate his policy and appointments, and Bolton Hall promptly refused. He preferred his freedom.

He wrote many books, short and longer essays showing in all of them an inborn knowledge of the true essence of freedom.

Many articles in our daily papers have catalogued his books, the best known of which are possibly, "A Little Land and a Living" and "Three Acres and Liberty." There is one little book that has not been mentioned, a clever thing in its way and unusual, "The Love Letters of St. John."

There are many of us to whom Bolton Hall's memory will be very dear, to whom his steadfastness will still be, as it has always been, inspiration and encouragement.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

THOSE who make private property of the gift of God pretend in vain to be innocent. For in thus retaining the subsistence of the poor they are the murderers of those who die every day for want of it.

POPE GREGORY THE GREAT in "Cura Pastoralis."



## What Has Become of Communism?

BY FRANK CHODOROV

**T**HOMAS JEFFERSON said, "When once a man has cast a longing eye on offices, a rottenness begins in his conduct."

The soundness of this observation is brought home in the present character of the communist movement. Whatever one thinks of the ideology, one must recognize the essential honesty of purpose displayed by its devotees in years past—previous to the incrustation in office of the Stalinists. In Czarist days, and during the uncertain years of the revolution, up to the time that successful office-holding warranted the exile of Trotsky, the communist was always a sincere zealot. Today the movement has lost its idealism in a riot of careerism. There are dupes who still make sacrifice for "the cause." But their leaders are just plain job-hunters, using a hunting technique that is a peculiar combination of Tammany politics and soap-box demagoguery. With the "party line" as the lash, and the promise of "the dictatorship of the proletariat" as the lure, they drive their mobs into a perfect political machine more effectively than any boss.

This is very evident in America; in every country where communists have secured a hold zealous idealism has been replaced by sordid expediency. The recent "platform" of the American Communist party, with its lip-service to democracy, the United States Constitution, and other erstwhile "bourgeois banalities," is, while it fools nobody, the straw that shows which way the communist wind is blowing.

The American system of indirectly dispensing doles to the unemployed through a hierarchy of petty officials has given the communists here a main chance. By sliding into a key position in the WPA it is a simple matter for a communist office-holder to dispense jobs among the faithful. This infiltration grows fan-like. The net result is an increasingly large number of "comrades" germinating in an area of dissatisfied dole-receivers. The party war-chest grows alike.

In other ways the depression has fed the maws of this careerist movement. Planned economy is so akin to communist thought that it was not surprising when our government decided upon this perilous course the sailors hired for the cruise must come from those who could read its charts. From labor unions famous for Marxist tendencies, from college halls where the Marxist jargon has been refined to almost a meaningful thing, came the men to handle the rudder of regimentation. Surely, one could not expect from the business man trained in a competitive field advice on how to plan a non-competitive

(or more regulated) order. It is a fact that radicals in office become quite respectable—which means that once ensconced in the jobs the continuance of that personally pleasurable condition becomes more desirable than any general economic change. Therefore, revolution is something to be talked about, not to be done. Not now, anyhow. Of course, these counsellors of state need many secretaries and field workers. More jobs for "comrades," more sinews of war for the party.

Considerations of technique required the organization of groups like the Organized Unemployed, American Labor Party, American Workers' Alliance, and various college peace and youth movements, with labels not so odious to the American mind as "communism." The dissatisfaction of the American people with both the brutality of conservatism and the futility of planned economy, (and the continuing poverty), makes them easy prey for these millenium-promising movements with innocuous names. So they have been "joining up" in large numbers. Large organizations not only provide jobs in themselves, but they are in strategic position to demand jobs from vote-seeking politicians. The communists have learned the art of political horse-trading.

And so from a revolutionary movement communism has become purely a careerist movement. To be sure, there is the soul-satisfying explanation that all this is in preparation for the ultimate fight—world revolution. But fighters are not trained on cream puffs. The revolutionist in a soft job loses his zeal for revolution, and soon learns that the only thing worth fighting for is the job.

What we now have to fear from the communists is not a sudden upset of our social and political order, but an increasingly burdensome bill for the support of these careerist jobbers. Eventually, of course, this drain on our production will depress the returns to labor and capital, further increase our national debt, further reduce our recuperative powers. There will be revolution, but not the communist kind. It will probably be a gradual economic attrition, an adjustment that will make it possible for production to continue, and for producers, by some Hitlerian compromise with economic fate, to continue to live, however unhappily. It may even be necessary to erase the national debt or most of it, by fiat—and start all over building a new national debt and another Sisyphean crisis.

**T**HE land question . . . means hunger, thirst, nakedness, notice to quit, labor spent in vain, the toil of years seized upon, the breaking up of homes, the miseries, sicknesses, deaths of parents, children, wives; the despair and wildness which spring up in the hearts of the poor, when legal force, like a sharp harrow, goes over the most sensitive and vital right of mankind. All this is contained in the land question.

CARDINAL MANNING in a letter to Earl Grey.



## Separation of Trade and State

THE following paraphrases of the United States and State of Pennsylvania constitutional provisions for guaranty of religious Freedom suggest a similar guaranty for economic freedom:

### CONSTITUTION OF UNITED STATES ARTICLE I OF AMENDMENTS

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;"

### CONSTITUTION OF PENNSYLVANIA ARTICLE I, DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

"Sec. 3. All men have a natural and indefeasible right to *worship Almighty God* according to the dictates of their own consciences; no man can of right be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of *worship* or to maintain any *ministry* against his consent; no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of *conscience*, and no preference shall ever be given by law to any *religious* establishments or modes of *worship*."

Refusing to entrust our archbishops with the powers of government, why do we have such childlike faith in our multi-millionaires or practical politicians as to turn over to them the whole establishment?

The separation of church and state has amounted to an elbowing out of the churchmen, and a crowding into their places by the money-changers, privilegees, and spoilsmen. When the churchmen relinquished the armament of state to enforce contribution to their causes, they should have seen to it that no others seized the guns. Arms, which constitute command and government, should be relegated to the most limited and narrow sphere, to defense, and merely to defense, from trespass, a relatively clear and simple function to perform.

To levy upon the earnings of helpless people for other than strict government necessities, i.e., protection against wrongs, has always been a predatory game. Enforced collection of tolls, tariffs, and tribute for the industrial dreams of politician and profiteer, and their upkeep, has no more real justice than enforced collection of tithes for the religious interests of priest and preacher and their maintenance. Guns are precisely the equipment he has when the tax collector, commissioned by officials and backed by the police and militia, seizes and sells a delinquent's goods and possessions, throws him into jail, for any purpose, necessary or visionary. Taxation is the subsistence of the state, and force is its essential.

It is the hold up, the pointing of the gun, even behind

### PARALLEL TEXTS AS TO INDUSTRY

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of *business*, or prohibiting the free operation thereof;"

"Sec. 3. All men have a natural and indefeasible right to *earn their livings* according to the necessities of their own *bodies*; no man can of right be compelled to *patronize*, erect or support any place of *business* or to maintain any *management* against his consent; no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of *industry*, and no preference shall ever be given by law to any *business* establishments or modes of *occupation*."

a veil, that is the inexcusable outrage, the destruction of liberty, and the affront to manhood. If a man has a natural and indefeasible right to his earnings, to live an unmolested and inviolate life, secure in his freedom and personality, a gun should only be pointed at him to resist attack or trespass by him; and this bar against the use of force applies with equal justice whether the armed force is threatened by churchman, spoilsman, emperor, king, dictator,—legislature, majority, mob, or racketeer. The Bill of Rights is no respecter of persons or powers. It is the speech of a higher voice, and should be heard more widely.

The purpose of the paraphrases is to call attention to the usurpation of power by the "masters, lords and rulers in all lands;" and to suggest a formula for escape from them, and to suggest another approach toward limitation of the use of force by the state to minimum police powers. Possibly the paraphrases would reveal what is pillage disguised as law under any coat of paint in any color, and make useless varnishing it over by professions of benevolence. Religious freedom, and separation of church and state, are rather vague rhetorical phrases. When they are discussed no two persons are thinking of the same thing. For a precise legal definition we read the constitutional provisos. We need the same exact understanding of what we mean by economic freedom and separation of trade and state.

After closing out the Doctors of Divinity, the Doctors of Finance and the Doctors of Politics have been frying the fat most diligently, especially since high powered and high speed machinery has been supplanted by high powered corporate franchises, which are agencies of the state that have no souls but have recently acquired rights to unlimited profits, and accumulations in perpetuity, without owners' liability for the obligations of the concerns. Is it not soon time to see that they have not too many compulsory powers to confiscate other people's earnings in prosecution of their enterprises? American democracy is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, under parliamentary forms. To establish and maintain equal justice, democratic procedure is entirely practicable. To overload democracy with an infinity of business details, risks, and cares, requiring constant attention, action, experimentation and adjustment, is sooner or later to abandon or destroy it. What politicians, here and abroad, need above all things is the pruning hook, not more seizures of powers and glories, pay-rolls and appropriations, spiraling always upward.

With the frightful instruments of mass murder, torture and destruction now in the hands of the rulers of the nations; and at the service of their fears, delusions and ambitions, the need for restriction of their powers, and for a clearer and closer definition of what are human rights and liberties to be kept inviolate grows constantly more pressing. The problem was worked out in Pennsylvania



in 1682, and the solution adopted in our federal constitution, to protect the citizen against usurpation and abuse of power in matters of religion, and to establish religious freedom. Its terms are available to establish a similar economic freedom. We should again demonstrate what liberty is, this time in the economic field; and show how to limit our own politicians before we undertake to police the balance of the world.

Why should we have financial groups or labor groups and tradesmen constantly lobbying, pressing and pulling our politicians and legislators, to finance their business interests, necessarily at the expense or handicap of conflicting interests, when we scrupulously forbid churchmen such financing in behalf of religious interests? Is the proper purpose of government to promote business, and whose business; or is it to establish and maintain equal justice under law, and to secure equal opportunity to everyone in his employment and prosecution of his business, and to preserve liberty? I cannot see that the profiteering carnivora are a bit less dangerous or avaricious or entitled to more legal privileges than the preaching militants, who are debarred from the halls of congress and legislature in soliciting subsidies, and not allowed to lay their hands on a farthing of the public till. Most leaders of the church, at least the high minded ones, would surely fight harder than anyone else against being put back on the dole, and made Caesar's dependents and servitors. Having withdrawn from the state's subventions, the mystery is that churchmen stand quietly back and allow the spoilsmen to take command, to revel in the loot, and to beat the war drums for its protection. The rulers and leaders of the nations have not simply been getting away with an occasional murder, but they have been getting away with wholesale murder, regularly, everywhere and every so often, from the beginning of history; and they are now spending billions and bankrupting civilization, preparing for bigger and better butcherings. Their limits should be much more plainly set.

True religion must be voluntary. It is not advanced by bayonets, shot nor shell. The same is just as true of fair dealing. Labor, investment, production, trade all should be voluntary; and never coerced. Aside from maintaining equal rights and opportunities for all, government and legislation for business interests employ the gun power of government in unjust and liberty destroying coercion. It has no more real justification, no more actual benefit for deserving business, than the use of force for promoting religion has. It was said of the act for religious freedom, that "it was destructive of all religious and social order." The same would be said of the provisos for industrial freedom, though freedom of industry would mean no more anarchy, than freedom of conscience meant atheism. Correct rules of justice and economics always concur.

Instead of fierce zeal to climb into control, churchmen

of all people should be most anxious to restore to a free people the usurped power of the state. The state is force. It is Caesar's and Mars' machinery. It is not the proper agency of the church. But the church can participate without limit in organizing and conducting a free society assigning to Caesar or Mars the minimum police and protective function; and reserving to voluntary association and cooperation, to labor, to production, and to trade, full liberty and equal justice, which are primary, human and inalienable rights—economic freedom as complete as religious freedom.

Somerset, Pa.

ERNEST O. KOOSER.

## The Negro Problem A White Problem Also

THERE was a time when the problem of tenancy was regarded and promptly dismissed as a Negro problem. If it had been so discussed at this Conference it would have lost much of its significance for the South. Although most of the Negroes in southern agriculture are tenants and sharecroppers, most of the tenants and sharecroppers in the South are now white. Relief of the Negro situation is involved in relief of the general situation now so disastrously defective. The Conference gave its attention to the renovation of the ancient landlord-tenant statutes, to the extension of credit, to provisions for tenant farm purchase, and to essential rehabilitation. Implicit in all of this was the fact that the rationalization of southern agriculture could not proceed without including all farmers impersonally in the schemes.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON in the *Crisis*.

It is impossible in the consequences that ensue from social injustice to separate populations according to color. Such injustices as exist must inevitably visit themselves upon Black and White. A system that denies access to natural opportunities must be universal in its application. White and Black tenant farmers and White and Black sharecroppers are in the same position.

The land injustice plays no favorites. As Mr. Charles S. Johnson says, "The rationalization of Southern agriculture could not proceed without including all farmers impersonally in the scheme." Which is another way of saying that the solution of the question, the establishment of a just system of land distribution, must include both Black and White. We are glad to see that this leading organ of Negro thought recognizes this and when the White farmers recognize it also the solution of the question is near.—Editor LAND AND FREEDOM.

UNTIL there be correct thought, there cannot be right action; and when there is correct thought, right action will follow.

"Social Problems," by HENRY GEORGE.



## Charles H. Ingersoll's Broadcasts

"WAR AS A BUSINESS" IS AGAIN SUGGESTED BY THE FEUHRER'S REMOVAL OF HERR SCHACHT to make way for one who may be more serviceable in spending the big money financial genius has somehow procured. The question is whether war can be made to pay; exactly as the pirates and bandits of old were successful as buccaneers for profit. So far it looks as if both Germany and Italy had got a pretty good return for their investment; and so could get the necessary credit for continued raids—until perhaps they are strong enough to go after big game like Russia, France, England and perhaps the Americas, including U. S. A. The only answer is to remove the economic causes of wars!

WHEN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS CAN'T OR WON'T DO ANYTHING ABOUT SOME GREIVIOUS AND OBVIOUS WRONG—THEY INVESTIGATE. So we investigated bootleg coal mining in Pennsylvania. Confiscating of oil wells in Mexico, monopoly in Washington by a \$500,000 committee. And now Frank Murphy will, from his new place as U. S. Attorney General, "investigate" sharecropping. Coal bootleggers took what nature put there for them without asking royalty collectors. Oil lands in Mexico as in United States should pay their royalties to the people—not monopolists. Monopoly exists—200 billions of it—right under the feet of the investigators—but they can't find it. And sharecroppers are people whose crops are more than half taken by landlords who do nothing. By all means, investigate, Mr. Murphy.

MUSSOLINI IS BUILDING 14 SUBMARINES TO REACH AS FAR AS US.—U. S. A. His next announcement may be a few thousand bombing planes of equally long-winded type. This suggests conducting war as a big business—putting it on a production basis; because such armadas as these should easily be able to retrieve their cost in single raids; and so reproduction could be indefinite. Is this new war enterprise an evidence that the Duce has "cleaned up" in his last two previous ones, Spain and Ethiopia? Monkeying with war and poverty, besides being fearfully expensive directly, also faces the possibility of "going too far." If either the Duce or Feuhrer are smart enough to "make a business of it" which they show many signs of, they will get us just as old Sana Anna did the unsuspecting pastoral, cultured Mexicans with a shipload of well-trained bandits. The best way is to use our peaceful sciences to find and remove the cause—which is the same—of war and poverty.

### MR. INGERSOLL'S REPORT ON RECENT LECTURES

Nov. 17, 1938.—Thursday evening. Town Hall branch meeting Central Y. M. C. A., Philadelphia. Invited by Captain Lester A. Jenks to respond to the speakers at the New York Town Hall Forum, piped every week to this meeting. Speakers were Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Prof. Fenwick of Brinmore (?) and Cunningham (?). I talked for 25 minutes and answered questions for 1½ hours until the Hall was closed. Audience 75. My position was that none of the speakers squarely met the issue of "Cooperation of American Nations for Peace," because none of them referred except vaguely to the causes of war. The discussion was very lovely.

Nov. 25, 1938.—Friday evening. Current Events Club, Central Y. M. C. A., Philadelphia. Invited by Captain Lester A. Jenks. 50 diners. I presented Georgian Economics, in 30 minutes to a fine audience; but the questions were very limited because of the club rules. Am promised another opportunity.

Dec. 8, 1938.—Thursday noon. Kiwanis Club at the Berkeley Carteret, Asbury Park. Appointment by Mr. Tom Lane. Sixty

of the best business men in town listened with rapt attention to the answer to the question, "What is Wrong with Business and what is the Remedy?" An event of this sort revives all my wanderlust and desire to carry out the program of making 1,000 personal talks in 12 months to every state and city in the country. A talk of 35 minutes followed with 1½ hours of quiz, in which nearly everyone took part. This is the way to "teach" business men.

Jan. 6, 1939.—Friday evening. Guest Speaker at the HGSSS Commencement of four classes, at Kuglers, Philadelphia. Invited by Julian P. Hickok, Director. 85 present. Time limited by other proceedings. However, satisfied the audience by a friendly talk to graduates and more particularly, a description of my simple formula of Georgian Economics which I counseled them to study in view of the practical work that now faces graduates who have had the rare opportunity of a perfect theoretical education as if direct from the Master of Economic Science and Philosophy.

Jan. 11, 1939.—Wednesday evening. Father Divine's Mission, 204 W. 63rd St., N. Y. C. Arranged by correspondence. Listened to a Mr. Scott teach a class on money. Afterward, I talked to the class and audience for a half hour. Not many questions. 250 present; very fine audience. Believe they will be apt students. Have applied for a class.

Jan. 11, 1939. Wednesday evening. Father Divine's Banquet, 152 W. 126th St., N. Y. C. Invited by Father Divine. 1,500 attending. At 2 A. M. was liberally introduced by Charles Becker of Newark and The Father. Made 10-minute outline talk; received with great interest. I hope to cultivate this very large following.

Jan. 16, 1939.—Monday evening. A Recruit Meeting of the HGSSS. First Methodist Church, Hudson, N. Y. A very remarkable one. The school is very highly developed in this town of 15,000; 125 miles north on the Hudson River. Mr. Willis A. Snyder who invited me as the guest speaker, was the Master of Ceremonies of this unusual event. The Church gave its basement and kitchen equipment, and the Georgeist scholars did the rest. 150 people got a bargain dinner. If every HGSSS branch shows the enthusiasm and intelligence of these people of this one, the development of our economics will be very rapid.

I was very pleasantly received and talked for 45 minutes on general phases, answering questions for nearly two hours. Many important features such as three clergymen present and speaking could be reported. Mr. Snyder is a live wire and never sleeps. I drove up and back in 3 hours each, and enjoyed it immensely. With a postscript I might say that I get along very nicely with the HGSSS graduates however it may be with others.

### Mr. Ingersoll's Weekly Broadcasting Schedule:

Sun., 8:15–8:45 P. M., WBIL Public Service Forum, Chairman and Director. Mon., 1:30 P. M., WWRL. Tues., 2:45 P. M., WCNW; 10:45 P. M., WFAS (White Plains). Wed., 3:45 P. M., WCNW. Thurs., 8:15 A. M., WLTH; 6:45 P. M., WTNJ (Trenton). Fri., 12:45 P. M., WDAS (Phila.); 3:15 P. M., WSNJ (Bridgeport).

AND some things it may be there are that—as was said by One whom the learning of the time sneered at, and the high priests persecuted, and polite society, speaking through the voice of those who knew not what they did, crucified—are hidden from the wise and prudent and revealed unto babes.

"A Perplexed Philosopher," by HENRY GEORGE.



## Causerie

BY THOMAS N. ASHTON

TUT TUT, MY CHILD

THIS "land of the free and home of the brave" is in sore straits. Our metropolitan press of the east, of the west, of the north and of the south, is concerned—gravely concerned—over the futures of our school children.

Grade schools are crowded. High schools are swamped. Teachers' colleges are loaded with girls "that can never hope to get on a city or town payroll." These children—all these youths—annually add their quota to the standing army of idle men and women which so patiently waits and watches our educational, industrial, political and professional leaders for signs of a new freedom from the pall of idleness.

Educated labor has come to be a drug on the market—cheap as free air at a gas station, as we find that our sons and daughters cannot even give their services, *without wages*, in return for an opportunity to obtain experience in the white-collar jobs for which they have been educated. Though "learners" are exempt from the Wages and Hours Act, industrialists and professionalists fear to allow our children to serve an apprenticeship lest labor unions' power be invoked against such employers who take children off the street for a period of practical training.

We have reached the day, in the long march of civilization, when employers find themselves surrounded by hordes of not-to-be-hired young men and young women who gladly would take up the old-time method of apprenticeship in white-collar jobs—apprenticeship without wages. Time was when employers greeted with satisfaction and choosey picking the mob of job applicants at factory gates. Labor unions' political power and governmental regulation at last have checkmated the old-time move of industrialists to rescue society from depressions by returning wages to old, low levels from which again to climb the hill to better times and to a return to more ground-rent profits for site-value exploiters. Employers *must* turn deaf ears to clamoring boys and girls.

This depression may be the last to be created by our naive collectors of site rents—the last plundering of capital and labor by taxes upon industry "according to ability to pay."

Whatever the future of our school children may be—whether all unemployed youths be mobilized into more and more CCC camps or into many more National Youth Administration units—it is obvious that they are being taught everything except how to be self-sustaining in a nation which has land and natural resources enough to support ten times our present population.

Though labor unions and governments steadfastly refuse to permit employers to offer lower wages, yet our national government exercises the same means in paying

some two millions of CCC workers \$30 per month, "and keep," for planting a billion and a half trees, for fighting fires in forest lands, for building three thousand watch-towers, for building a hundred thousand miles of trails and roads, for re-vegetating a quarter-million acres of grazing lands, for building forty thousand bridges, five thousand dams, four and a half million levees, seventy thousand miles of telephone lines, etc., etc., etc., all done under the plausible plea of character-building.

This same work, done by adults at adult wages, would have been a financial impossibility under other circumstances. The benefits, to the nation, are undeniable. Fortunately, for the taxpayers who have furnished the money for the CCC, these benefits are in such form and location that it will be well-nigh impossible for land speculators to capitalize these improvements except it be in dribblets at some far future time. Unfortunately, for the same taxpayers, the investment in CCC activities is one which ill can be afforded by the real taxpayers of this nation—taxpayers in such financial straits that naught but a quick return upon every day of labor and upon every dollar of capital can keep their figurative chins above the financial tide of taxes.

With all its virtues, what has the CCC and the nation to offer CCC graduates when they reach the day of commencement? Of what avail is it to prepare children for an opportunity which does not exist?

No doubt numberless employers would be delighted to hire workers upon the same basis as that of CCC labor, at one dollar per day plus keep. But this method is denied to them by labor unions and by our paternalistic government, notwithstanding which, even if it were permitted, it would not solve the unemployment problem. In consequence, a return of the old order of "prosperity" is delayed—a new dispensation spelling a new harvest of ground-rents, for site-value exploiters, followed by a new depression.

Thus we find that the "vicious circle" in economics has been broken—checkmated by labor unionism and by governmental regulation—in consequence of which our children today are denied the opportunity to underbid their elders for lower rates of pay; they are denied the chance to oust their oldsters and to enter into an economic slavery wherefrom to produce a new prosperity for title holders to the unearned increment.

As pawns in the political economy\* of perplexed (?) politicians, a very small part of our school children are the regimented recipients of a compassionate CCC administration. What shall become of the remainer of our rising generation is a question evoking nothing more than a shrug of the shoulders of our ostensibly most learned educators, industrialists and professionalists who, having reached the end of their wisdom and knowledge in economics, know nothing more and are found to know not enough to understand the simple, sound and sufficient



message carried in the pages of "Progress and Poverty." These are the nation's leaders to whom the world now looks for the salvation of democracy. These are the keepers of the keys to the futures of our school children. These are our sentinels of civilization who, being determined to save our boys and girls from economic slavery, successfully have broken the "vicious circle" into which private appropriators of public site-values thus far have put labor, capital and taxation in an unending cycle of pursuit between spasmodic prosperity and depression.

These are our luminaries who have been tut-tutting Single Tax for forty years.

### de QUINCEY SPEAKS

What horse-power has your force of mind? What is your I. Q. as a genius?

The nature of your answers to these two questions may determine your success as an exponent of Single Tax among your fellowmen. If you have a 90-horse-power mind, and are a 120-proof genius, do not flatter yourself as being "tops" in the pedagogic peddling of the one-tax-upon-site-values idea. On the other hand, if you have a one-cycle, one-cylinder power plant under your hat, and if your I.Q. is almost beyond even remote control at the right of the decimal point, take heart—have courage—carry on—because you maybe the anxiously awaited Moses destined to lead your nation out of the morass of ability-to-pay-taxes into the peaceful, prosperous vale of site-value-taxation.

Mebbe you—whoever you are—wherever you are—hold the salvation of society in the palm of your hand.

We hope that our message—which we are delivering for M. de Quincey—reaches you before you dejectedly abandon Single Tax propaganda and turn to playing beano. Until de Quincey set us aright we, too, were scanning the horizon for a high-powered miracle-mind, one with a batting average high above the highest record ever attained in either the National or American Leagues and, consequently, much higher than the achievement-record of a Rockefeller, a Ford, an Einstein, an Edison or any other lesser light.

de Quincey's dictum is, at once, the highest tribute to past and present Single Taxers' genius and force of mind—an explanation of their indifferent success in making the world safe for Capital and Labor—and a discouragement to the hope that present Single Taxers gloriously will succor the slaves of ground-rent exploiters and dramatically forestall all mortgage-foreclosures in this Land of Triple-Taxed Liberty.

"Men of extraordinary genius and force of mind," sez de Quincey, "are far better as objects for distant admiration than as daily companions."

There you are! A maximis ad minima.

This leaves present-day Single Taxers out on a limb insofar as being successful disciples among their daily

companions on WPA projects. It explains why Single Taxers have been unable, since bestirring themselves in 1880, to write Single Tax onto the statute books of these forty-eight states during half a century. When we have been prone to criticize the comprehensive capabilities of our daily companions we should have been comprehending that Single Taxers are men and women of extraordinary genius and force of mind. We should have betaken ourselves to Pike's Peak and a secluded sanctum, thereupon establishing a high-priced admission (plus state and federal taxes) for all and sundry of the hoi polloi who never fail to desire that which they cannot afford.

If we had heeded de Quincey's dictum—if we had held ourselves aloof—if we had insisted upon being "distant objects of admiration," objects of awe and reverence and honorary degrees—if we had demanded high fees for expert advice upon freeing industry from its tax-torture—we would have had no difficulty in selling tons of volumes of "Progress and Poverty" to readers who now pay \$2.50 to devour "My Ten Years in a Quandary."

Alas! We have been too naive—too detached from our alter egos—too concerned in pondering the cool, uncalculating, incomprehension of our victims—too intimate with the man in the sewer trench. We haven't known our own horse-power—our own force of mind—our geniusness in comprehending truth in its utter simplicity. The more intense our force of mind—the more miraculous our genius—the less has been our effectiveness in mixing with, and molding the minds of, the groaning, grunting, grumbling taxpayers who cling to the ability-to-pay notion when they have no ability to pay for public service which some other fellow capitalizes and pockets the profits thereof.

de Quincey has spoken.

Step out of the line, Mr. Single Taxer, and take a look at yourself. Make way for a mediocre mind to enter the mansions of our muddled statesmen.

### LABOR LAUGHS LOUD

Unionism is in high glee. It claims victory for the national Wage-Hour Act, as approved by the American Federation of Labor with crossed fingers. This law extends "the frontiers of social progress" in the opinion of President Roosevelt. Thanks to the Herculean efforts of Congresswoman Mary Norton and Senator Elbert Thomas, a terrific "blow at sweatshops" has been struck in that this law now requires that all employers in the same industry shall pay the same minimum wages and maintain maximum hours. In other words, geographical differentials are taboo—which means that in the sweatshops of Alaska the Esquimaux who sell ice right from the North Pole Quarry must pay as many jelly-beans per Esquimau man-hour, for hacking hunks of ice off'n icebergs, as equals an equivalent jelly-bean purchasing

power of two-bits paid in wages for making artificial ice in the hot spots of the sizzling South.

Natcherally, selling ice aint goin' to be what it's cracked up to be.

Two-bits the hour is the "rigid wagerate" in the minimum of the minima for the first year. Thirty cents is the minimum for the second year, whilst 40 pennies the hour is the least pay not later than seven years from the date of the Act, *but* 40 cents "may be ordered at once under certain conditions."

The plot thickens.

The administration of the Act gets real money—\$10,000 for the Administrator and civil service salaries for all the boys and gals in his office. The inquisitorial Board *may* boost the 25-cent jackpot to 40 cents the very first year if its suspicions are reasonable. For the first year, the maximum of the maxima hours is fixed at 44—the second year it is 42—and 40 hours is the minimum-maximum of the maxima from the third year into eternity. This makes everybody even-even *if* the A. F. of L. remains satisfied and *if* the Solid South doesn't get onery and *if* the Supreme Judicial Court doesn't toss a constitutional monkey-wrench into the Act.

"Company unions which try to pull the boss' chestnuts won't be recognized." That's settled.

Child labor under 16 years (18 years in hazardous jobs) and age and sex discriminations are *out*. Workers may sue employers for *double* the wages due, *plus* attorney's fees, *plus* litigation costs; and the several unions may handle the suits and sue the sukes in behalf of the suers.

Labor laughs loud, but the crepe-sole-shod collector of the unearned increment in site-values softly folds up a large wad of gold bills in the night (as well as in the day) and, like an Arab, quietly steals away the fruits of labor without even snorting a snicker.

## "Both"

**S**TROLLING around the town I was amazed to see the large number of buildings being demolished in various parts of the city. Some of the structures should have been torn down long ago, since they have outlived their usefulness and the owners would not make them habitable as residences nor fix them up for commercial uses.

On the other hand, a very large number are being torn down for the purpose of saving taxes. This makes some of the sections look as though a cyclone had struck them. The sites at once become depositories for all sorts of rubbish. Many of these buildings have been taken under foreclosure and the mortgagees could not see their way clear of continuing them and so they were demolished with a big saving in taxes.

A third type of buildings are being partially demolished, that is, in tenements all stories above three are being

removed, one of the factors being that to make them comply with the present housing standards will be expensive. In removing the upper floors, however, the cost is equal to what the legal requirements will entail. The owners, again, will save in taxes. Under our taxing system, property is taxed in accordance with its usefulness and income. A six-story tenement is supposed to bring in more than one of only three stories high. Here we have three illustrations of a bad taxing system; owners, to save themselves from the increasing burdens of taxation are either demolishing their buildings or reducing the height. The question may be asked, "is our taxing system stupid or just plain dumb."

THE STROLLING REPORTER.

**T**HERE have been civilizations seemingly as stable as ours, whose achievements and conquests were greater than ours. The winds of centuries have swept their desolated cities; the melancholy birds wheel and circle over the ruins of their proud palaces and at the gates of their once populous street-ways the beasts of the forest peer curiously in. Where is the Egyptian glory, where the grandeur of Nineveh, of Persia and of Babylon? Is there not for all these dead civilizations the same secret and identical cause of decay?

## BOOK REVIEWS

### MAN AT THE CROSSROADS

BY FRANCIS NEILSON

C. C. Nelson Publishing Co., Appleton, Wisc. Price, \$2.50. 272 Pages

In the dilemma in which the world finds itself, "Man at the Crossroads" offers a way out. It is not a new way to the Georgeist but those readers who look for a constant reiteration of the 'Single Tax' idea will be disappointed. Yet, underlying the entire book is the vibrant philosophy of Henry George and the historical data and contrasts illustrate how far the world has disregarded economic law, and the consequent evil results.

"Man at the Crossroads" is written in the author's usual flowing style. It is easy and interesting reading for the layman and an intellectual treat for the trained economist of any school. For Georgeists it gives a much needed historical perspective, the realization that world as it stands is the cumulative product of the ages and even at the Crossroads we have a long way to go. It will not diminish the zeal of the Georgeist but it should make him more tolerant under existing conditions.

The material and scope of this work is so extensive that it cannot be reviewed in detail. From prehistorical ghost fears and theories through discourses covering inherent rights, and the abuses of powers by States, it treats of the mistakes of organized labor, the difficulties of the politician, the nature of the political machine, and the destiny of spiritual man. In his treatment of the State the author considers the actual not the ideal and outlines its evolution and the effort of society, through the State to obtain its natural rights.

With other thinkers the author feels that the time has come when society (Man at the Crossroads) must choose whether man is to be the servant of the State or the State is to be the servant of man.

C. H. K.



## WHY RENTS AND RATES ARE HIGH

By A. W. MADSEN, B.Sc.

Price—40 cents. Order from Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 11 Park Place, New York City.

In this book are given 600 examples of the appalling tribute paid to land monopoly whenever the people engage in a slum clearance or other civic project, or even in a national defence programme. While the illustrations pertain primarily to Great Britain, the penetrating comment by Mr. Madsen in each case furnishes excellent material for land value taxationists all over the world. The work is an arsenal of information, and it is to be hoped the object lessons contained therein will secure a wide circulation. If business men, particularly in England where landholding abuses are among the worst in the world, are not moved by this powerful indictment, then it would seem that they deserve to be exploited. And American business men may well profit from this revelation of British slavery—for in our country the handwriting is even now on the wall.

The following examples, condensed from the book, will serve to illustrate the seriousness of the land problem as well as the merciless logic of Mr. Madsen's conclusions.

1. Certain families, who were moved from slums in which half of them were living in one-room tenements, into good houses where overcrowding was not permitted, suffered an increased death rate of 46 per cent. The medical officer of health found that the increased rents for the better houses were paid by the former slum dwellers at the expense of their food requirements. Result—ill health and death. Municipal housing schemes will not alone solve the slum problem; it is poverty that drives people into slums.

2. For purposes of a "demonstration farm" (probably akin to a resettlement project in our United States) the officials of Aylesbury proposed to buy certain land, at the customary handsome price in such cases. Someone pointed out that the land was not ideal for farming. But to the chairman of the committee, that was "a very strong recommendation" for acquiring it, because he "wanted to teach people how to grow on difficult land and he thought they would have their work cut out." So the owners get \$40,000 for the admittedly inferior land, the price of proving to would-be cultivators that "back to the land" offers no alternative to wage slavery.

3. Certain land, registered as "agricultural," was needed for a children's playground. As "agricultural" land, it paid no taxes, pursuant to the English law, the theory being that it has "no value," for rating purposes. But this fiction disappears when it comes time to sell. The owners received \$4,500 from the authorities. Having thus deepened the poverty of the children who will use the playground, no doubt the condition will be meliorated (how much?) by rations of free milk to the underfed children.

4. So that a certain beauty spot might be saved from building development, a preservation scheme provided for the usual land purchase. The owner of the required site was St. Thomas's Hospital, a wealthy institution of the Sailor's Snug Harbor or Trinity Church order, never having paid a penny's tax on its "agricultural" lands. It was pointed out that "the needs of St. Thomas's Hospital make it unthinkable that it can sell its lands at a price generous to the public but cruel to the sick." The widow and orphan argument, of which this is a variation, is an old, old, dodge.

5. One hundred and thirty acres of land, owned by and contiguous to the Dunlop Rubber Company factory, were desired by Birmingham for housing. The Dunlop Company sold the land to the Council for a subsidized housing project at \$1,500 an acre, the price they had paid for it, explaining that "the provisions of houses near the factory would benefit the company, since many Dunlop operatives have to travel considerable distances to work"—an admission that, as things are, the workers being saved that expense will, in the competition for jobs, accept less in wages. However, the houses were not built. The Council decided to abandon the scheme and sell the land to an aircraft factory. But due to the strings attached to the

whole transaction, the Dunlop Company now received, in addition, from the aircraft concern about \$400,000, being the difference between the value of the land for industrial purposes and housing purposes. Even a Conservative newspaper said the business "leaves a nasty taste in the mouth," meaning that someone has exploited England's expenditure on aircraft armament.

The sale of half the city of Cardiff in Wales is also strikingly, if not tragically covered. It must be read in the original to be thoroughly appreciated. The book concludes with a useful pro and con argument on land value taxation, covering sixteen major issues, with excellent comment. No "go-getting" Georgeist should be without "Why Rents and Rates are High."—C. J. SMITH.

## Correspondence

## REVIEW OF THE CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Removed in time about two months from the California election, and in space, many thousands of miles from the State, permit me to review the recent campaigns for industrial and economic freedom.

In 1933 the State Legislature passed a sales tax law affecting the transfer of all personal property. The law was universally unpopular. It seemed to me the moment to strike a blow for removal of restrictions upon industry and, for this purpose, a number of us prepared a constitutional amendment to be submitted under the State initiative. It was designed that this should be passed upon popularly in the Fall of 1934, but we failed for the lack, shown at the last moment, of some two thousand names. This deficiency was corrected so that the measure was ready for submission in 1936. Meanwhile, in 1935 the legislature repealed part of the sales tax most objectionable to the housewife and others—that upon foods sold in groceries.

Before the election of 1936 the Supreme Court of the State struck the measure from the ballot for frivolous reasons well known to your readers, and the thoroughly political character of its action has universally been recognized.

For the 1938 election the measure was carefully rewritten, and after a long, determined, and I may add, unscrupulous campaign against its submission, was put on the ballot. All efforts to remove it failed, but the people rejected the proposition by a vote approximately four to one. Why this decidedly adverse result?

Against the measure there were enlisted the Real Estate Boards with 15,000 to 20,000 members; the Chambers of Commerce with branches even in the smallest towns; farmers' organizations in the rural districts; the powerful Parent-Teachers' and School Teachers' bodies (with individual exceptions); State employees acting under virtual command and numbering 20,000, twelve hundred of whom were directly under the sales tax administration; the Republican party through its platform, the Democratic platform being silent; the press almost unanimously, save for the Labor section; the great interests represented by banks, public utilities and oil companies, big building and loan associations and the like. These groups could and did bring force to bear upon almost all classes of voters. Another force operating against the adoption of our measure was a widespread fear of changing old but known methods for those new and unfamiliar.

Upon the other side our handful of original supporters felt that we were everlastingly right, and that knowledge extended to many others. We also enjoyed the support of the great mass of labor leaders, among whom the defection may be placed at not more than ten per cent, and the support of the Labor papers. The mass of the Union membership, however, was not controlled by the expression of views of their chiefs, five times expressed, but was influenced largely by the opinions and expressions of those with whom its members came in daily contact. At almost the last possible moment an anti-picketing proposal was placed on the ballot. All unions regarded this as a direct attack, the defeat of which demanded their money, and their best fighting



efforts. Labor's support of No. 20 (our proposition) was materially weakened when No. 1 (anti-picketing) went on the ballot.

Had the campaign taken place in 1936 as originally expected, the result might well have been decidedly different, for then the sales tax was at the height of its unpopularity and the opposition had not organized its mendacious campaign.

The people were fooled most completely and induced to believe impossible and contradictory things. Among these were the statement that the amendment was supported by a Fels Fund of \$12,000,000 devoted to the work of putting over speedily the Single Tax in California; that to take taxes off industry as proposed meant its destruction; that the measure would deprive the people of their property; that taxes on "real estate" would become so high that rents would have to be pushed to impossible figures and that this could be done; that no one would be able to afford to put up houses; and, conversely, that so many houses would be quickly erected that there would no longer be work for those employed in the building trades; that travelers entering the State for a brief stay would pay no tax if the sales tax were abolished; that the schools would be closed, since, as alleged, only the sales tax kept them open; that all the operations of the State government would be brought to an end because of insufficient revenue; that the system had never been tried and that probable effects were unknown, or that the system had been a failure wherever tried; and finally, that since the State would be the only landlord, communism and socialism would result.

The opposition spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in a bombardment by radio, billboards, newspapers, handbills and the mails. Our expenditures were less than one per cent as much. It is quite understandable that the voters became confused. The result could hardly have been otherwise, but even so there were hundreds of thousands of votes cast for the proposition. This is vastly more than ever before have been recorded for a proposition to transfer taxation from industry to land values.

Doubtless errors were made in carrying out the campaign. Humanly speaking it could not have been otherwise. A few of California's professed believers failed when the contest was on. However, these things counted for little in the final result.

Was the contest worth while? To discuss this would call for more space than you can afford. My belief is that it was worth all it cost. It is apparent that the removal of taxes to land values is not to be obtained at a single stroke. Each temporary set-back should spur us to careful study for the next step rather than to discouragement. We must, like the fabled Anteus, derive strength from each fall to the Mother Earth. Let us not forget that the defeats of Bunker Hill and Long Island helped to bring about Yorktown.

It is my deliberate judgment, taking present considerations all in mind, that the best field for the nearest approach to the freedom of opportunity we were taught to seek by Henry George is offered still by the State of California where "Progress and Poverty" first saw the light. It is yet too early to discuss further particular methods to this end, but the idea of fight has thoroughly entered the souls of our real workers. Probably the next form of attack will be along quite different lines. Meanwhile the holders of special privilege, despite recent results, feel nervous over the future.

Those of us who were actively in the fight desire to give thanks to our friends and well-wishers throughout this and other countries for their money and sympathy. The spirit back of their actions cheered us greatly.—JACKSON H. RALSTON.

#### THE MOVEMENT IN NEW JERSEY

##### EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

As you have the attention and the confidence of those desiring adoption of the principles presented by Henry George; and, as I believe they could and would help materially in the efforts of our league to establish those principles in New Jersey, if they knew our plan and what it would do, I believe this letter will interest you.

You probably remember the wide-spread attention and acclaim that followed enactment of the famous Pittsburgh Graded Tax Plan; the many inquiries that were received from many cities and foreign countries; and Frederick C. Howe's statement to the effect that "It was the greatest single step toward Single Tax that had ever been made by any American city."

And you also know it was a very small step and was made when the World War started; that the subsequent inflation, speculation and confusion completely obscured its benefits. But you probably know that it has attracted much attention; that it serves as an example for other cities; and that it has accomplished considerable good by transferring about \$2,800,000 per year in taxes from buildings to land value.

The following comparison in taxes on homes in Pittsburgh and Newark, N. J., definitely shows one most important advantage in the plan, and I may add that it is a practical point that interests home-owners, tenants and business men.

In Newark, N. J., a small home assessed:

Building.....	\$5,000	(tax rate per \$100 valuation, \$4.61)	Is Taxed
Site.....	1,000		
	<u>\$6,000</u>		<u>\$276.60</u>

In Pittsburgh, Penna., a similar home assessed:

Building.....	\$5,000	(\$3 per \$100).....	\$150.00
Site.....	1,000	(\$4 per \$100).....	40.00
	<u>\$6,000</u>		<u>\$190.00</u>

Showing a net saving of \$86.60—enough to buy three suits of clothes and three pairs of shoes.

And it should be considered that Pittsburgh is about 50 per cent larger than Newark and does not tax personal property; also that this result has been achieved despite the fact that the Graded Tax Plan does not apply to school and county taxes—which are about half of the total taxes on real estate.

The two tax rates shown for Pittsburgh are the combined city, school and county taxes; and the difference in the rates is due to the reduction in the city tax rate on buildings, and increase in tax rate on land, as provided in the Graded Tax Act.

As you probably know the plan proposed in our bill for New Jersey is very different and far more effective and beneficial than the Pittsburgh law. Our bill provides that any municipality in New Jersey may adopt, by local referendum, the following plan:

(1) To gradually reduce the present taxes on buildings and personal property by five annual stages of one-fifth of such taxes each year until entirely exempt from local taxation.

(2) To provide the required public revenue by simultaneously increasing the tax rate on all taxable land value in such communities as adopt the plan.

As an illustration of the effects of this law, if it is enacted as the bill is drawn, and the City of Newark adopts the plan, the taxes on buildings and personal property would be materially reduced, and the tax on land materially increased even the first year. And many would build and many land-holders would become more reasonable from anticipation of what will happen.

Moreover, after the fifth year all buildings and personalty in the city would be entirely exempt from local taxation, and the tax rate on present valuation of land would be about *nine dollars per hundred*—which I believe would be enough to replace most of the obsolete buildings, greatly encourage construction of homes and other improvements, and *absolutely stop land speculation* for future profits.

Now, if it would do all that, can't you agree that this would be a *very real and very long* step in the desired direction? Also isn't it likely that such results, in even one city, would prove a practical demonstration that would promptly induce many other communities to adopt the same plan?

In fact, if this could be done in New Jersey isn't it probable that



this law would have tremendous publicity throughout the United States and possibly other countries?

And, if this is possible, would it not be decidedly advisable for every Single Taxer to do every thing in his or her power to aid in obtaining the proposed legislation?

Newark, N. J.

L. R. BONTA.

## QUEER ECONOMICS IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS OF NEW YORK

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

What we poor benighted mortals need to get us out of the depression and set us upon the road to recovery and reform is a Planned Economy to be effected by:

(1) A National Planning Board—composed of statisticians, economists, employers, employees (nominated by unions), government agents, consumers' representatives, to plan for industrial expansion on the basis of consumption needs and industrial capacity, and to coordinate all other boards and to decide upon production quotas for each industry. Members to be nominated by the President and ratified by the Senate. Twenty-five to thirty members.

(2) Regional Planning Boards—subordinate to the National Planning Board and similarly composed, to administer the plans of the National Board and to allot to each business enterprise within the region its production quota, and to regulate wages and hours so that purchasing power dovetails with volume of goods produced. Members to be nominated by the President and ratified by the Senate.

(3) A tax to be levied upon all business enterprises to ensure compliance with the national plan.

(4) The stagger system to be applied. Members of the planning boards to be in office for a four-year period. Plans to be submitted to the Congress for enactment.

Perhaps you do not approve of the above. You may have no faith in statisticians who are able to make figures prove anything that they wish to prove. Or you may wonder where the economists were when we were working up to the great disintegration of 1929, or why they are to be consulted now on how to get us out of our mess when they proved so incapable of preventing our descent nine years ago. You may ask how, short of a miracle, any one can foretell what our consumption needs will be in order to plan for providing the future feet with shoes, lips with lipstick, stomachs with food, etc. And since statisticians, economists, both false and real, employers and employees, whether union or non-union, are all consumers, you may be puzzled as to how consumers' representatives will function on boards with consumers. You may have misgivings as to how production quotas will work for the good of the people at large when some of the production quotas tried to date have not benefited the people who have never been able to have sufficient amounts of the products curtailed by the quotas. When millions of children have no milk and few potatoes, and dress in rags during periods of so-called overproduction of potatoes, milk, and cotton, will they have these things when less of them are produced?

You may even be so perverse as to inquire how regulation of hours and wages will enable an employer to pay more wages to employees who work less, or to pay the same wages to each of a greatly enlarged force of employees, each working less hours than formerly. And naturally you will want to know how an employee who could hardly get a decent living under the old wages at full time will get along now on reduced time. For of course no one will be able to see how employers can pay more wages for less work unless more is produced and when wages and hours are spread over a greater number of workers how can the demand for goods or services be expected to increase? In fact how can it be expected to remain even as it was?

And then you may have your doubts about the efficiency of any system depending upon a National Planning Board and a Regional Planning Board for each region when we have a vivid example of how such a system works out in the case of our National Legislature and our State Legislatures. How can sectionalism be kept out?

Finally you may suspect any system which depends upon a tax to make it work. You may have the old fashioned idea that taxes are not levied primarily for punitive purposes nor to compel compliance with objectionable provisions of law, but are a poor source of revenue for carrying out necessary social services, not levied according to justice but according to ability to pay. You may think of money, paid for punitive reasons as fines and money exacted for assurance of compliance with a statute as tribute. Surely in either case there is no evidence of value for value received.

If you have any of the doubts expressed above you are out of tune with democracy as carried out through the economics department of the High Schools of New York City. They are part of an "economic programme for recovery and reform" drawn up by the students in the economics classes of Mr. Louis Walinsky of Abraham Lincoln High School, and submitted to Mr. Philip F. La Follette, Governor of Wisconsin, as a programme for his new party to adopt. Mr. Walinsky gives credit to the Mordecai Ezekiel plan for industrial expansion for the suggestions made above.

The programme goes on to take in agriculture with cooperatives to be encouraged, more Regional Planning Boards, reduction of over-produced *cash crops* (cotton, cereals), more production of green vegetables and dairy products, and right here one truth is told; there is really a shortage of these products based upon consumption need, although the agitation to tax Canadian milk was based upon a supposed oversupply. Housing is taken up in a plan to spend two billion dollars a year toward low-cost housing which will neither be low-cost to the taxpayers nor will it aid recovery since houses can not be built in the air but must rest on land and before houses can be built the privilege of building them must be obtained by payment of extortion money to those who give no service in return.

Under labor the idea is advanced that government should sponsor education for all in respect to the need for labor organization and thus passive acceptance of the idea that there will always be a struggle among men for the opportunity to labor is betrayed. That no labor organization can do more than raise wages and better conditions of its adherents for a time, because the rising costs of living will overtake and pass the benefits received from collective bargaining, and that the conditions of living can not be improved for an entire people as long as there are more men than opportunities to work, seems never to have occurred to the promoters of this brand of economics, and yet that such will be the case is inevitable, the result of a natural law that men seek to gratify their desires by the least exertion. This law is more fixed than the laws of the Medes and Persians, but no mention of its existence is made in the economics courses. Following in line with the fallacious reasoning that accepts labor organization as contributing to the welfare of an entire people we find the programme outlawing company unions, and trying to outlaw anti-union methods such as strikebreakers, blacklists, and the use of spies. Strict punishment under Federal jurisdiction is proposed but we look in vain for curbing of picketing that ignores the rights of citizens to walk their own streets without danger to their ear drums. Social Security is adopted and extended to all workers without considering that the only successful social security can be obtained by permitting justice and liberty full sway and the abandonment of privilege. The stupid plan of trying to legislate a maximum hour law of forty hours is proposed although no known plan of enforcing such a law has ever been successful and can not be when men need work. Self interest can not be legislated out of existence by laws that take upon themselves the complexion of totalitarian statutes and it should not be, for it is because of self interest, of man himself as well as his immediate family, that the world progresses. Submerge that self-interest in the interest of the state or of the race, and ambition and energy will peter out, the civilization will become static and what was hoped for will never be obtained. Child labor is included with a provision for a dole to permit study in high school and college, the taxpayers able to pay taxes providing the dole.

So the programme continues through banking, railroads, public



utilities and munitions, and if any socialistic plan for control of these activities has been overlooked the writer hasn't noticed it. Revenue is treated in a demand for regulation of taxes by graduating inheritance and income taxes, taxes on transfers of property, and confiscating incomes from illegal sources. Thus the principle of taxing according to ability to pay is strictly adhered to, and the poor are relieved of burdensome indirect taxes, which is a tacit acceptance of the permanency of low income groups. Cooperatives are strongly urged and government aid is pledged to encourage their growth. A new department is proposed, The Department of the Consumer, to educate him to accept cooperation, etc., and to protect his rights as a consumer. Farmers are to pool resources (land and machinery), and issue bonds using land and machinery as collateral. Of course the Federal Government is to guarantee such bonds, and a bank is to be established by sales of these bonds. Court reforms call for fifteen year terms for judges and political reform calls for the initiative, referendum, and recall, the only worth-while suggestion in the entire programme.

This programme was sent to Governor La Follette and he acknowledged its receipt and promised to give it his attention and to refer it to a committee for study. Which is just what we would expect a man of his political ideas to do. The entire programme except for the political reform suggestions is one of Socialism. That some of its provisions are favored by the President of the United States does not alter the fact that they are not economic in the true sense of economics. They are class legislation, a denial of democracy and freedom. They pave the way for a regime dedicated to the worst features of the totalitarian dictators, a denial of freedom and justice to the individual in the hopes of making it possible for him to get more of this world's goods, not as an individual, but as an infinitesimal morsel in a greater whole, the state. This is supposed to be economics. Nearly all of the proposals have been made before and nearly all have been shown to be unworkable by Henry George in "Progress and Poverty." Yet under the guidance of Mr. Louis Walinsky the young people of his classes make these proposals in good faith. Shall we blame them? Not while instructors with the views of Mr. Walinsky are permitted by the Board of Education of the City of New York to teach a hybrid doctrine called economics to immature students with minds hungering for proper guidance.

Let us consider Mr. Walinsky's estimate of his role as an instructor of economics. He says: "The teacher of economics is today unusually privileged and uniquely responsible: privileged because his subject is vitally important and dynamically useful; responsible, because his opportunities must not be permitted to go to waste. Chief among his responsibilities, I believe, is the need for *communicating to his students* four important ideas, or groups of ideas; the importance of economics as the key to control of our economic system; the weak points in the workings of that system; the possible correctives; and most important of all, the personal responsibility of each student for such corrective action." Yes, Mr. Walinsky, economics is vitally important and dynamically useful, but not the pseudo-science that masquerades under the name of economics in our higher institutions of learning and which the victims of such pseudo-science bring with them into the class rooms of our high schools with the avowed purpose of communicating it to our young people who, by no stretch of the imagination, can distinguish between the true and the false in such a complicated subject as economics as it is presented, when it is as much as they can do to separate the truth from the non-truth in such simple phenomena as are considered in elementary science. The economics as taught in our public schools needs to be revised in the interest of truth.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

JOHN LUXTON.

#### UNCOLLECTED LAND TAXES

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

While writing and working to gain new friends and supporters for the teaching of Henry George, should we ignore the fact that there

are millions of acres in this nation, today, on which the holders have paid no taxes for many years, and which are still controlled or in the possession of tax defaulting and tax evading holders?

Obviously, it is not only important that taxes be levied on land values, but it is also important that they be collected. If the comparatively small tax rates that have been levied on land values are permitted to go indefinitely uncollected, what is the point in seeking heavier levies?

Schools, roads, etc., formerly paid for by the owners of real property in the local taxing unit, are now largely being "assumed" by the states. The states in turn have had no difficulty getting billions for the asking from Uncle Sam. Under the New Deal this totals around twenty-six billion dollars, of which nineteen billion have been outright gifts and grants. Not only are the taxes that have been levied not being collected, in many states, due to tax sale moratorium laws, the "realtors" have gotten the legislatures to enact, but there has been a shift in the tax burden from land holders, to industry and the products of labor, far greater than is commonly realized.

It is said that over half of all the land in Florida has paid no taxes of any kind in more than ten years, yet it has not been foreclosed by the state, and can be "redeemed" by the original title holder, often without any penalty.

In a baseball game, if the umpire allowed a player to keep the bat after he'd had three strikes, there would surely be eight unemployed members of the team keeping the bench warm. The slump has left a vast new frontier on the doorstep of the states for unpaid taxes. It badly needs some attention, but industry merely "complains" that taxes are too high, and doesn't see that landholders have shifted a big new tax load on them.

San Francisco, California.

J. RUPERT MASON.

#### PARASITE AND BUBBLE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Some of our Georgians do not want to admit into their theory George's terms "monopoly" and "speculative" rent. Well, then, how about this—economic, parasitical and bubble rent?

Economic rent is the pure, delimited rent best seen in the Single Tax system, if ever; parasitical rent is that abnormal growth hatched in land monopoly and feeding on the wages of labor; and speculative rent is of course, the swelling up of the parasitic bubble until it bursts (if not eaten up before that by fellow parasites).

In our thought about rent, you see, we should distinguish between rent as it would be in the Single Tax system and as it is in our monopolistic system.

Incidentally, we should study not only the words of Henry George but his thought as well; and some of us would appear less ridiculous if we would try to catch up with the old boy before attempting to jump over him.

Waterbury, Conn.

ROYAL E. S. HAYES, M.D.

#### FROM A REPRESENTATIVE LABOR JOURNAL

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

The following appeared in the *Amalgamated Journal* of Pittsburgh, Pa., Nov. 17, 1938, which might be of interest to your readers:

"By the way, Firpo, what do you think of the \$30 every Thursday plan? A sort of a guaranteed income, don't you know? just what we need to create a buying power and a demand—money in the pocket, ham and eggs, etc. Say pal, next time you see me, ask me about the correspondence course in the Henry George School of Social Science. The text book is "Progress and Poverty." If you take the course and finish the ten lessons and still say it isn't a "cure all," I'll buy you a box of good 10c—er, ah—well, 5c cigars. Are you interested? No kidding, friend, it makes the book interesting from beginning to end and breaks it down to where guys like us can get the straight of it all. I'll go so far as to extend that offer to anyone else who cares to try it.

Well, I have heard that nomination of officers took place at last meeting, but I am working every meeting night so haven't got the



names now. Let's hope that everything is for the best and may the best man win. Let's keep peace at any price.

Next meeting. Nov. 25 (30 days until Xmas), be there. H. LYNN, who wonders if the New Dealers are going to pass with a royal flush!"

It also might be of interest to know that the undersigned has started a little letter writers' group who writes Single Tax letters to editors and others, patterned after the one run by W. E. Brokaw years ago. Anyone desiring to take part can notify the undersigned and "Targets" will be mailed to them. Recently we wrote letters to a U. S. Senator, a member of the London, England, County Council; the Youngstown, O., *Vindicator*; the Warren, O., *Democratic News*; the Pittsburgh, Pa., *Gazette-Times* and the *Cincinnati Inquirer*. We also have Single Tax articles weekly in the *Amalgamated Journal* of Pittsburgh, Pa., the official organ of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of North America.

Lowellville, Ohio.

JOHN F. CONROY.

### WALTER FAIRCHILD MAKES A CORRECTION

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In your issue of November-December, 1938, you printed an item in regard to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in which the text reads, "under the original lease, the hotel corporation paid about seven million dollars a year ground-rent . . ."

This should read, "about seven hundred thousand dollars a year ground-rent in addition to city taxes."

The error is in the manuscript I sent to you and is not an error of your paper.

New York City.

WALTER FAIRCHILD.

### FROM THE SON OF OUR OWN BILLY RADCLIFFE

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Your paper is to me what it was to my father, indispensable. I believe that the best writing that is being done in our cause is your own Comment and Reflection. For myself I am acting as secretary of the Cleveland extension of the School and doing what little I can to aid the coming of the day of freedom. And I am of the opinion that we may be nearer that day than we realize. Certainly the cost of denying labor the right to the use of the earth as represented by our Alphabetical Agencies is becoming unbearable.

Cleveland, Ohio.

JOHN RADCLIFFE.

### PRAISE FOR HENRY L. FOLEY

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

I have just reread "Problems of Political Economy and Scale Models For the Construction of Prosperity," by Henry J. Foley, as published in LAND AND FREEDOM, the July-August and September-October issue.

It is so illuminating, interesting and concise that I think it should be published in pamphlet form for propaganda.

I would suggest that "The Remedy" should be a postscript to the article.

The "Theorems" are so conclusive in their answers to any objection that might be offered concerning the Single Tax, and so simple, that they would be a great help to us who are trying almost daily to convince friends of the benefits of our tax system.

The plan by which man can be restored to his heritage, the free use of the land, would be a valuable adjunct to the "Theorems."

I trust you will consider this valuable enough to convey it to Mr. Foley.

So. Bend, Ind.

E. G. FREYERMUTH, M.D.

### C. H. NIGHTINGALE COMMENTS ON BECKWITH

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

Beckwith asks me: "How could interest go to zero when all business had become so profitable that every one became a capitalist?"

To make this relevant to my argument the question needs revising, and should read:

"How could the interest rate on investments go to zero when all business is being increasingly aided by capital?"

For convenience let me call this aid by capital economic interest.

The answer now is very simple. In 1850, in California, the interest rate on investments was very high; today, it is by comparison very low. Yet economic interest has greatly increased.

This history proves that the interest rate on capital may decline while economic interest goes up. Let us say the market rate is now 5 per cent. Is there any reason to doubt that it might go down to 1 per cent while economic interest still rises? And if 1 per cent, why not zero?

The market rate has no relation to economic interest. When Beckwith learns this, he will not ask simple questions like the above. Auckland, C. I., N. Z.

C. H. NIGHTINGALE.

### BECKWITH REPLIES

EDITOR LAND AND FREEDOM:

In the true spirit of scholarship Mr. C. H. Nightingale of New Zealand has sent me a copy of his communication to you. He writes me that he is "very keen to know what reply I can make to it."

The difficulty that Mr. Nightingale has encountered here is not, as he says, that I "refuse to see any difference between economic interest and the market rate for loans," but that he mistakenly imagines that this has anything to do with the problem.

Rent, as pointed out by W. R. B. Willcox in his new book, "Taxation Turmoil," is the compensation due those who make investments on other sites around and about, far and near, that contribute to the safety, comfort, and convenience of the occupants of that site rented—whether these activities are financed by public funds or private capital.

This compensation is a definite amount, determined by the returns realizable by the public from direct investments of similar amounts. There is only one rent. The term "economic rent," or "economic interest," is as unjustifiable as the term economic wages. What is mistakenly called "monopoly rent" is, as P. W. Schwander (Horatio) points out, merely a combination of rent plus an element of plain loot.

Although the returns in individual cases will vary, the higgling of the market brings it about in a free market that, in the long run and on the average, what is left of the product after payment of the rent is divided fifty-fifty between labor and capital, as their wages and interest.

If the market is not free, which means that the takers of rent are in control, more than the rent will be taken by the owners of strategic sites; and labor and capital get less than their wages and interest.

The amount due capital as interest is no more affected by the fact that men do, or do not, borrow than the amount due men's wages is affected by the fact that men worked for themselves or for others.

Wealth gotten either as wages or as interest belongs to those who made the investment of labor or capital for which it is the compensation; and it is theirs to use as they please and to bequeath to whom they please.

If it should happen that sufficient wealth should be left as a bequest to an infant to keep that infant through childhood, maturity, and old age without working, it might happen that this beneficiary would go through life without ever earning a dollar by labor—and yet be entitled to live out his years in luxury; for it either is, or is not, true that the product belongs to the producer to use and to bequeath as he pleases.

If that is true, the capital involved in this case belongs to this beneficiary.

As for the interest he receives during his life, the reply is that this comes out of the new product that is produced year after year as the result of the use to which the capital is put by others. As the owner of this capital, this beneficiary is entitled to his share—that is, to interest on his capital.

This is not approving a life of idleness; but that is a question in



morals. What may be the effect on the character and soul of this beneficiary of such a life of idleness is another question and outside the field of economics. This is a discussion of economics.

As for the Scriptural injunction that they who will not work shall not eat, one would have to be a Greek scholar to determine whether the word "work" in that case is justifiably limited to physical or mental labor, or whether it covers any contribution to the work of the world such as this beneficiary makes in putting his capital to work. And, even if Nightingale won on that point, it would still be necessary to decide whether that were a figurative or literal expression. And even if literal, it would still be in order to ask whether we are any more bound by Bible texts in matters of economics than we are by the Bible references to the "corners of the earth."

The fact is that the Bible is not a text-book in science. Economics is a science.

Stockton, California.

L. D. BECKWITH.

## NEWS NOTES AND PERSONALS

It is a safe guess that between seven and eight hundred attended the Commencement of the Henry George School at the Engineering Auditorium in this city on December 22. Mr. C. O. Steele, one of the outstanding teachers at the School, made an ideal chairman. The speakers were Anna George de Mille, Harry Weinberger and Frank Chodorov, the Director. Leon T. Arpin, Marshall de Angelis, Adele Nichols and Mrs. Helen Bernstein followed, and acquitted themselves well as representative student speakers.

An address was made by Johannes Steel, News Commentator for W M C A, on the subject of "Land Monopoly in World Affairs." At the close, refreshments were served after which the floor was cleared for dancing.

OUR friend, Prof. A. Matheu Alonso, writes us from Tarragona, Spain. It is his belief that as soon as the present conflict is over our movement will be resumed with more courage than ever. Due to tariffs and other trade control, prices of food, etc., have gone way up. Unemployment does not exist, and salaries also are very high. Prof. Alonso extends a warm salutation to his friends in the United States.

A WELCOME letter was recently received from Helen D. Denbigh, formerly a teacher at the headquarters of the Henry George School in New York, and now residing in Berkeley, Calif. She is teaching four extension classes in Oakland. Always an indefatigable worker for social uplift when back east, she is thus continuing the battle on the western front. Good luck!

THE death on December 23 of Mrs. Marietta Johnson, founder of the School for Organic Education at Fairhope, is announced in the *Fairhope Courier*. She was born in 1864 and is survived by her son Clifford Emmet Johnson of Summit, N. J. The School for Organic Education attained a national reputation. Mrs. Johnson was associated in this work with her husband who passed away in 1919. She was the author of a number of widely circulated books among which was "Youth in a World of Men." In this work she outlined her ideas of education. There can be no question that she was a remarkable figure in the educational field and wielded considerable influence. She was present at the Henry George Congress and took an active part in the discussions. She was a woman of striking and attractive personality. Fairhope of which she was an ardent disciple will miss her sadly.

THE *Square Deal* of Toronto, Canada, will hereafter appear in mimeographed form and the first issue in this new dress is before us. An article by E. J. Farmer, "A Control Experiment in Economics," is the main article in addition to articles of real information. We neglected to mention in our Conference number that followed the

Toronto gathering, the appearance of the *Square Deal* containing an excellent report of the Henry George Congress. Send 25 cents to Ernest J. Farmer for a copy which is well worthy of preservation. His address is 991 Bay Street, Toronto, Canada.

"AMERICA'S FUTURE," with Frank Gannett as chairman of publication committee at 205 East 42nd Street, is a large monthly periodical with articles on the present world situation by a number of men in the public eye, including such names as Amos Pinchot. There is so much that is valuable in these contributions that we regret the absence of specific recommendations. The tone, generally speaking, is admirable and there is an elevation of thought and an insistence upon the spirit and letter of constitutional rights that all persons of democratic instincts will welcome. But something more than this is needed for definite democratic action.

MRS. BESSIE BEACH TRUEHART, now of Hollywood, California, whom many of our readers will remember from the Henry George Congress in this city in the company of her gifted son, has been bereaved by the death of her mother at the age of 79. She and her husband were pioneer Georgeists. She had been ill for some time. Many Single Taxers throughout the country will hear with regret of her passing.

PROF. HARRY GUNNISON BROWN writes as follows: "I must take this occasion to tell you—as I intended to when I first saw it—how very much I enjoyed your contribution in the November *Freeman* 'What is the Natural Tax?'. In my judgment your literary craftsmanship is of a very high order indeed. It seems to me that this ought to be separately printed in formal verse, i.e., line by line, and with a few well-chosen photographs or sketches, showing (1) 'field, mine and glen,' (2) 'and of the wealth their work has won leave nothing when all work is done,' (3) 'where roads are made, and schools arise and lofty spires pierce the skies.' Not just because of its reasonableness and simplicity but also because of the beauty of its style, it might be very effective for propaganda use."

THE Enoch Pratt Library of Baltimore, Md., is in need of May-June issue for 1928. Can any of our readers supply this issue needed for binding?

STUART PORTNER of 5214 Second Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan, is writing a biography of Louis Freeland Post, and will be glad to receive any materials which will aid him in the preparation of this biography. These will be promptly returned as soon as they are copied.

THE death of John M. Moore of Lancaster, Pa., deprives the movement of a devoted adherent and the editor of a valued correspondent. His friend Foxhall A. Parker writes the following tribute:

In paying a tribute to a dead friend it is well to observe that when men are judged by the applause of the hour they are generally judged by what nature has done for them. But a proper appraisal would be of what use they made of the gifts nature gave them. John Moore's brilliant mind like his great heart never crawled in the dust. He was "the friend of all heroic souls" and not one of those "who fear to speak for the fallen and the weak." It is great to go out into the market place and defy the mob—to speak the message that you have despite all ridicule or abuse in order that our posterity may have a better world to live in. A grand soldier in the army of progress he knew that the *religion of humanity* is the great crying spiritual need of this world;—and he said so. He also knew that this necessarily involved social and economic equity (and not mere political equality alone.) Like a true reformer when he found that this could only be brought about by restoring the land to the people with its natural inborn corollary *free trade in labor products*, he did not hesitate, but said so. "Civilization so based cannot endure. The eternal laws



of the universe forbid it. Ruins of dead empires testify and the witness that is in every soul answers that it cannot be."

Needless to say he did not "creep into an unknown nameless grave" but lives in the memories of all those who wish to carry the torch of humanity to still greater heights. What more can we say of our departed friend.

Mr. Moore was seventy-three at the time of his death. He is survived by his wife, two daughters and a son. He was president of the Federation of Democratic Clubs of Lancaster County. He was a member of the Unitarian Church of Lancaster.

A SUBSCRIBER in Cashmere, Washington, asks for a precise definition of economic rent. It is the sum of location advantages contributed by government and society and the annual value is the economic rent, or the sum of these advantages. See "Jones Itemized Rent Bill," by Joseph Dana Miller.

WE regret to announce the death, which occurred in last July and of which we were not apprised, of A. Bourgeois of Arlington, N. J. Mr. Bourgeois was one of the leaders of the Single Tax and Commonwealth Land Party, over the wisdom of which Single Taxers of today will continue to differ.

DR. EVARTS W. POND of St. Petersburg, Fla., writes us that the Tax Relief Association may be making a mistake in deciding so quickly on Michigan as the scene of its operation and thinks Florida is the most progressive of the Southern States. He says Florida is ready for almost anything. He sums up his letter with an emphatic insistence that Florida is the place in which to do something.

WALDO J. WERNECKE of Los Angeles, Cal., writes: "My hearty appreciation and gratitude for your continued able and successful work on LAND AND FREEDOM." Mr. Wernecke gives the "yes" vote, certified by the Secretary of the State of California, on the Ralston amendment as 372,386. He adds: "We should insist on a definition of property in the next State proposal in any State."

RODNEY EMSLEY of Dover, N. J., whom some of our local readers know, is visiting in Australia. We bespeak for him a warm welcome.

CLAYTON J. EWING writes: "Wish to compliment you on your splendid recent issue. In fact all the numbers are splendid."

CHARLES H. INGERSOLL has sent a letter to the friends of the movement, presenting a plan for the re-organization of the Manhattan Single Tax Club. Those who know something of the history of the club and the real work it accomplished will want to read the proposed plan. Mr. Ingersoll can be addressed at 1165 Broadway, New York City.

HON. THERON McCAMPBELL, former member of the New Jersey State Legislature, is urging the adoption of what he calls "The Sydney Plan" for New Jersey, which as our readers know is the taxation of land values and the exemption of improvements.

MR. V. A. VINCENT of Florence, South Carolina, writes us: "I do not say it boastfully that I am the strongest advocate of our cause in this city of 12,000 population."

A SMALL pamphlet issued by the Graded Tax Committee of 11 Park Place, New York City, under the title "Buildings or Vacant Lots," will be sent at the price of 10 copies for 25 cents and single copies at 6 cents.

ROBERT BLACKLOCK of Irvington, N. J., writes: "I cannot resist the urge to write you in appreciation of your excellent article, 'What

is the Natural Tax,' which was recently published in our School paper, *The Freeman*. It is an ideal Georgeist lesson and expresses practically the whole Georgeist philosophy."

A TURKEY dinner was given on Jan. 5 by the Henry George School at Bellaire, Long Island, and fifty diplomas were distributed to graduates. The affair was arranged by Dr. S. A. Schneidman, who also presided, under the auspices of the Henry George School of Social Science of 30 East 29th Street. Mr. Morris A. VanVeen, well known for his many activities in the Georgeist movement for over a half century, was one of the principal speakers. Rev. Chas. E. Kyle, pastor of the Queens Evangelical Church, pronounced the invocation. Many of the young graduates made short addresses, admirable in substance and delivery. The affair was voted a success and Dr. Schneidman is to be congratulated. A two-column report of the dinner appeared in the *Queens Review*. It should be said that indications point to the formation of five or more classes to be conducted simultaneously.

CORRECTED STATEMENT of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Acts of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933, of LAND AND FREEDOM, published bi-monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1938.

State of New York, County of New York, N. Y., ss.

Before me, a notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Joseph Dana Miller, who, having been duly sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the owner of the LAND AND FREEDOM and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in Section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor and managing editor and business managers are:

Publisher: Joseph Dana Miller, 150 Nassau St., New York City.

Editor: Joseph Dana Miller, 150 Nassau St., New York City.

Managing Editor: Joseph Dana Miller, 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

Business Manager: Joseph Dana Miller, 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

2. That the owner is: Joseph Dana Miller, 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stocks, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER,  
Owner.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1938.

[Seal]

LOUIS D. SCHWARTZ, Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1939.)