

LAND and FREEDOM

Unfair
Taxes



Where
Your
Money
Goes!

To the Teachers of America.....	<i>Ralph Borsodi</i>	4
Little Tales of Robbery (II).....	<i>Morris Van Veen</i>	7
Invitation to Learning <i>presents</i>		
Harry D. Gideonse, Joseph D. McGoldrick, Jacques Barzun		8
On Looking into "Progress and Poverty".....	<i>Harry Weinberger</i>	12
The Georgeist Widows.....	<i>Anna George deMille</i>	13
Free Competitive Enterprise.....	<i>Frederick C. Crawford</i>	14
	<i>Lancaster M. Greene</i>	15
Preparation for World Change.....	<i>Herbert T. Good</i>	20
Civic Agencies of Freedom.....	<i>Helen Bernstein</i>	22
The Power to Keep Alive.....	<i>J. Rupert Mason</i>	23
Reform and the Ballot Box.....	<i>Catherine Klock</i>	24
Imperial Sugar.....	<i>Clayton Bauer</i>	25
Impressions from Our Contemporaries.....	<i>Alexander Boardman</i>	26
Our Town's Most Interesting Street.....	<i>Geraldine Brown</i>	28
Books	<i>Alexander Boardman</i>	29
Economic Agencies of Freedom.....		32
A Chat with a Greek Refugee.....		33
Our Page.....		34

TOMORROW

The Magazine of the Future

Though busy with the problems of today—don't lose sight of **TOMORROW**, the magazine of the future.

Let our competent, qualified writers continue to bring you new ideas, new information, discerning criticisms, and unusual fiction—carefully selected to meet your requirements for intelligent and discriminating reading.

A partial April forecast:

The Russian Miracle
by Hans Heymann

Toward a Livelier World
by Florence Jaffray Harriman

Peyrouton—"The Satrap"
by Sylvia March

Germany's Education
by Klaus Mann

In addition—fiction by Eudora Welty. Articles by Edison Marshall, Gorham Munson and others; book reviews by James Hilton, Janet Flanner, Katherine Woods and other well-known critics.

Take advantage of our special offer today
—FIVE MONTHS for only ONE DOLLAR.

SPECIAL OFFER

TOMORROW
11 East 44th Street
New York, N. Y.

Please send me **TOMORROW** for 5 months for which I am enclosing \$1.

Name

Address

City and State

F M I

serves as a vehicle of collective expression for that vast body of Americans zealous for a world society freed of political and economic bondage.

Associate membership, \$3 per year, includes:

- (1) Subscription to **LAND AND FREEDOM**
- (2) **FMI Weekly Newsletter**
- (3) **Spot Releases from Civic Agencies**
- (4) **The Opportunity for Immediate Participation in Post-War Affairs**

Write today for circular

FMI is authorized by World Federation, Inc., to conduct study groups on the Culbertson Plan. Send us 25c for 64-page booklet.



FREE MARKET INSTITUTE

BOSTON

NEW YORK

90 Beacon Street

18 East 48th Street

Affiliated with the
JOINT COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

LAND AND FREEDOM

Founded in 1901 by Joseph Dana Miller

Issued Bi-Monthly by

LAND AND FREEDOM, 150 Nassau Street, New York

EDITORIAL STAFF

CHARLES JOS. SMITH—Publisher and Executive Editor

ROBERT CLANCY*

WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB } Co-Editors

JOS. HIRAM NEWMAN }

ALEXANDER BOARDMAN—Book Reviews

*(Now serving in the armed forces of our country)

April-May, 1943

VOL. XLIII, No. 2

WHOLE No. 27

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

WASHINGTON, D. C.: Benjamin C. Marsh

GREAT BRITAIN: Douglas J. J. Owen, J. W. Graham Peace

CANADA: Herbert T. Owens

AUSTRALIA: A. G. Huie

ARGENTINA: Abelardo J. Coimil

FRANCE: Pavlos Giannelia

NEW ZEALAND: Hon. P. J. O'Regan, T. E. McMillan

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE:—\$2.00 per year, with annual supplement. Libraries and Colleges, \$1.00. Special trial offer to students and graduates of all Henry George Schools, \$1.00 for one year.

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

The articles which appear in LAND AND FREEDOM express the views of the authors, and do not necessarily represent the opinion or the policy of the editorial staff and publisher.

All manuscripts are subject to editing, and become the property of this journal.

Author, Author

RALPH BORSODI, one-time economist for R. H. Macy, duPont Rayon, and other corporations, is one of the editors of "Free America," the organ of the decentralist movement. Former director of the School of Living, which he founded at Suffern, New York, he is the author of "The Distribution Age," "This Ugly Civilization," "Flight from the City," and other non-fiction best sellers. Widely known as a lecturer, Mr. Borsodi has spoken before hundreds of college groups.

MORRIS VAN VEEN was secretary of the United Labor Party, which in 1886, nominated Henry George for Mayor of New York. An officer in

many other reform parties, in his 78 years, he has had an opportunity to garner a host of *Little Tales of Robbery*.

HARRY WEINBERGER is a member of the New York bar. Early influenced by Emerson, Thoreau and Elbert Hubbard, he later came upon George's works, and has been a vigorous apostle ever since.

ANNA GEORGE DEMILLE, daughter of Henry George, and president of the Henry George School of Social Science, is an earnest worker for the Cause of Freedom.

FREDERICK C. CRAWFORD is president of Thompson Products, Inc.,

and its many subsidiaries. Former president of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, he holds positions in many civic, social, and welfare organizations.

LANCASTER M. GREENE is a vice president of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, trustee and active instructor in the Henry George School.

HERBERT S. GOOD resigned a well-paying job with an airline to devote more time to the Henry George School of Boston. He aided in organizing Free Market Institute, which has absorbed the Boston School, and is Board Chairman of the Institute.

(Continued on page 31)

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Freedom is the foundation of a peaceful and prosperous world.

The right of every man to live in freedom from want and oppression must be implemented by economic as well as by political means.

The access of all men to the natural resources of the earth on equal terms is indispensable to economic freedom. The earth is the birthright of all mankind, and all have an equal and inalienable right to its use.

To secure this equality, land (including all natural resources) must be administered by a democratic government in the interests of all, and be harmfully monopolized by none.

Man's need for land is expressed by the rent of land. As competition for land increases, rental values increase. Where population is densest, or social activities, governmental services, or

natural value of sites are at their highest level, there rent tends to be greater. Rent is thus a social value and a proper source of public revenue.

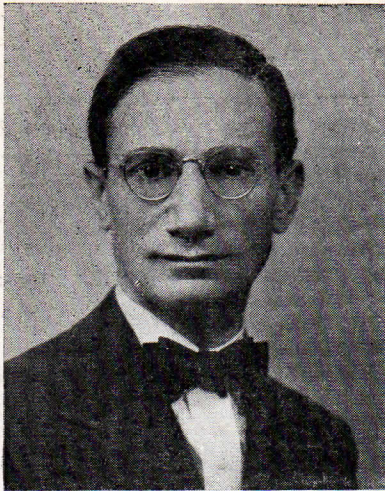
Taking the full rent of land for public purposes, if combined with rational planning and zoning regulations, would encourage the best use of all land in the public interest. A greater and more steady peacetime demand for labor would thus be created, with progressive elimination of the necessity of governmental subsidies to capital, labor, or consumers. Construction and home ownership would be encouraged, the slums and blighted areas of our cities would increasingly disappear, and well-planned community redevelopment would become a major post-war activity.

Legislation should provide that municipalities and counties be given

local option in taxation, whereby the full rent of land could ultimately be collected as the main source of revenue for local governments; and that, simultaneously, buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land be exempted from taxation.

In addition to the public collection of rent, however, there must be freedom of trade among states and nations, freer movement of peoples, abolition of barriers to useful production and exchange and the maintenance of democratic principles of a free market. Cartels, laws and practices that restrict the normal processes of the market must not stand in the way of society's exchanges. Patent laws must be modified in order to widen our access to invention.

Free land, free trade and free men constitute the foundation of a prosperous peaceful world.



A Letter to the Teachers of America

By Ralph Borsodi

To the Teachers of Mankind:

First I must explain why I address this letter to you . . . to you merely because you teach . . . no matter whom you teach, whether adults or children . . . nor where you teach, whether here in America or China, or in Russia or New Zealand . . . nor what you teach, whether principles or practices . . . nor how you teach, whether individual to individual, in classrooms or to groups, by the printed page, with pictures, or by word-of-mouth perhaps over winged waves. I address this letter to you because what you teach and what you fail to teach determines what mankind wants, what mankind believes and thinks, and what mankind does or fails to do. You may not know that this is so; you may deny that this is so when it is called to your attention; you may even believe that it should not be so. But what you think about the matter does not alter by a jot or tittle the fact that it is so, nor the fact that in your innermost heart you must feel that the calling you profess involves you in a special responsibility from which you cannot escape and which you cannot shift to any other man or men, no matter how great their powers or exalted their positions.

To you who must individually bear a share of this responsibility and who cannot avoid wielding your share of the influence exerted by the teachers of mankind, I have something to say.

IT has been said of men, "By their fruits shall ye know them."

By our fruits—by the hearts and minds and behavior of the men we have taught, we stand condemned. For it is men whom we have taught, whose minds and hearts we have shaped, and whose behavior we have influenced, who have made this fair green earth into an arena in which hate and death crucify life and love.

Teaching is no mere job, to which it is possible to turn merely because we need to earn a living. Teaching is the greatest responsibility which anyone can assume. Those of us who have assumed this responsibility, no matter how petty or how noble the motives which first led us into the work of influencing our fellow men, can no longer afford

to postpone the assumption of the leadership in society essential to the discharge of that responsibility to the uttermost farthing. The time has come when the teacher must cease to be a mere hireling. The time has come for the teacher to lead. The time has come when the leadership which the warrior lost to the priest, the priest to the merchant, the merchant to the banker, and which the banker is now losing to the public official, must be taken over by the teacher. A new world must be built. And the castle-centered, church-centered, bank-centered, government-centered community must be replaced by a school-centered and university-centered society.

And in that new society, the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of mankind (entrusted in part into our hands), must be made supreme in the hearts and minds and over the behavior of mankind. But the triumph of the teacher must come differently. It cannot come by compulsion through the use of arms and police forces, nor by playing upon man's fear of hell and hope of heaven, and certainly not through the promise of material security, material plenty and boundless material progress. By its very nature it can come only through persuasion and only as a result of the influence exerted and the consequences flowing from education.

QUO VADIS?

Twenty-five years ago the world went through the horrors of war. With guns and bayonets, with gas and shells, mankind opened its veins and watched rich red blood flow everywhere. A bloody altar was erected, a bloody communion served, and as the bloody libations were poured forth, Fourteen Points were carved upon it and the worshippers told, "This is the war to end all war." Today we know that all that blood was shed not to end war, but merely to obtain a truce.

Three years ago the truce was ended, if indeed

it did not end ten years ago when Japan invaded Manchuria. Today the world is again at war. On every continent, in the heart of Old Europe and out in the uttermost isles of the seas, the precious blood is flowing again. And when reluctant mankind again asks, "Why?" it is again asked to worship at an altar, this time called the Atlantic Charter, and again it hears the words, "This one is the real war to end all war."

It is not true that this war is a war which will end all war. By all men everywhere let this be heard: *from this war we shall go on to another*; from the bloody madness of today, we shall go on to the greater bloody madneses tomorrow. In the womb of this war, the seeds of the next war have already been dropped. Only a miracle can stop the bloody harvest which our children and our children's children are being doomed to reap. Just as we have discovered that life is unendurable in a world partly Hitlerized and partly non-Hitler, so the next generation will discover that life for them will be unendurable in a world partly Communist and partly non-Communist.

It is only half the truth—and therefore wholly false—to say that the Kaiser caused the last war, and that Hitler caused this one. It will be only half the truth and therefore just as false to say that the coming Hitlers will cause the next one. Wars are precipitated by Hitlers; they have their true beginnings in the forces which create Hitlers and the conditions which produce the masses ready to follow them.

Today we are fighting this generation's Hitler and this generation's Hitlerized followers. Terrible as it may be to say it, our leaders *are intensifying* conditions which make for war. In every nation that nemesis of modern civilization, heavy industry, is being expanded and over-expanded in a frantic effort to forge enough weapons of war—tanks and guns and ships and munitions—with which to win the war. Not only in Old England, which was the first with a sort of sublime innocence to set industrialism on its way, and in the United States, but also in China, India, Mexico, Brazil, the forces of Industrialism, Urbanism and Nationalism are being strengthened and the last vestiges of regionalism, community life and rural values undermined. In a world in which every man, woman and child becomes hopelessly dependent even for daily bread upon the full functioning of heavy industry, no normal way of living is possible. Abnormality and subnormality inevitably increases, and monsters like Hitler are not only generated, but also the herds which such Hitlers need.

MEA CULPA!

It is not true that the permanent peace we so desperately seek can be won through the triumph

of the American way of life, nor the Russian, nor the British, nor any way of life of any of the great industrial nations of the earth. It is as false for the United Nations' leaders to say that the new order must be based upon the way of life and the form of government in which they believe, as it is false for Adolf Hitler to say that it must be based upon what he believes. Only this much is true—that if we must choose between our present ways of life and the life which Hitler would impose upon us, *our ways are worth struggling and even dying for*.

It is not true that we are guiltless. It is not true that Britain or Russia or the United States are guiltless. Only those who come into the Court of Justice with clean hands may say that. And our hands are not clean.

For over a century we fought a war of extermination upon the American Indian—a war which gave us possession of the lands which they formerly possessed—a war marked on our side by all the deceits, broken treaties, treacheries and atrocities which we condemn in others. We fought a war with Mexico—an imperialistic war which resulted in the conquest of nearly half the continental area of the United States. In spite of boundless natural resources; in spite of matchless technical achievements; in spite of the New Deal and the century of the common man, we failed to solve the problem of unemployment and dire poverty until, plagued by Hitler's might we started heavy industry turning out implements of war. What reason is there for us to boast of the superiority of our government and to trust our political leadership to make peace for the world?

But neither is the British government superior. It is embarrassed by the fact that its record in India belies its record in Canada and South Africa and Australia.

And certainly not the Russian government, with its plans for world revolution, its faith in dictatorship, its OGPU, its war upon Finland, its conquest of the little Baltic states, its unforgettable deal with Nazi Germany for half of Poland.

We teachers are false to the responsibilities of our difficult profession if we trust the leaders of the United Nations—*after the war is won*—to write a peace treaty for the world. These men are not supermen. They are no better qualified to win the peace than were Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau. Roosevelt cannot forego politics; Churchill, his lifelong devotion to Empire; Stalin, that salvation comes from "the dictatorship of the proletariat." They may be great men in spite of these grave flaws, but they are not great enough to be trusted, *after the war is won, when they no longer need to court public opinion in the matter*, to frame the peace. Each one of them will strive to force what he can into the peace treaty for his

ideas, his partisans, his nation. It is as foolish to expect that after the war is won Stalin will not seek to make a treaty which will permit the heroic people of Russia to spread Communism, as it is to expect that Roosevelt will not try to make a treaty which will permit him to spread the New Deal, spread what he calls democracy, spread what he believes is the American way of life. The result of postponing this question until after the war is over will be another truce—a truce in which the seeds of the next world war or the next world revolution will already have been planted.

The treaty of peace must be written now. The people of America as well as our Allies must know specifically what the United Nations are fighting for now. Above all, the people of Germany and Italy and Japan and of all the allies of the Axis powers must know it now. Only when the people of the United Nations know specifically what the war aims of their leaders are, is there any chance that the treaty of peace will contain the provisions essential to a *permanent* peace. If, in order to sanctify the bloody sacrifices of our men, we cannot make the United Nations agree upon war aims now, when desperate necessity makes every one of the political leaders willing to compromise, *there is no hope*. For after the war has been won, each triumphant great power will seek to write into the treaty what its directing head feels his nation's contribution to the common victory entitles him to demand. Not the leader advocating the sublimest truths, but the leader backed by the strongest armies, will prevail. And the treaty which the victors will finally present to the vanquished for signature, will prove a mere truce, providing the most ruthless leader with the breathing spell his armies need before he begins to force his ideas upon the rest of the world.

The time for us to face this problem of defining war aims is now; not after the war has been won, and certainly not when it will be too late for the victors to win the peace.

THE MINIMUM ESSENTIALS OF PERMANENT PEACE

To insure that this war shall be followed by permanent peace, the United Nations must now announce that when representatives of the victors and the vanquished in this war shall meet, they shall act as the representatives of the determining majority of all the people of the world. The United Nations must formally announce *now* that the treaty of peace is to be binding upon all nations, not only the belligerents, but the neutrals as well, and that all treaties and agreements between nations, and all constitutions and laws in conflict with the provisions of the treaty, shall immediately after the treaty is signed, become null and void.

Finally, the United Nations must now announce that the treaty will contain provisions for these three essentials of permanent peace:

I. The immediate, universal (and if necessary compulsory) transfer by all nations of all their armies and armaments—military, naval and aerial—and all their military and naval bases and fortresses, whether within or upon the boundaries of a nation, to a World Military Police; the future rank and file of this police force to be recruited by voluntary enlistment from among the peoples of all nations and races; the future officers and commandery to be open to professionally trained persons of any race or nation through uniform tests and examinations of technical, intellectual and moral qualifications. This World Military Police thus to be established shall have the right to dispose of its forces anywhere in the world on reservations of its own selection; to balance the races and nationalities included in each of its divisions and located in the various regions of the world so as to insure impartiality; to move its forces into any area or sea, and to have them there do anything which the commandery finds necessary in order to insure disarmament, prevent re-armament, and restrain any groups, races or nations anywhere in the world from engaging in wars or violent revolutions. The right of a nation to declare neutrality shall immediately upon the declaration of peace, be ended.

II. The immediate (and if necessary compulsory) abolition of all customs barriers, tariffs and trade regulations and the establishment of universal *free trade* between the peoples of all nations; the cessation of all restrictions of any kind or nature upon *free travel* across national boundaries or between political sub-divisions for purposes of trade, communication and social intercourse (genuine health quarantines alone excepted); the nullification of all restrictions upon *free communication* between individuals and in groups or meetings anywhere whether made orally or in written, printed or visual forms; the renunciation of all *imperial governments* which require armies in order to maintain their colonies, and do not in fact therefore rule with the consent of the governed. But the right of any nation or state or community to determine for itself the criteria it shall use for the admission of immigrants who desire to live permanently or to occupy land within its boundaries—including such criteria as language, race, religion and political beliefs—shall not be effected by this renunciation of national sovereignty, nor its right to change its social, economic, political and religious institutions at any time or by any method excepting only the use of force.

III. The immediate (and if necessary compulsory) pooling of all the natural mineral resources of the earth, including the use of the seas and the air, excepting only the ownership of surface lands, by declaring them the common heritage of all the peoples of the earth, including the generations to come, and by licensing all enterprises (no matter whether native or alien) engaged in extracting raw materials from the earth, require them to pay royalties equal to the full economic rent of the resources they use to the Trustees of a World Fund to be established for the support of the World Police and the maintenance of world peace.

(To be concluded in the next issue)

Little Tales of Robbery

By Morris Van Veen

II.

THIS is the story of John Gottlieb Wendel, a cruel despot. Born in Egypt or Turkey? . . . No, no, right here in New York.

John Gottlieb II, was the son of John G. Wendel, who laid the foundation of an \$80,000,000 land value ownership, 95 per cent. of which was located in New York City. When the last of the family, Ella Wendel, died in 1931, the estate was receiving \$2,000,000 a year. This poor little woman was unaware of her vast fortune. In her last years her only interests were a dog, named Toby, and 125 old trunks.

John G. Wendel I, was a partner in the fur and real estate deals of John Jacob Astor. John G. Wendel had a vision that if he invested in lots along Broadway, or streets adjacent thereto, his and his children's fortune would be assured. He knew, of course, that the community neglected to collect the annual increment, created by population. When he died in 1851 he left \$3,000,000 to his family.

Some 68 years ago, as a lad I was located at 180 Broadway. Directly opposite me was the office of John G. Wendel II, 175 Broadway. Even on bleak days he wore an old alpaca coat with one pocket ripped out, and carpet slippers. In later days I saw him with shoes having two-inch soles, and a straw hat with a pencil protruding. Many a time I have seen him go down the beer basement under Benedict, the Jewelers, 171 Broadway, and order a ham sandwich and a glass of beer, and lay down 10 cents.

Now after 68 years the only change on this block has been the removal of an iron staircase which led up to the parlor floor of 175 Broadway; no doubt a city ordinance compelled the removal.

It was about this time that the John G. Wendel II, edict was proclaimed, "*Never sell, never mortgage, never improve.*" And all lessees of his properties besides paying the rent, were forced to pay taxes as well.

When it was rumored that the Hudson Tube was to be placed one block west of 175 Broadway—the Wendel property—those "on the inside" besieged him to lease, sell, or rent, but he said "No" to the most flattering offers. He wouldn't have the tube there; the land was finally condemned by the State. He fought the issue bitterly, but the public interests won this time, and a beautiful and most

useful structure was built on the site. Millions from outside New York City now enjoy its convenience.

I now move you up to the area bounded by 35th and 40th Streets, Broadway and Seventh Avenue, nearly all of which Wendel owned. For 65 years a lumber yard has been located in this congested district, peopled by the women's clothing industry. Majestic buildings surround this yard, which would disgrace a mining town.

Mr. J. E. Gilbert, who built 501 Seventh Avenue, made an offer to continue an addition that would cover the lumber site—the Wendel property. He was prepared to build a \$7,000,000 structure, but was defeated in his purpose. Now opposite this site of Gilbert's attempted venture, from 1389 to 1409 Broadway, between 38th and 39th Streets, is a block of shanties occupied by the Regal Shoe Store and sundry small shops. The block, if given a shove from either end would fall to the ground. The late A. E. Lefcourt, a great builder in this locality, offered to put up an \$8,500,000 building, but Wendel again said "No"—he refused to build higher than six stories, because he opposed furnishing elevators to tenants.

It is now about 1913. At the northwest corner of 50th Street and Broadway there was for many years an unoccupied building of five or six stories. An individual, who wanted to locate a business there, called in his realtor. The latter, after diligent effort, secured the leasehold. The entrepreneur was to pay \$50,000 a year rent for 21 years, and all taxes, repairs, and renovation. One of the important things that the lessee desired was an electric sign to cost \$25,000. The contract had been awarded; it was to be the greatest electric sign in the city. When the realtor and the lessee read the lease, they discovered that the contract for the sign was not included. Whereupon the realtor returned to Wendel, and tried to impress him with the importance of the sign. Wendel leaned over, took the lease, and to the realtor's consternation, tore it to bits.

Imagine the chagrin of the realtor whose four months' effort had been in vain; also the exchange of recriminations between the sign maker and the prospective lessee; a great deal of labor and material had gone into the sign.

(Continued on page 21)



INVITATION TO LEARNING

Presents

Dr. Harry D. Gideonse

Joseph D. McGoldrick

Jacques Barzun

On Sunday, February 28, through the courtesy of Columbia Broadcasting System, several million people heard an evaluation of "Progress and Poverty" and its author, Henry George. Chairman of the broadcast program was Harry D. Gideonse, President of Brooklyn College, and noted author and economist. His guests were Joseph D. McGoldrick, Comptroller of the City of New York, and former Professor of Government at Columbia University; and Jacques Barzun, Professor of History, and writer on social and historical subjects.

For reasons of space, the program has been slightly condensed herein. Every effort, however, was made by the editors to faithfully record the spirit and intent of each speaker.

GIDEONSE: Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" is one of the great bibles of social reform. All over the world, and certainly all over America, there are groups of people who regard "Progress and Poverty" in just about the same way that Socialists and Communists are likely to look upon Karl Marx's "Capital." It's a very striking phenomenon, the almost religious devotion that many of them have for the book. And the book is specifically an American product.

BARZUN: There is a reason for that, isn't there. The book came out of very definite conditions in California, where Henry George was living. He began by writing a little tract on the land question. In California, history was in the making very rapidly. All sorts of social phenomena that had taken centuries to occur in Europe or in America, were happening there under the man's eyes during his own lifetime. He saw that something had to be done—to analyze the reason why with increasing progress in material conditions, there was increasing poverty.

GIDEONSE: Yes, the thing that worried him was the enormous productivity of human effort on the virgin soil in California, and at the same time the evidence that in a very short period of time a great concentration of land ownership had grown up. That suggested the idea that this was the privilege that should be reached in the form of taxes. Does that appeal to the Comptroller in you, McGoldrick?

McGOLDRICK: He was also able to demonstrate, without much reference to history, that

practically all of the land had been free at the coming of the white man to America, and all of it had been appropriated practically without any payment. He was inclined to regard land as taking a disproportionate share of the wealth produced by labor and capital. He seems to have had almost as much concern for capital's right in the product as for labor. He was hostile to that which the land-owner got for no better reason than he had been lucky enough—himself or his ancestors—to have expropriated the land. Now, you could go at it either through a legal notion that the titles were titles based on theft and, therefore, void *ab initio*, or you could go at it through a scheme of taxes that would tax away the right in land—not the buildings, which were themselves a capital product—but the land which was the common right of the whole people.

BARZUN: This feeling about expropriation is also an American idea which he found embodied in the Preamble to the Declaration of Independence—that all men are created equal; consequently, they have equal rights to the things that the Creator gives them. The one thing that the Creator gives is the earth, and he saw no reason why some people should have title to parts of it, and others be excluded from it.

GIDEONSE: Henry George set up a very sharp contrast between the people who brought labor and capital to production, and the people who got their income from the ownership of land and resources. As George saw it, they were not contributing anything at all, and were claiming an ever increasing share of the national income.

McGOLDRICK: The political remedy proposed was therefore to tax away the rent which came from the natural resource in contrast with what was a payment for the capital and labor that went into the buildings and the material improvements.

BARZUN: And that would include taxing the increased value of land which came from the labor of others. The improvements which somebody else makes in the neighborhood of a piece of land, thus raising its price, is a benefit which the owner of that piece of land, according to George and according to any reasoning, has no right to.

An Evaluation of "Progress and Poverty"

GIDEONSE: In modern language, that is unearned increment. That would be the value added to a piece of property, not by anything you do yourself, but because somebody else has put up a very attractive store or theatre or because the city has built a new subway. Now, aren't we, in fact, getting a great deal of our municipal tax income today from assessments that correspond to that?

McGOLDRICK: Well, to some degree. Certainly our tax theory has recognized that a parkway or a subway does add to the value of land. It's reflected in current sales of land, so that our taxes do go up with both public and private improvements, such as Radio City, near to us here. But we do not attempt to recapture that increment, but rather to use that increment as a basis for a higher current tax.

BARZUN: The book is bigger than that notion!

LIBERTY AND JUSTICE

GIDEONSE: Oh, the book is infinitely more significant than that fiscal technicality. I think the book is handicapped by the extent to which it is anchored in that one specific proposal. The book as a whole is much stronger than this one idea, and its strength lies in the fact that it goes way beyond economics and land ownership; that it tries to project the picture into the future with a deep concern for liberty and justice. It's a rare book also in the sense that it ties in ethical and religious ideals with those considerations of a more material and economic sort. A mere glance at the growth in government services and government expenses since George's time, makes it clear that even if we should now act on his recommendation to tax pure rent 100%, we wouldn't have enough to pay for the government services that are now expected by the American people.

BARZUN: Nor is monopoly limited to land monopoly in our day.

GIDEONSE: That's right. It's a cancer that is always taking new forms, and we can sometimes hardly discover its new symptoms early enough to prevent the damage done.

McGOLDRICK: Land today is hardly the most important monopoly; land ownership is pretty widely scattered. Certainly public ownership of land is greatly increased since George's time.

BARZUN: There is a wonderful descriptive power that George displays in analyzing modern civilization. Conditions haven't changed very much in the last eighty years, and he points out with great sharpness and vividness what happens when progress invades a virgin territory, what results for the people who, with the best will in the world

and great talents, go there to build what they think is civilization; he points out that misery, disappointment, despair, are the result. We've all more or less come to see that it is a real question, and not the question of a crank.

GIDEONSE: What he's concerned about is the inequality in the returns to all the people entering a new territory of that sort.

BARZUN: And the insecurity to all, even those who succeed in the competitive struggle.

GIDEONSE: And it's the more convincing because he is so concerned in a constructive way with the rights of labor as well as capital. After all, the people who are typically concerned about inequality, are likely to carry with their concern for inequality a bias against either, let's say, trade unions or a bias against organized big business. George brings a bias in favor of trade and industry and labor, in favor of the productive elements, and his analysis of the injustices of inequality is, therefore, more convincing.

BARZUN: Yes, he keeps insisting on the falsity of the class struggle—the opposition between capital and labor. He was very critical of Karl Marx. You have only to read George's later books.

McGOLDRICK: There's an interesting report, the British Uthwatt Report, which proposes the nationalization of the future development rights of undeveloped land. While it proposes to compensate for these rights, the suggestion is made in the report that the compensation should be rather nominal, since the rights are so speculative and dependent upon community or national effort.

GIDEONSE: That is an effort to take pure rent before it has developed into a large slice of the national income. That would look like a reform of which Henry George would have approved.

McGOLDRICK: Well, it is put forward in England now as practically essential to a scheme of national planning.

BARZUN: But, on the whole, the notion of planning, I think would have been anathema to George. He believed in doing only one thing, which would right the existing injustices, and letting everything else take care of itself.

GIDEONSE: Fundamentally George has a deeper faith than you'll find in a good deal of classical orthodox economics in leaving things alone—in *laissez faire*. If only you make sure that there could not be a large slice of the national income going to monopoly! To him the chief monopoly was in land ownership. I think the way to read him today, though, is to admit that if George had looked at the world as it is now constituted, his book would have directed most of its drive against monopoly.

of other forms that have developed since the time he wrote about land.

BARZUN: It's very likely, but then he'd have a terrible struggle with his wish for equality of an economic sort, on the one hand, and his distaste for bureaucracy and government interference, on the other.

McGOLDRICK: That's right. He's so complete an individualist that he tends to overlook the fact that individual effort may actually diminish as well as increase the value of land. If my neighbor erects a building of an unsightly character he may actually diminish the value of my land instead of giving me an unjust increment, and George at no point concerns himself with that individualistic use of land to the detriment of others.

GIDEONSE: The city, in order to protect its tax income from property, has had to interfere with the right of the individual owner to do as he pleases. The very owners themselves have had to act first. Originally there was great opposition to this as a deprivation of rights in property, but today purchasers will not buy, and real estate people insist on zoning laws that will protect the purchaser.

BARZUN: However, George does say in one phase of his thought, that natural rights have to be constantly redefined in the light of existing conditions—that they cannot be static.

GIDEONSE: What interests me is that in England, Henry George and Georgeism helped to fertilize and stimulate a movement towards socialism, towards, in other words, bureaucratic controls, towards a collectivist society and towards economic controls that are not subject to the market and to market influence. If I read "Progress and Poverty" aright, that is the very thing to which George was most sharply opposed. That's what he resented most in current tendencies as he saw them developing in America.

BARZUN: He probably thought that in America there was plenty of room for everybody and, if everyone were given a fair opportunity the relation between man and man would be a friendly one, since where there is space there wouldn't be friction; whereas in England in the eighties it was clear that they were so crowded together that, unless an outside hand kept people from piling on top of one another, there would be only chaos. Many of the illustrations in "Progress and Poverty" are drawn from English landholdings. The Duke of Westminster comes in as the chief villain of the piece for owning more than half of London.

GIDEONSE: If you look at that picture in terms of some of the experiences on this side, you have, first of all, a different historical problem, and then a very large amount of what looks like

large landholding in the United States is in fact a land ownership by a large number of little folks who share in the ownership of, say, the equities of an insurance company or a bank?

McGOLDRICK: The largest land-holding in the United States is brought together through insurance companies, savings banks and other trustee institutions—really, the small investors, the little people who depend on insurance or on saving bank deposits for their investment.

FREE TRADE

BARZUN: One thing that struck me, in reading this book again, was that Henry George entirely neglects the international aspect of things. He forgets the political relations between nations which leads to protectionism, which led to some of the things that finally make for the misery he describes.

McGOLDRICK: But he did criticize protection and protectionism.

BARZUN: Yes, but he sees it only as a mistaken economic policy. He doesn't see it as a political measure.

GIDEONSE: He was a very eloquent free trader. He did a whole book on protection and free trade, that is very readable today. But it's quite true that he leaves the political and military motivation out completely. However, most of the people at that period who discussed tariff and free trade left politics out. It was discussed only as a political interference with legitimate economic freedom.

BARZUN: It was believed that if we could have free trade, we'd naturally prefer it, which is by no means a true statement.

GIDEONSE: At the bottom George's "Progress and Poverty" is a book that is almost the exact opposite of Karl Marx's "Capital" in the literature of social reform.

BARZUN: Yes, the opposite in every way. You mentioned literature; this is a magnificently written book, which no one would ever accuse Karl Marx's "Capital" of being.

McGOLDRICK: And it has a very positive undertone of ethical and religious force.

GIDEONSE: I think no one would accuse Karl Marx's writings of that either.

BARZUN: Marx excludes ethical forces.

GIDEONSE: If you take this contrast with the modern tendency towards organizing everything, trade unions, corporations, and international cartels, there is a possibility that this book may have in it the seeds of another period of extreme vitality. It is possible that the excesses of the organizers may lead to a revival of a faith in leaving folks alone—a reaction against excessive

interference with the details of economic life?

McGOLDRICK: This book was particularly addressed to the problem of depression. He was seeking in "Progress and Poverty" the causes of depression. There is some very solid sense in this volume about economic relationships.

BARZUN: Yes, but, GIDEONSE, I don't quite understand how you think that a new competitive individualistic era may find this book a source of strong arguments. Do you think that the present tendency towards organization may be reversed?

GIDEONSE: I believe that it's running to excess in countries like, say, the United States, as well as in Germany. I could conceive of a generation, say, fifteen or twenty years from now reading Henry George and Adam Smith with a new sense of their meaning, a sense of current importance which we lost in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, because we were living on the fat of the earth, and on some of the most productive consequences of free enterprise, and we therefore concentrated on the weaknesses of the system.

BARZUN: But is it a movement that can be reversed by will, by merely deciding that there's a good in it somewhere?

GIDEONSE: That, of course, is a very big question, but insofar as ideas and books play a role in a social movement, I should think this one has possibilities. I note with interest that when you speak to American adherents of Henry George, they are likely to be among the most intelligent and best-informed critics of some of the worst mistakes of our protectionist and New Deal legislation. And in that sense it has become a bible for a group that might someday make a political issue out of the reaction against excessive governmental interference with the details of economic life. I don't say it will, but it might.

BARZUN: The question is whether individualism is compatible with large units, huge nations, and big industries.

GIDEONSE: It may be that because of such strong impersonal trends there isn't any hope for a return to a more individualist life. But, this book has such a grasp of some of the underlying ideas that lead to totalitarianism! I have here a phrase, for instance, which has a prophetic quality about it, where he speaks about the consequences of philosophic free thinking on the religion of the time; that nothing is taking the place of the religion that is being destroyed, and that we will have changes in the history of the race which may provoke the mightiest reactions and, therefore, consequences to freedom and justice.

BARZUN: Yes, he even predicts dictatorship and anarchy unless his remedy, or a remedy equivalent to it, is adopted.

GIDEONSE: If you look at the modern world

you'll see a certain amount of evidence confirming George's conviction that moral factors were being overlooked in the defense of freedom.

BARZUN: Half of that has come about anyway.

GIDEONSE: George saw clearly that shared moral convictions were the essence of freedom.

BARZUN: The need for a common belief. We're rediscovering religion in that light, at any rate—the social rather than the philosophical side of religion.

GIDEONSE: Yes, we are discovering it as the core that's necessary if a free society is to endure. In other words, this fellow was fighting for free competitive controls with a full understanding of the moral as well as economic pre-requisites that are essential if a free society is to endure.

BARZUN: And one part in it is that a vested interest is something different from an individual desire to make one's place in the world. A vested interest is impersonal—it has no human meaning.

McGOLDRICK: Henry George voices a very definite American desire for freedom and liberty, the kind of reaction that we're getting at the present time. . . . It's very deep and profound and thoroughly American, and there's going to be a revival of that. Whether it can be reconciled with economic tendencies of our times may be open to doubt, but it's certainly there, and it's going to be a factor in both the political and economic realm.

BARZUN: What do we need to give up in order to recapture those freedoms? That's the grave question. And the economic tendencies may, after all, themselves simply be a reflection of a change in the purpose of human beings. If you don't assume that, you apparently take the materialist position, that the economics determine all the other things. George did not do that.

GIDEONSE: He has a very striking paragraph on the corruption which might grow out of too much government influence. It is in one of the final chapters of "Progress and Poverty." It runs as follows: "As in England, in the last century, when Parliament was but a close corporation of the aristocracy, a corrupt oligarchy, clearly fenced off from the masses, may exist without much effect on national character because in that case power is associated in the popular mind with other things than corruption. But where there are no hereditary distinctions and men are habitually seen to raise themselves by corrupt qualities from the lowest places to wealth and power, tolerance of these qualities finally becomes admiration. A corrupt democratic government must finally corrupt the people, and when a people become corrupt there is no resurrection. The life is gone; only the carcass remains, and it is left but for the plowshares of fate to bury it out of sight."

Lines . . .

*On First Looking Into Henry George's
"Progress and Poverty"*

Much have I travelled in realms ruled by gold,
And many goodly acres have I seen,
Round many towering cities have I been
Which landlords in outrageous hostage hold.
And oft of Nature's plenty I've been told
That all mankind should share for their demesne.
Yet did I never grasp so vast a dream
Till I heard Henry George speak, loud and bold.

Then felt I like some searcher for the truth,
When concepts new and great flash on the mind
For which men pledge their comfort, life, and youth,
Yes, give their All, the Greater Thing to find!—
As from a peak, with leaping heart I scanned
The world's earth shared at last—Man's Promised Land!

HARRY WEINBERGER

The Georgeist Widows

By Anna George deMille



Anna
Corsina
George

"I AM a Georgeist widow!"

One occasionally hears this statement sourly expressed by a disgruntled wife; how the bitterness of her tone stabs "old-timers" who for years have given of themselves to the Cause of Freedom.

They have heard that self-pitying wail in the past, and always with disappointment that the women uttering it lacked understanding and foresight. If she but realized it, the bowling alley, the race course, the card table, indeed any time-consuming enthusiasms can lure men away from home as certainly as teaching a class in "Progress and Poverty"—and not always with as commendable results!

Henry George was fully aware of the jealousy and possessiveness of some women. If one of his followers admitted regretfully that his wife never accompanied him to meetings because she "wasn't interested," he would ask:

"Have you really tried to interest her? I believe she would understand if she knew we are working to make the world a better place for our children—if she knew we are working for *peace*. Explain to her!"

The philosophy of Henry George has in numerous cases tightened the bonds of matrimony, and many women who had considered themselves as "Georgeist widows," have shed their martyrdom to become "Georgeists," with a fervor that has proven them worthy sharers in their husbands' dedication to a vision. Some of these wives have laid even greater gifts on the altar of truth than have their men—since constant, albeit, small sacrifices can often out-balance the obvious offering made to the obligato of applause.

It is no more difficult to plough uphill than to teach an unwanted truth to a prejudiced world, but there have been Georgeist wives who worthily partnered their men in this high purpose. Such a one was the wife of Henry George.

Willingly she encouraged her husband to use his brilliant gifts for the good of humanity, rather than for acquiring the wealth that would have meant the ease and travel they both desired. A lover of beautiful things and of a gracious way of life, she never hinted resentment that hers was the constant struggle to make both ends meet.

Fond of the theater, concerts, and travel, it

must have been hard for her to forego these pleasures to the extent she had to. Her husband, engrossed in work to the limit of his power, was seldom able to escort her to evening entertainments, even if he could have afforded the expense.

She not only never showed resentment; she never let her children even feel it. While their life pivoted around the Cause that was their lodestar, and therefore in a way, around the leader of that Cause—their youthful rights and needs were never forgotten. The George home was a merry, happy place, where, in simple form, musical and card and dancing parties were frequent happenings.

The house-wife might have shown annoyance that, at all hours, she had to share her home, not only with friends, but with strangers (some of whom might today be termed "nuts"). But she never did indicate annoyance. Quick, resourceful, she was able somehow, to hide signs of the effort it entailed—when as many as five unexpected guests arrived for lunch. With grace and cunning she was known on occasion to apportion the hot chocolate and macaroons, prepared for fifteen Sunday night visitors, among the unsuspecting forty who turned up!

Her personal disappointments, financial contrivings, her tact and diplomacy, her unquestioning love—these were some of her contributions to the Cause. But greater than these were her brave sharing with her husband, of his cares and worries, and her dedication to his dedication.

She made her supreme gift when she gave her consent that he enter the last Mayoralty campaign. Four physicians and a number of close friends urged that he decline the nomination, believing his strength would not withstand another political fight. Henry George felt it his duty to accept the candidacy, in order that he might carry his message straight to the voters of Greater New York.

(Continued on page 26)

FREE COMPETITIVE ENTERPRISE

Frederick C. Crawford*

President, National Association of Manufacturers

FREE men must have free competitive enterprise, and competitive enterprise is the indispensable ingredient of a prosperous post-war world.

Not only enterprisers say that. Vice-President Wallace has said, "The spirit of competition will and must continue to be one of our main driving forces." Thurman Arnold, the former Assistant Attorney General, says, "We need to get rid of the idea of a security economy, and return to competitive industry." The A. F. of L., according to President William Green, "supports our American capitalistic system of free enterprise just as vigorously as we support trade unions." The T.N.E.C., after a two-year study of what has "undermined the foundations of both free enterprise and free government," said in its report that encouragement should be given to free enterprise, and to the use of private capital.

One of the most encouraging evidences of the common man's deep underlying faith in his own American competitive enterprise system was disclosed by *Fortune* magazine's latest survey of worker opinion. Asked if after the war they would "like to see government own and operate automobile factories, only regulate them, or leave them alone," 56 per cent. answered "leave them alone," 23 per cent. favored regulation, 10 per cent. wanted government monopoly, and 11 per cent. were noncommittal.

In fact, the poor old much maligned free enterprise system can hardly get used to all the popularity. The public likes us, the politicians like us, and the economic planners like us.

Millions of fighting men are risking their lives for the idea of democracy, but I think they would be defrauded if, having won, they were to come back to a "bill of rightsless democracy."

I believe in free competitive enterprise as the touchstone of everything that America is or can be, but I have absolutely no faith in the impossible economic hybrid of free enterprise crossed with the corporate state. Today, management generally realizes that no institution, particularly free enterprise, can exist and live by sufferance of society, unless it benefits that society. Unless the people can translate the business process into terms

of higher standards of living, then it cannot exist. Production lies at the heart of the more abundant life. It is the incentive of free enterprise—ever increasing the rate of production which keeps raising our living standard higher and higher.

"TONY" GETS A BETTER LIFE

Take the case of Tony. Tony is a factory worker. He probably would be classed as one of the "underprivileged third." He was not skilled in hand or mind. His fingers were clumsy, and his eyes were bad. Tony was created equal politically, but endowed poorly by his Creator for life in a competitive industrial world.

Tony longed for a more abundant life. He tried charity, relief, and the WPA. Each gave him only a bare minimum existence. He then turned to industry. He could not read micrometers, nor understand blueprints. He was useful only as a sweeper at small wages. He yearned to be a well-paid machine operator like the boys around whose machines he swept the floor. The American competitive free enterprise system solved his problem.

Designers went to work to improve the tools of production. By means of gears, electrical controls and the application of modern developments the hand machine became fully automatic. The skill of hand and mind of the operator was literally transferred to the machine itself. There came a machine to supply the skill that Tony lacked. Now look at Tony!

He sits on a comfortable stool, in front of the new machine. He raises a lid; inserts a blank piece to be worked on, closes the lid, presses an electric button. The machine, automatically controlled, turns out, in half the time, a finished piece more accurate than the skilled mechanic used to make. Tony does not know what goes on inside that machine. He only knows that now he is producing wealth and, through his higher wage, sharing in it.

Tony is now more productive than was the skilled mechanic, and can have more of the good things of life. And the skilled mechanic is freed from the drudgery of the production job, and is employed in building more new machines that make possible more production by more Tonys.

The world is full of Tonys longing for better lives. No laws, edicts, social schemes, or reforms can give the Tonys more than a bare minimum of

(Continued on page 16)

* Mr. Crawford's article, taken from his speech delivered before the Economic Club of Detroit, February 15, and Mr. Greene's answer have been condensed for reasons of space.

—Ed.

AND THE COMMON MAN

Lancaster M. Greene

HAS the meaning as well as the wording changed in the banner of the National Association of Manufacturers? It used to be "free private enterprise." The slogan now stands, "free competitive enterprise." This modifying word is new and exciting, because there is a popular concept that the N.A.M. is the propaganda machine for those who believe in cartels and price fixing. The N.A.M. has been vocal in its opposition to cartels and monopolies for years, but the thought has persisted that the Association's definitions are often stretched with more than a little elasticity.

Mr. Crawford comes to grips with a principle, competition; and free competition is the principle on which he stands.

But competition has not, in our country, been free. Producers, capital and labor have been arrayed on the one side, and owners of the natural resources, a privileged group of non-producers, have buttressed the other side.

I hope to show Mr. Crawford that he is neglecting some of the factors of production in his thesis. If Mr. Crawford is willing to acknowledge that competition has been one-sided, that owners of natural opportunities collect ground rent without producing any *quid pro quo* then we may assume that he will advocate the cessation of this privilege. He says, "You've got to produce something before you have or can share," a statement on which most of the human race can agree.

Through the experience of Tony we are shown how inventions lighten drudgery, and are stimulated by the competition of other improvements in a field of manufacturing. He and I are in thorough agreement that through the lamp of knowledge, free competition can improve the worker's means of production, by harnessing muscles of iron, thus giving every laborer more sustenance, yes, and more holidays.

HERE IS TONY AGAIN

Let's follow Mr. Crawford's "Tony" through a longer span of time than did Mr. Crawford.

Tony, you remember, is a factory worker. Tony learned to operate an automatic machine, let us say, in 1928, and his contribution to production increased 400 per cent., while his wages went up 20 per cent. by 1929. But why did not his wages keep pace with his contribution to production? Well, there were other Tonys—after the stock market crash—who could not find jobs, so Tony

was forced to take less, and lived in the dread of losing his livelihood. In 1930, Tony made an improvement on his machine and received a cash bonus for it; his production leaped forward another 25 per cent., but with so many Tonys looking for a chance to work, he clung to his job despite the general pay-cuts.

In 1932, the plant closed, because many other workers were not producing; they had nothing to exchange for what Tony had been turning out. Between 10 and 12 million Tonys were looking for a chance to work, and wondering why there was nothing for them to work on. The few who found work had to take very low wages, or lose out to the now unemployed Tony who was desperate. Where was competition? It was not between labor and capital, for the Federal Reserve interest rate—the return to capital—was only one per cent., and wages were also low; but earlier, in 1929, the Federal Reserve interest rate was six per cent., and wages were comparatively high.

What was it that did not come down? We know Tony could not get any concession on his rent until June, 1932. His landlord first said Tony had savings, and should dig into them now that his wages had declined "temporarily." When the savings were gone the landlord evicted Tony. In June, 1932, landlords decided we were in a depression and agreed not only to wipe out past due rent, but also to cut the rate materially. Then an upward spiral started all over again. A manufacturer who could see a chance of making fair wages for himself, as manager, after paying rent on the site, interest on the machinery and the building, and wages for his help, hired the Tonys again. And again the rent has been going up—until now, with the war upon us, most cities have ceilings.

Had not the competition been a bit one-sided then, as stated above, between the Tonys and the manufacturers, on one side, and the owners of natural opportunities on the other? Who avoided concessions the longest? The landlord. And how did business happen to turn up in June, 1932, when rent concessions became general and sharp? Was it accident, or was it an important condition for the upturn?

Mr. Crawford makes it apparent that those who would raise wages should concern themselves with raising the productivity of each worker without lengthening hours and without imposing more onerous duties.

(Continued on page 18)

existence. Only by making the Tonys productive, can they enjoy a higher standard of living. Their hope lies in a free competitive enterprise. For it is the lash of competitive free enterprise that spurs new designs and better machines.

THE TRIANGLE OF BUSINESS

Let me see if I can't explain free competitive enterprise in simple language. Industry is an unusual triangle in that it has four, instead of only three elements:

Over here in this corner is really the most important of all, consumers. Let's call them Market. The American Market alone is 130 million people. Americans will always want more good things, and their cry will always be, as it has been, "Better things at cheaper prices."

Over in the second corner of the "Triangle of Life" is Capital. And, looking closely, we see that Capital is also 130—and the same 130—millions of Americans. Capital is anyone who has a life insurance policy, a bank account, an automobile or, indeed, a pair of shoes—for even a pair of shoes represents an investment of capital. Again the basic human demand—"How can I get the most for my investment?"

In the third corner of the triangle is Labor. And again, this element is the same 130 millions of Americans we found in the other corners. Labor's demand is for less work and more money.

Now, the fourth element in our unusual triangle is Management—in the middle as always. Successful is the Management which can reconcile the other three apparently irreconcilable forces.

But industry is not a poker game in which if one wins, another must lose. Industry is a device for the creation of wealth, a device by which all can share in the wealth produced. There are no classes in American industry. 130 million Americans are Market, Capital and Labor.

From 8 in the morning until 4 in the afternoon Tony is LABOR. He's conscious of it. He's mad at Capital, and mad at Market. He wonders why he doesn't get more money.

At 4 o'clock Tony goes home and goes shopping with Mrs. Tony. He forgets that during the day he was Labor. He's now Market. He's a tough buyer. "Why can't you sell this stuff cheaper?" he demands.

On the way home, Tony stops to make a deposit in the bank. Now he's Capital. Again, he's a tough guy. "What are you doing with my money? Why can't I get 4% instead of only 1%? Can't you run a bank any better than this?"

He forgets that he has been Labor, Market and Capital in the same day.

But there is a sort of glamour in talking about these matters in four syllable words, even though they may be more understandable when we use shop language. For the sake of the "experts," let me advance my own philosophic definition of free enterprise:

"Free enterprise is a *term* used to describe the freedom of the individual to assume *responsibility for production* upon his own initiative, spurred on by *competition* and restrained only by governmental *policing* in the general welfare, and stimulated by a free flow of capital."

Private enterprise was fathered by human experience, and mothered by the necessity to exchange goods and services in a complicated world. It grew up with mankind and reached its full flower here in America where the economic climate nurtured its chief characteristics—individual initiative, inventive genius, and investment capital.

Private enterprise is the common man's own choice. Freedom of enterprise is one of the oldest, if not indeed the oldest, of man's freedoms. Free enterprise is characterized as much by the worker's right to choose between employers and between occupations as it is by the manager's right to choose between the products he will make. Free enterprise cannot exist unless men are free, and when men are free we cannot avoid free enterprise.

COMPETITION ESSENTIAL TO FREE ENTERPRISE

Private enterprise lives only when every cross-current of the market place has full play, when competition fans the sparks of individual enterprise and initiative into the flame of achievement. Competition is the driving force that opens new markets, creates new products and produces goods in volume at prices so low that the humblest can share in the abundant life. That's the reason, too, why well-intentioned efforts toward social gain may do more harm than good. It may eliminate some competitive factor.

A curious paradox is that too frequently "monopoly" and "private enterprise" are linked in some minds. One is poison to the other! Monopoly is the *death* of private enterprise. Of course, there are some areas, such as telephones, electric light and certain other utilities, in which the public prefers a monopoly. In such cases, government regulation is not only appropriate, but is essential to the public interest.

Labor is rapidly finding out that it must either drop its monopolistic practices or subject itself to strict governmental regulation. Unless its eyes are closed to all the lessons of history, labor will move of its own initiative to divest itself of monopoly, for the alternative is an end to free trade-unionism. Organizations as well as products should be competitive. There is no law and should be none com-

pulling manufacturers to join the National Association of Manufacturers. There should be no law or regulation or order compelling workers to join a union or requiring them against their wills to remain members. Unions, like any other organization or element in a competitive economy, should exist only on their ability to serve their members. They should so serve their members that workers would clamor to join, instead of being whipped into line by government rulings or coercive union practices. The National Association of Manufacturers has been opposed to the use of illegal cartels. It is also opposed to patent license agreements, domestic or international, which have the effect of killing competition. The Association has made recommendations for legislation requiring the public registration of international patent agreements and cartels.

REHABILITATION — A JOB FOR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Suppose we take a look at how we hope it to operate successfully in a post-war world. America,

with all of its fund of wealth, and the greatest productive machine in the world, cannot *give* every Hottentot a quart of milk a day in perpetuity. We cannot give our Hottentot a quart of milk, let alone a ready-made Utopia, as a form of permanent international charity.

What must be done is to show the Hottentot that if he will exert himself a little, and collect a few more coconuts than he normally does, he can sell them for a plow. With his plow he can scratch the soil and cultivate a farm. With the proceeds from the farm he can buy a cow. Then he can strip old Bossy of her health-giving milk twice a day, and get his own gallon of milk, and perhaps even more that he can sell to less enterprising Hottentots, and free competitive enterprise will make plows in such quantities and so cheaply that the Hottentot can buy them.

This is the essence of the answer to the post-war problems. We must plan a permanent peace in which a sound economy can thus function. It is the prime obligation of American business man-

BARONET GIVES LANDS TO NATION

Sir Richard Acland, 36-year-old British aristocrat, made a gift to his nation of a fortune valued at one million dollars, including 12,000 acres of fertile farmlands in Devon and Somerset.

Asked for the reason behind his gift, Sir Richard said that "on Christian and political grounds, I am sure that Britain has reached the stage in which private ownership of substantial resources like landed estates, railways, banks, mines, and big factories is frustrating the economic and moral development of the country."

The Aclands got their title fighting for Charles I against Oliver Cromwell in 1643.

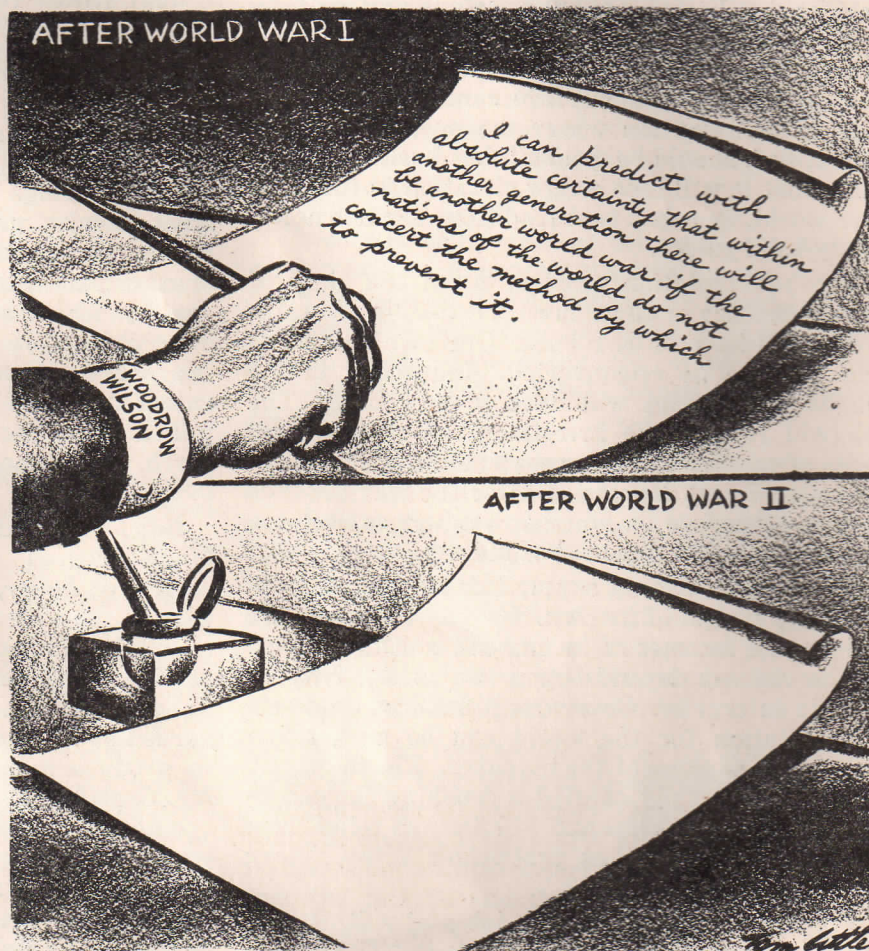
"Those reactionary ancestors of mine," he exclaimed angrily in describing them. One of these ancestors was a redcoat colonel who was in action between Generals John Burgoyne and Charles Gates on the Hudson River during the American Revolution.

"As long as I am owner of the estates and drawing income from them, the right thing never will be done," he said.

"I am the ninth successive head of my family to sit in Parliament and as long as there is free speech I am committed to politics." He added. "My political work condemns me as an absentee landlord and that is bad, no matter how you look at it."

Last July Acland resigned from the Liberal Party and founded the Commonwealth Group, now running candidates in the parliamentary by-elections on a platform of public ownership of vital resources. The Commonwealth Group's slogan is "unlimited guts for unlimited morality."

—Courtesy of the *Chicago Sun*.



Cartoon by Tom Little, Courtesy, Nashville Tennessean and The American City

agement to see that American free enterprise functions to the utmost in a world made safe for peace.

Management is ready and anxious to join with government and other groups to produce a blue print of progress, instead of a confusing welter of many plans. With vast pent-up domestic demands, new world markets, astounding new research developments, the engineering progress of the war period as a basis for the enterprise system to function, the outlook is not drab but glowing, not discouraging but inspiring to the best efforts.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

One of those efforts of management is to become more international-trade-minded. This requires careful re-inspection of our whole attitude towards world trade.

We must recognize that complete self-sufficiency is not a sound ideal, even though the protective tariff will remain a valid device to insure America the industries which, for strategic or other reasons, should be maintained within our boundaries.

If we want a market in China, Russia, India and other nations for the goods we can produce the best, obviously we must not bar those nations from our own market. If we're going to fight as a world nation, we must trade like one, as well. Diplomatic peace and economic warfare cannot live side by side. The transition where the protection seems unjustified, should be gradual, but business recognizes that it will face a new situation in the post-war world, and that past traditions are not necessarily valid guides.

Our rehabilitation problem is not one alone of sheer efficiency or sheer inventive genius. A whole world will have to be rebuilt. Our own industries will have to be re-converted. Industries in the war-torn countries will have to be rebuilt. The job will require the investment of astronomical sums of capital. Whether we shall have real prosperity or a real depression after the war depends in great measure on whether venture capital can be encouraged to come out of hiding.

Government cannot supply this missing capital. It has no capital of its own. Its only resources are the taxable incomes of its citizens, and the income of the citizens depends upon the productivity of private enterprise. Government financed economic rehabilitation for the world can be undertaken only at the expense of the taxpayer. The taxpayer, who has cheerfully carried a crushing burden to insure victory, expects and will demand relief from that burden as soon as practicable after victory has been achieved.

Private capital can do the job and will, if permitted. As *Fortune* magazine puts it, "The daring individual, the risk-taking entrepreneur, should

therefore become the darling of America's future economy." But private capital's ability to assume the responsibility depends on the encouragement given by government to private investment. Many policies in effect not only in the war period, but in the years preceding the war will have to be drastically modified or abandoned.

If this country is going anywhere, government, industry, labor, farmer, all with a confidence in each other and the nation's future, must move together. Vice President Wallace has the right idea when he says that in a successful postwar period "individual initiative and enterprise and government responsibility for general welfare will continue to pull in double harness for a better life for all the people."

Mr. Wallace can make tremendous contribution toward the accomplishment of that goal if, in the near future, he will reassure America that the "initiative and enterprise" of which he speaks are the same initiative and enterprise which I have tried to outline.

Greene (Continued from page 15)

RETURNING TO THE TRIANGLE OF BUSINESS

Mr. Crawford describes "The Triangle of Business" as four-cornered: Workers or Labor, Investors or Capital, Markets or Consumers, each assuming positions on the tips, and Management in the center inspiring them. He shows how Management brings Labor and Capital together to create wealth, and asserts that industry or trade is not like a poker game in which if one wins, another must lose. "Industry," he says, "is a device by which all can share in the wealth produced," and we assume this to mean that each can share according to his production. To the extent that each has not received the fruits of his toil each has been slowed down, and has failed to reach his highest potentialities, materially and morally.

But let's get down to bedrock, and analyze the "four-cornered" triangle. Management is merely a form of *Labor*, and Market is another term for *Wages*, the avenue of distribution to Labor's hand or mind. In Markets he seems to include that part of the wealth returnable to Capital as well as to Labor. This is sound logic if Capital is to be regarded as all wealth or labor products being used to produce more wealth. Apparently, however, Mr. Crawford does not differentiate between land (or natural opportunities) and labor products (or wealth). Perhaps Mr. Crawford has not broken down in his own mind the factors in the production of wealth to the degree that economic principles demand. His Labor, the active factor, must work upon a comparatively passive factor, Land or all

natural resources outside of man and his products. On the distribution side of the ledger Mr. Crawford would then have Rent, the difference between what Labor would pay for one site compared with the best site available free. Using a book-keeping system more simple than the accountants employed in his own company, Mr. Crawford has this picture before him:

Source		Distribution
Land	} Product	Rent
Labor		Wages
Capital		Interest

If Mr. Crawford combines Labor and Capital (his Investors) he would then discover Wages and Interest in the process of exchange to be his Markets!

THERE IS STILL AN ENIGMA

Why are there ever hard times that afflict great masses of men, unless competition has not been free? We wonder how there can be wars in Mr. Crawford's world, but he is engrossed in describing material progress, and fails to mention the enigma of civilization. He does not tell us why, in the face of such progress as he describes, we have increasingly intense depressions, more destructive wars—terrible dilemmas for Tony.

We want to know why the tramp increases with the airplane, why relief and full prisons and mental hospitals are as surely the marks of material progress as are beautiful factories, fine homes and magnificent churches. Mr. Crawford may have wondered, but he is going to strive for "free competitive enterprise," and hope there won't be hard times.

This has been the hope of business men for over a century. Nevertheless, the material progress now accompanying the war will be followed by another world-wide period of distress as occurred after World War I. Mr. Crawford and the N.A.M. would do well to find out what interferes with "free competitive enterprise," and makes such destructive periods possible. If the N.A.M. convicts the "system" which permits the private collection of ground rent, and the system of taxing based on man's productive ability, then, with its prestige, the N.A.M. might make clear to the average American the solution to poverty, a solution, which at the same time can provide revenue for services rendered by government. The Association can also help people to decide whether the price of opportunity, or ground rent, is properly the property of society, that is, all of us.

WHY NOT FREE TRADE

When it comes to extending the benefits of free competition beyond the national borders, Mr. Crawford steps gingerly. It would be news for the N.A.M. to advocate free trade, or *nearly* free trade, for its policy has heretofore paralleled that of the American Tariff League. Mr. Crawford is for enough restriction of international competition to "insure America the industries which, for strategic or other reasons, should be maintained within our own boundaries."

He does cautiously approach lesser restrictions saying, "If we want a market in China, Russia, India and other nations for the goods we can produce the best, obviously we must not bar those nations from our markets."

This circumspect global extension of the competitive principle is insufficient, however. If manufacturers of cheap combs in America met the competition of Jap combs, other manufacturers can successfully do likewise. The American comb industry took up injection molding, paid higher wages, and cut its costs to around 3c a comb delivered to the dime stores. The Japs never caught up.

The low-priced bulbs from Japan taught our companies to produce more cheaply, deliver superior values at lower prices, with higher-priced American labor.

Those who are afraid of competition with low wage countries, are afraid it would bring a leveling down process in wages, because it would bring a leveling down of prices. *The issue is whether high prices mean more goods for more people, or whether low prices will bring this happier condition.*

The philosophy of free competitive enterprise, nationally and internationally, is so appealing to me that I venture to quote the German philosopher Leibnitz, who 200 years ago said, "Without philosophy we cannot get to the bottom of a problem in mathematics. Without mathematics we cannot get to the bottom of a problem in philosophy. Without mathematics and philosophy we cannot get to the bottom of any problem."

If Mr. Crawford would master the simple arithmetic of the Law of Rent discovered by Ricardo, and promulgated by Henry George, I believe he would find veins of pure gold, hitherto unsuspected, in the Science of Economics. I can well imagine that the N.A.M. and the labor unions would actually discover themselves more than the superficial partners they are today. They would be harmonious and acting partners!

Preparation for World Change

By Herbert T. Good



HUMAN life, individual and collective, is a succession of compromises. Democracy furnishes the mechanics for orderly compromise which need not be feared as long as the principle of democracy is itself not compromised out of existence. Ideals cannot successfully be superimposed on a society, but must result from the social development of the people.

An *ideology* is a desired condition evolving from speculative thinking, usually based on an accepted concept of justice, whereas a *movement* is the continual activity exerted towards the achievement of an ideology.

In these days of greater social consciousness, many movements have presented themselves to the confused masses. Each is distinguished from all others by some purpose peculiar to itself, but for the most part they all claim the same basic goal—the improvement of the condition of all mankind. Fascism and Communism and Socialism are at the *same time* ideology, movement and political body. Democracy makes no promises. It is not ideology nor movement, but the political means for carrying out the will of its citizens.

Ironically, we are at war against Nazism and Fascism, and have had to make an ally of the Soviet, whose philosophy is feared by many. None of these dictator philosophies can be destroyed by destroying the societies which embrace them. It is the way of democracy to compete, not destroy. Democracy is challenged, and if it is not intelligent enough to meet it, democracy will fall. Unfortunately, most people think, not in terms of an ideal future, but from the urgency of the moment. It seems probable that the majority demand is for a social security plan to relieve them from fear of want. No better way is clear to them. Neither is it understood that their trivial payroll deductions will not begin to meet the tremendous cost, and that they themselves will meet the balance

through concealed taxes, the amount of which they will never know. However, if the people want it, in this democracy, they will have it.

In 1933, the citizens of the United States denounced existent conditions by a repudiation of the incumbent political party. They were ignorant of, and indifferent to, the causes of their dilemma, but by their mandate a new concept of the functions and duties of government was born, and that concept will remain until the gradual attainment of a free market economy increases the self-sufficiency of the individual, and proportionately decreases the responsibility of government.

The highest human ideal conceivable is a world in which no nation, state or individual seeks to profit at the expense of another, and where all have equal opportunity to use the resources of nature. Sixty years ago Henry George presented to the world a purposeful study in his book "Progress and Poverty." Pointing to the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty, this champion of justice conceived a world which would be free from economic bondage.

George is today the internationally recognized authority on the economics of land. On the premise that all production of wealth originates with the land, he contended that monopoly in land and its resources stifled all opportunity, economic, social and political, and gave rise to other forms of monopoly. He showed that monopoly is the greatest enemy to the democratic process, and further that Socialism, Fascism and Communism are merely publically known all-absorbing—but beneficent looking—monopolies. George proposed his philosophy of a free market economy, the diametric opposite of monopoly, which he contended would in itself elevate human relationships to one of equity and amity.

The Henry George Schools throughout the coun-

try as well as many colleges and universities have brought thousands of people to an acceptance of his ideology and an understanding of his corrective proposals.

The problem now at hand is to broaden the public understanding of this ideology, and carry it into reality. The movement must accept the conditions at hand; it must recognize that people are afraid of change, and that its task is one of leading all kinds of people with varying viewpoints and experiences and ideals. The demands

of people are factors which must be respected, right or wrong, and which cannot be changed either by ignoring or ridiculing them. People must be worked with—not against, and each segment of the transitional bridge must have the support of the people, or will fall.

Taking evident existent evils as a basis for the movement towards a free market economy in all its aspects, I offer this concept of effective and expedient Transitional Aims as segments of the bridge to an ideal society, in the following chart:

WORLD PROBLEMS IN PERSPECTIVE (READ ACROSS THE PAGE)

PRESENT CONDITIONS	INTELLIGENT TRANSITION	ULTIMATE AIMS
International power politics and World War II.	World Federation, patrolled by an International Quota Force, having no jurisdiction over national internal affairs.	World democracy with an international Bill of Rights.
Tariffs, franchises, patents, special privilege and monopolies, including monopoly of natural resources.	Reciprocal trade agreements, patent law revision, anti-trust enforcement.	A Free Market Economy.
Anti-social lobbies and political pressure groups.	Education of the people in their functions, rights and responsibilities in democracy.	True representation through Initiative, Referendum, and Proportional Representation.
Tax policy which discourages private enterprise and curtails production and consumption.	Abolition of hidden taxes; adoption of taxes based on benefits received and ability to pay.	Elimination of taxes; restriction of government revenue to the collection of socially created annual lease-value of land.
Indifferent and haphazard development of communities and highways caused by land speculation.	Restriction of the use of land in accordance with the recommendations of county and other authorized Planning Boards.	Achievement of the best social usage of land.

The author welcomes criticism and suggestions.

(Continued from page 7)

Now I take you to the mansion erected about 1857, where the Wendels lived and died, 452 Fifth Avenue, northwest corner of 39th Street. Up to the day Ella Wendel died there were no electric lights, or any of the modern conveniences. In fact, the bathtubs were put in years after the building was erected. Here John G. Wendel II reigned supreme, and his word was law. None of the opposite sex was permitted to see his sisters. However, Mr. L. A. Swope married one of them. Another sister ran away when she was close to 50 years old, and upon her return, John G. barred her entrance. Her threats to bring him to court frightened him and he was forced to give her shelter. Two other sisters died in an insane asylum.

A couple of my acquaintances, seeing the possibilities of 452 Fifth Avenue, the northwest corner of 39th Street and Fifth Avenue, as a business location, called on the married sister, Mrs. Swope, and offered \$1,000,000 cash for a leasehold of 21

years on a lot about 54 by 100 feet. A \$2,000,000 building would be erected on that part of the premises which was the carriage way. The annual taxes on the land and building would be paid to the city by the lessee. If after 21 years the lease was not renewed, the building would then belong to the Wendels.

Mrs. Swope thought the proposition was reasonable, and submitted it to her sister, Ella. Ella replied: "How dare you consider such a proposition! We need that spot for our dog, TOBY to play on."*

In this tale of psychopathy, society was denied a total of \$17,500,000 of production—useful and beautiful new buildings, which would have provided work for people all over the world; denied because we failed to observe the principles of justice and equity.

* Toby's play-yard is now the site of the modern Kress ten cent store.—ED.

Civic Agencies of Freedom

By Helen Bernstein

Men of good will all over the world have been shocked by the harsh impact of totalitarianism, and catastrophic consequences to democratic society. Many renowned figures in the international world have been taking stock of anti-social aims of various divisions of mankind. Hundreds of thousands have banded together into aggressive units to further the interests, present and post-war, of the United Nations. These groups have set up research departments, and the result of these findings has created a re-articulation of the elementary precepts of democracy. An attempt is also made to apply these precepts to the concrete exigencies of the day. It has also resulted in the organizational union of militant democrats, who, regardless of their differences of viewpoint on many subjects, have joined forces to meet the challenge from the depths.

These new organizations, as well as the older groups which continue to fight their good fight against social and economic evils, are functioning as the conscience of present-day America. *Their programs and activities should be familiar to all Georgeists.*

The Council for Democracy, 11 W. 42nd Street, New York, is devoted broadly to the aims of a swift military victory, preservation of democracy internally; its extension to international relations; and an intelligent solution of post-war economic problems. The Council commands particular respect for the efficiency and reasonableness with which it approaches practical problems. The Council combats the propaganda of the Axis, and its native champions, by intelligent exploitation of press and radio resources, and its pamphlets on this subject are vigorous, well-written and authoritative.

It has compiled considerable information dealing with domestic problems such as man-power, labor-management relations, the integration of Negroes into industry, and alien reclassification. These facts and figures have been gathered at meetings with representatives of labor, industry and government, and have been used to influence national policies and legislation with some success. At the same time, the Council has attempted to

encourage such meetings as a basis for frank discussion between differing groups in the interest of greater mutual understanding and compromise.

As regards post-war problems, the Council is in the process of making careful inquiry into means by which the continuation of private enterprise can be assured, while also providing for the absorption of war workers and soldiers into peaceful economic activity. The results of such research, now conducted by a committee of men prominent in business and labor groups, should arouse national interest.

Freedom House, 32 East 51st Street, New York, seeks to awaken America to a sense of responsibility as well as a sense of indignation, by constantly exposing in press and radio the relentless barrage of propaganda with which the Axis implements its military machine. Typical of the technique of Freedom House is the clever radio program, "Our Secret Weapon," conducted by Rex Stout, which is devoted to the dissection of official Axis statements. This organization might be regarded as fairly representative of liberal-intellectual American opinion.

Friends of Democracy, 103 Park Avenue, New York, has done yeoman's work in the campaign against domestic and anti-democratic propaganda since the early thirties. It has helped to turn the prison key on many notorious domestic Fascists and unregistered Axis agents, and has pointed the finger at others still at liberty. Its lively publicity has, moreover, caused deserved embarrassment and considerable retrenchment by some respectable public figures, who have quietly attempted for many years to corrupt American public opinion, and have continued heretofore unmolested. This organization's work is somewhat colored by ideological opinion to the left.

The Cooperative League of the United States, 167 West 12th Street, New York, sponsors a vast program of education by pamphlets, books, motion pictures and radio on the techniques of organizing cooperative enterprises. Its member retailers and wholesalers have shown greatest growth in small communities in the West, because Scan-

dinavian emigres have brought resources of leadership to our farming areas. Geared for a vast program of post-war rehabilitation in countries over-run by our enemies, the Cooperative League has won wide recognition for its social service along "The Middle Way."

The Citizens' Housing Council, 470 4th Avenue, New York, is a non-partisan organization active for over five years in the cause of improved housing standards for New York City through city planning. Through its wide research in the fields of taxation, zoning, city planning, and land tenure, it has aroused constructive social legislation. The Council has frequently been in a position to aid public and private organizations dealing with housing and city planning. At the present time, the Council is studying the special problems affecting New York City during wartime, such as civilian protection, rent-control, wartime housing and community facilities for meeting the rise in juvenile delinquency. At the same time, it is anticipating post-war problems and forming policies with a view to post-war rehousing and city planning. The Citizens' Housing Council was one of the joint sponsors of the civic meeting held in February, when Hon. Walter Nash, Minister from New Zealand, spoke on land value taxation.

The Federal Council of Churches, 297 4th Avenue, New York, summarizes its social position in the following paragraph:

"It is the church's business to keep alive in the hearts of men a sense of the reality of God, to point out the moral and religious principles which must control all of human life, both individual and social, and to insist that every institution, every economic and political system, and every human relationship be tested, measured and judged by the standards of Christ."

The Council's social action department participates both locally through its representative churches, and nationally, with groups engaged as follows: consumer cooperation, slum clearance, interracial groups, labor unions.

The Power to Keep Alive

By J. Rupert Mason

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL, commonly referred to as the author of the slogan, "The power to tax is the power to destroy," did not say that, but he did say, speaking for the Supreme Court of the United States:

"The power to tax is the one great power on which the whole fabric is based. It is not only the power to destroy, but also THE POWER TO KEEP ALIVE."

It is unfortunate the honorable judge did not make more plain whether he meant it is the power to keep the citizen alive, or his government. Possibly, he meant it is the power to keep "equality of opportunity" alive. Had he lived to read "Progress and Poverty," he could have had no doubt that it is such a power.

Another important decision of the Supreme Court written by Chief Justice Marshall is *Provident Bank v Billings*, 4 Pet. 514,560. In this decision we find the following revealing language:

"Land, for example, has in many, perhaps all, of the States been granted by the government since the adoption of the Constitution. This grant is a contract, the object of which is that the profits issuing from it shall inure to the grantee. Yet the power of taxation may be carried so far as to absorb these profits. Does this impair the obligation of contracts? The idea is rejected by all."

The power of a State to require the holders of title to land to pay rent to the State, when called for under the State's taxing power, is unlimited and inexhaustible, except as the Constitution of the State may have been amended to restrict the State in the exercise of its inherent power in that regard. (See *State v Aiken*, 284 N.W.63.) In other words, the inherent right of a State to collect the rental value of any and all land standing in the name of private interests, is implicit in every title deed to land. *Davy v Ostergard*, 21Atl. (2)586.

Too often, some of us are prone to speak of the holders of a title deed to land as the "owners of private property." The title deed itself is unquestionably "private property," but the rights, privileges and duties to which the holder is lawfully subject, are perhaps not so well understood by some as they should be.

The State has absolute authority to demand surrender of the rights in a title deed for the non-payment of taxes. The cases so holding by both the State and Federal Courts are too numerous and uniform to call for any citations.

Between the crash in 1929 and Dec. 7, 1941, the

slump had resulted in a vast new frontier of urban, rural, timber and mineral lands revesting in the States or their local units of government, such as counties, cities and districts, for unpaid ad-valorem taxes. As long as the States could get funds from Congress, most of them were able to, and did enact tax-sale moratoriums that postponed the necessity for the States to enforce the collection of such taxes by cancelling the title deed to such lands. But, most if not all the States are now beginning to bear down on the people who have long confessed they were "land poor," and even Florida and California have not renewed such moratoriums.

Approximately 80% of the county, city and local government bonds in Florida went into default because the over-extended speculators in land were caught in the 1929 slump, and the crop of "land buyers" never ripened again, as it had in the earlier 1920's. Hence, the land speculators simply did not have the cash reserves to pay even the nominal taxes which the law required them to pay, and the counties, cities and other local units of government did not collect the taxes necessary to meet the payments of principal or interest on the bonds they had issued, when they fell due. Many of the local governments in Florida and other States made little effort to fulfill the duties imposed upon them by State law, in their desire to "save" the land speculators, some of whom wielded great influence both locally and at Washington.

Few States have formulated and adopted any definite policy with regard to the disposition of the many millions of acres of tax revested land. Arkansas, Michigan and Wisconsin have perhaps the best laws to cope with the problem. Under them the State or local governments are given full authority to lease, manage or sell such land, but only after it has been duly "classified" by a State Land Authority.

The recent "Uthwatt" Report from England contains a pungent provision, which might well be worthy of our urging every State to enact into law, here. This "Uthwatt" Report provides in Chap. 147:

"We recommend, therefore, that once any interest in land has passed into public ownership it should be disposed of by way of lease only and not by way of sale, and that the authority should have the power to impose such covenants in the lease as planning requirements make desirable, breach of such covenants to be enforceable by re-entry."

Reform and the Ballot Box

By Catharine Klock



“CONGRESS VOTE ON TRADE PACTS CRUCIAL.” Many newspapers today carry headlines such as this in reporting the efforts of different liberal groups to arouse the people of the United States to the importance of the coming Congressional debate on the renewal of American trade agreements. If Congress should refuse to renew these treaties, there will be little hope in other countries that the United States is seriously concerned with a lasting world peace.

We Georgeists know that the slow process of education is the only effective way of bringing about economic and social reforms, but today we are faced with an immediate economic danger of trade treaties and foreign policies which calls for quick action. Fortunately, we are not alone in our awareness of the present situation, and among liberal groups with which Georgeists might very well cooperate at this time is the League of Women Voters.

The League was founded about twenty years ago as an “unpartisan organization to promote responsible participation of women in government.”

Statesmen, political scientists, experts in civic administration, civil service commissioners and business executives, have given their encomiums for the work done by the League of Women Voters, but that is still not necessarily a criterion of value; it must be measured in its services, technique, and its approach to the issues of what a workable democracy achieves through the ballot box.

The League is contributing toward the functioning of democratic government because it considers before choosing action; makes its preparation, and then organizes in local communities to focus its membership upon the chosen action.

The important question to the League is whether it intends to be what it appears to its contemporaries; how to capitalize on its failures for later successes.

Miss Marguerite M. Wells, president of the National League, has said:

“After the war to make the world safe for democracy, people in America became acutely

conscious of defects in the functioning of American democracy. The fact that less than half the electorate voted in the majority of elections was somewhat superficially pointed out as the very essence of democracy’s failure. People jumped to the conclusion that if a large fraction of voters could be shamed, scolded, cajoled, or ballyhooped to the polls, the defects would be removed. The League jumped with the rest. It led the rest in its campaigns to get out the vote which became a feature of League activity everywhere, and those who were too young to remember them should be told that no bigger and better campaigns were ever conducted. But the vote was not materially increased.

“The League learned that the slacker vote was not a disease but a symptom. The disease was more obscure. It lay deep in American political life, its traditions and habits, even in the organization of its governmental system. There existed no sovereign magic cure such as an increased vote. The League never tried again to find one. It began to recognize that American people needed to be made acquainted with political affairs, to learn their dependence on them and how to deal with them effectively.”

The League early found that it was giving itself too big a program, and retrenched to an emphasis on a few basic issues with which it became thoroughly familiar. It is easy for the League to find its efforts diverted from its main purpose, and it has to constantly put a check rein on its activities, particularly in its aim not to become just another pressure group. The League desires basically to restore the habit of direct citizen participation in government—without the same object of the typical pressure group.

Fair play in all its activities is a symbol the League must constantly hold before itself. People of all political representations must be given their due consideration, and a reciprocal respect must be felt at all times.

The educational method has been their method of bringing about this individual responsibility. The League’s credo is “A default by Leadership is no more nor less than a default by the people

themselves." There is very little in their basic ideal with which Georgeists could quarrel, and there is much in their achievements which we must admire.

Speaking also as a member of the League, we are desperately concerned in awakening our members to the dangers of isolation and trade barriers. This, definitely, is of great concern to us and calls for all out cooperation. The broadsides and the literature on this subject are available, and can be distributed by any one without fear of political taint.

One particularly good questionnaire on "Am I an Isolationist?", would surely help to clarify this term for the average person. There are ten questions to which is required nothing less than a 100% grade to excuse one from this damning cognomen. Two questions will illustrate our stand: "We are fighting this war for only one reason—because Japan attacked us. Yes or no?" and "We are carrying 'friendliness' too far when we allow other countries to sell goods in the United States in competition with our own. Yes or no?" And the League's answer like the Georgeist, is, "No."

A broadside entitled "Isolationism Again" warns against the growing reactionary desire to return to "normalcy" just as we did in 1919. "If we are to escape this fate we must beware of Congressmen speaking soft words about America's responsibility after the war, while at the same time condemning every step toward international good feeling." The League gives several slants on what to observe in one's Congressman on this score. The League believes that any Congressional action that violates the principles of postwar planning for free access to raw material, and removal of excessive trade barriers, will definitely shake the confidence of the United Nations in our good intentions. "United States' policies cannot be divorced from the problem of world peace and, good or bad, whatever is done now will be the foundation on which we must build later. The issue will be confused by the old arguments about protecting the American Market and Standard of Living." Surely, these quotations from our educational material parallel those realists who want a world-wide free economy.

Another subject of current mutual interest to both the League and Georgeists is the bill introduced recently by Senator McKellar of Tennessee proposing "the most brazen patronage raid since the Civil Service act was passed sixty years ago." The League is definitely alert to the dangers of distracting Congress from its principal function of making laws at this time. As everyone knows this bill would be a rich addition to the political gravy bowl, and would cause an excess of Civil Service as well as patronage. The League is lay-

ing great stress on this among its members, and Georgeists would gain much by cooperating with the League.

The function of this organization is to simplify political problems to such a degree that it becomes possible to educate great numbers of people who will not or cannot take time to read and study by themselves. It would seem that, with the League's idealistic ambitions coupled with economic Georgeist knowledge, the two movements could work together toward a better world. Undoubtedly, greater progress could be attained by Georgeists cooperating with not only the League of Women Voters, but with other socially aware groups.

Imperial Sugar

A SOLDIER stationed in Puerto Rico writes: "Food is scarce outside the army. The people live mostly on rice and beans. But the rice is gone and beans are scarce. So they are living on cornmeal. Eggs, meat, butter, most other foods are not to be had on the outside. When food does come in, it is too high to buy."

This substantiates newspaper reports that the islanders are on the verge of starvation. It is a slap in the face of every American who continues stupidly enough to believe that a paternal government can do for him better than he can for himself.

The problem is not peculiar to Puerto Rico. U-boats sharpened the crisis, but did not make it. It reflects the growing want of the many in a world amazing for its increasing abundance.

Sugar dictates to Puerto Ricans. Sugar owns the fields. Sugar turns a deaf ear to the needs of the tillers, the reapers, the mill hands, the stevedores. Sugar claims for itself American backing, American skill and brains.

Sugar is imperious, self-willed. Sympathy? It offers not even a shred for the workers who raise Sugar to eminence. Sugar is cruel, rapacious.

Not a pretty picture, eh? A lush land, rich in its possibilities. A patient people, half slave, half free. Free now to starve. For the ships that carried the sugar now carry soldiers or lie riddled hulks at the bottom of the sea. Sugar for the nonce is unthroned. But still Sugar holds the fields—holds the land out of use!

Looming before the islanders is the spectre of Death By Starvation. Starvation! Say! have you seen the pictures, the bodies racked and twisted, all skin and bone, sights that leave you trembling, sick, mad clear through?

That's for Puerto Ricans. Our more than neighbors, our brothers, our fellow Americans.

Patriot, what will you and I do to help this tragic people? Shirk it? Or do we fight.

CLAYTON BAUER.

Unionism and Communism

By FRANZ OPPENHEIMER

Two essays on Marxism, Utopian Socialism and American Trades Union Policy;

1—Communism and the World Crisis;

2—Wages and Trades Unions. 92 pp.

Paper \$1.00

Send orders to

ROBERT SCHALKENBACH FOUNDATION, INC.
32 East 29th Street, New York

(Continued from page 13)

"But I will not decide until I have consulted with my wife," he told his counselors.

Better even than the four doctors, she knew the tragic risk entailed; however—"You should do your duty at whatever cost," she answered.

And months after his death she wrote:

"He was my companion and teacher for thirty-six years and I wonder how to live without him. I try to find comfort and do, in the fact that I was useful to him."

To be useful to one who is serving a just Cause, is a great thing to be. Just *how* useful Annie Cor-sina George was, she never realized. But to one who knows their story well, comes the belief that had it not been for the unfailing faith and the deep understanding of his wife, Henry George, genius though he was, could not have achieved all he did.

Oh, bitter "Georgeist widow"—if down the years, as we have known you; if you had loaned your man, with better grace to what he believed to be his spiritual responsibility; if you had added your strength to his, in pointing the cause and cure of war—would history have written this bloody page?

But that page is now in the turning!

Take heart! Here is your chance to carry on: to find God's way—that it may be on earth as it is in Heaven.

For there's Peace to be written!

Impressions from

By Alexander Boardman

This publication has many contemporaries in the international arena of economic truth. The typically busy person is unable to subscribe to few or all of them, and to give our readers a bird's-eye view of some significant paragraphs we asked Mr. Boardman to review recent issues. This was a herculean task, and we are glad to express our sincere appreciation for his preparation of the following.—Ed.

CAUSE AND EFFECT of Chicago, Illinois, writing on those who fear unemployment when our soldiers return from the war, says, "We haven't run out of land; the same land that provided employment for the Pilgrims is still here, and will be when the soldiers return. Who found employment for America's most noted party of immigrants—the Pilgrims—when they landed on the bleak and barren shores of Massachusetts Bay? No one! Endless employment awaited every mother's son of them the instant they stepped from the deck of the *Mayflower* to the land of their adoption. What was the source of their employment? Good old Mother Earth!"

The Oklahoma Union Farmer of Oklahoma City applauds the National Resources Planning Board for Section 5 of its "Bill of Rights" that says, "the right to live in a system of free enterprise, free from compulsory labor, irresponsible private power, arbitrary public authority, and unregulated monopolies," is the right of the people. It calls the N.R.P.B.'s statement "the most civilized document that has come from any public body since our government was founded."

The Square Deal of Toronto compares the per capita wealth of the four western provinces that tax the site-value of land with the maritime provinces. "At Confederation, the maritimes were the richest section of the Dominion; the western provinces possessed little beyond bare necessities. Fifty-five years later, in 1926, the rude frontier settlements had developed into the four richest settlements in the Dominion. The poorest of them excelled the richest of the maritimes by \$1,180 per capita."

People's Lobby Bulletin, Washington, D. C., reports, "Property interests in agriculture take the same attitude as the steel and aluminum industries toward expanded production! They are fighting against expansion by small farmers, hoping to drive them off the land, in order to have a cheap labor supply available."

The Standard, Sydney, Australia, tells a story about the city of Griffith: "Lands in the main street, Bauna Avenue, were not sold originally,

Our Contemporaries Throughout the World

but leased at rentals said to vary from 5 pounds per block to 15 pounds. A Special Land Board heard evidence regarding the value of these lands with a view to revising the rents, which are for the land, irrespective of improvements. The new rents vary from 40 pounds, 1 shilling, to 344 pounds. Most of those quoted are now over 100 pounds. The values per foot frontage vary from 26 pounds, 14 shillings, to 125 pounds. These facts give very clear evidence of the remarkable progress made at Griffith, one of the chief centers of the Murrumbidgee Irrigation settlements. It shows how the public interest is to some extent protected by perpetual leases of town lots, instead of selling them for nominal sums."

Land and Liberty, London, devotes considerable space to the report of the Committee on Land Utilization in Rural Areas to the Minister of Works and Planning. The Committee refers to farming in the neighborhood of urban centers being poor, because agriculture was regarded as an interim use, pending sale for development. "In other cases the land was not farmed at all; the speculative buyers allowing it to lie idle until the market was considered suitable for sale. This is why so much derelict land was to be found on the borders of built-up areas. The threat of the builder overshadowed and sterilized it."

The People's Advocate, Adelaide, Australia, looks afield and notes, "Lord Londonderry said in the House of Lords, 'I claim that the coal industry is the best managed industry in the country.' So well managed that, as disclosed to the Coal Industry Commission in 1919, Lord Londonderry was receiving 14,684 pounds a year in royalties. So well managed that he and his brother landowners are now being paid a capital sum of 66,450,000 pounds out of the public purse to buy out the royalties on the coal which they never put there. He can afford to bestow his praises on all by whose skill and industry the industry has borne fruit, so much of which has fallen to those partners 'who grow rich in their sleep'."

Fairhope, Oklahoma, was founded on the belief that the economics of Henry George were practicable. It is a corporation that leases sites and makes rents the only local tax. **The Fairhope Courier**, a weekly, gives the treasurer's statement for 1942. It shows rent receipts of \$38,433 out of a total income of \$42,773. After all charges were met the corporation had \$6,141 to invest, mainly in U. S. Government bonds.

The Forum, Stockton, California, analyzes a \$5,000 state salary, and finds it is paid in the following way:

Sales tax, use tax, and permits.....	28%
Motor vehicles and fuel levies.....	27
Bank and corporation taxes and franchises	10
Personal income tax.....	9
Alcoholic beverage revenue.....	5
Gouged out of buyers of insurance....	2
Gouged out of inheritances.....	2
Other gouges, fees, fines, etc.....	17
Levies on land titles.....	0
	<hr/> 100%

The Porcupine, Manchester, England, commenting on Sir William Beveridge's statement, says that the maintenance of employment is the most urgent, important, and difficult of reconstruction problems. "Employment needs neither maintenance nor any other treatment. It is not a human institution, but a natural human function, like breathing, and the only condition necessary to abolish involuntary unemployment is freedom of access to Mother Earth."

The Advocate, a Catholic review of the week (of Melbourne, Australia), publishes a letter written it by a devout Catholic, Hon. P. J. O'Regan, Justice in the Compensation Court, Wellington, New Zealand. Judge O'Regan takes to task the indifference, and sometimes opposition of the clergy to the teachings of Henry George. The letter concludes with, "we have historical precedent beyond dispute for the proposition that land monopoly is a wicked denial of natural right, or, as Dr. Nulty puts it, 'an impious resistance to the benevolent intentions of the creator.' . . . I find that there are many Catholics in Australia who feel as I do—that Catholic publicists are not doing themselves justice in their attitude towards the greatest social reformer of modern times."

Nebraska Union Farmer, of Omaha, Nebraska, says, "The Farmers Union of Nebraska has followed a consistent program for the past 25 years—a program of going straight ahead building genuine cooperatives. In legislation, we have advocated measures that would remove special privileges, and have opposed measures that would grant special privileges. Cooperation is the method of stopping waste and extortion and establishing economic justice that we can practice every business day right where we are. Once in two years, we get a chance to vote by ballot in state and national elections, but every time we go to town we can vote by our patronage for the development of the cooperative system to checkmate monopoly and stop profit-piling."

Our Town's Most Interesting Street

By Geraldine Brown

The city dump is at one end of it, in fact it is almost a part of it. It really isn't a street at all, this welter of pungent smelling tenement houses. It is a sort of large alley. The street itself is almost as crooked as the pitiful legs of the children living on it, who are undernourished. Probably this is very sordid sounding to you, but to me this is the most interesting street in town, because I live on it.

You never appreciate true neighborliness until you live on the other side of the tracks. In this realm of poverty-stricken gangsters, racketeers and suspicious characters, privacy does not exist. On Mondays when you hang out your laundry Mrs. O'Grady, on your right calls over and inquires: "And where did you get those beautiful dish towels?"

Now, if you have learned the code of the neighborhood you'll unhesitatingly tell her, in Grant's basement. The two of you will swap bargains for the balance of the morning. Mrs. O'Grady will tell you of the wonderful letter she received from her son in prison. It really isn't a secret, as is nothing else on this extraordinary street.

Sometimes a group of city officials will call, holding their noses with one hand and their pencil and pad in the other and ask you how much rent you pay, how many sleep in a bed, and other questions. This, however, is not often; somehow these visits never seem to amount to much. I often wonder why they make these calls. Some day, however, these visits might mean that these old fire traps will be torn down and new ones erected.

Saturday night is when you really appreciate this street of broken dreams. The din is so great you can't hear yourself think. The children, sometimes as many as four at a time, are thrust into boiling cauldrons and a week's dirt removed in one night. As Mrs. Polaski on my lower left relates, that "cleanliness is Godliness." Although there is seldom any indication of either about these numerous small Polaskis.

Sunday the majority of the street turns out for some church. Shabby but clean, poor but many of them honest, they kneel to thank the Heavenly Father for keeping them well, for allowing them to have a roof over their heads and various other blessings. The stench of the dump is forgotten, the water that runs continuously, the furnaces that throw off more smoke than heat are all things of the past.

Many of you will believe this to be gross exaggeration. Few of you have seen human beings die because they haven't a desire to live. They aren't

brave enough to face another day of bill collectors, these cowards who wish to die. Their stomachs rebel at the conglomeration of smells that meet them with the dawn.

This street is not well known. When you mention its name people will sneer and smirk. But there is no man alive who can truthfully say it's not interesting. This street is most interesting to me. I live in a tenement on the third floor, back in the rear. My bedroom window looks down on a wonderful assortment of cans, rotten fruit and vegetables. It is very interesting, this street is, to me. Because to me this street is home.

NOTE.—The above was written by a Negro girl in her Regents' examination, fourth year English, at the North High School of Binghamton, New York. It was read from two pulpits, broadcast over the radio and printed in the morning newspaper. The authorities have promised to look into the matter again, but did nothing. Charles Dickens didn't do any better than this in his *Oliver Twist* or *Hard Times*. What irony, bitterness, sarcasm, pathos—and resignation!

After the stir created by the above essay, C. LeBaron Goeller, President of the Henry George Free Tract Society, Endwell, N. Y., secured for this talented girl a \$100 scholarship at Wilberforce University. Additional funds were borrowed by the mother. The girl was forced to discontinue her schooling last fall for lack of funds. Readers wishing to help further the potentialities of this young woman may send their contributions to Dr. Murray Shipland Howland, Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, 42 Chenango Street, Binghamton, N. Y.

The Fundamentalism of Georgeism

For nearly four decades we have been printing fundamental articles on Henry Georgeism, or Single-Taxism, or what Wm. Lloyd Garrison called the New Abolition. Send for samples. They are Free.

HENRY GEORGE FREE TRACT SOCIETY

Box 105

Endwell, N. Y., U. S. A.

(Tract printing since 1906)

BOOKS

Alexander Boardman

RIGHTEOUS WRATH . . . BUT DESERVED!

"A Time for Greatness," by Herbert Agar. Little, Brown and Co., New York, 1942. 301 pp. \$2.50.

Herein Herbert Agar drives home one lesson: *now* is the time for greatness. It is so clearly and so forcibly silhouetted in each chapter from Politics through Economics, Equality, Business, Labor, Civil Liberties to Thinking, and fighting for our Thinking, that it stands out among all of the since-Pearl-Harbor-books as a top "must."

The book is a succinct analysis of the steps which have led up to conditions which could only result in World War II; of our present thinking and the directions in which it is leading us; and conversely, the steps that must be taken to assure a reasonable solution. It isn't a happy picture, but Agar assumes we are great enough to do the job as well as Washington, Jefferson, Franklin and Hamilton did theirs.

The chapter on Equality is one of the best essays in our literature. Terse phrases reveal the author's ability at brevity: "The war must begin again—must always begin again until our world is dead—unless we define the causes of our failure and insist that the *causes* be abolished." Again, "The excitement of our technological revolutions was so great that we gave ourselves to simple enjoyment of the machine, with the result that in many places the spirit of our culture withered away. We must now repair in a hurry what we allowed to decay over the decades."

Agar issues a sombre warning to men who would make political expediency out of our sacred post-war obligations, when he reveals how a few unscrupulous politicians prepare the path for this second disaster.

Mr. Agar's chapter on the relations of the United States—the democratic idea—and the communism of Soviet Russia is calmly analyzed. It will do much to allay fears, if those giving birth to them, are intelligent enough to read this book.

There are few attempts in the book to point out direct methods, which may have been intentional with the author, but his analysis of the economic field, his implications on land value taxation

MEGANAPOLIS—A BOOK FOR GEORGEIST SHELVES

"New York Plans for the Future," by Cleveland Rodgers. Harper & Bros., N. Y.; 1943. 293 pp. \$3.00.

With the adoption of the new city charter in 1936, a City Planning Commission was set up. This body has been drawing up a master plan and locality plans of great effect in New York. Out of notes taken at its meetings Cleveland Rodgers, one of the members, has written a book.

The book is a "must" for civic leaders everywhere. For New Yorkers it deserves a place on the private bookshelf, next to the formal history of the city and the guide to its entertainments.

The author glories in his town, knows its good points, and the bad. It is at once the glamorous light drawing everyone to it, and also the place that others "would not think of living in." Everything can be bought in New York, yet poverty and slums abound. He points out that while the inhabitants will wrangle about their city, still it provides the greatest number of services and conveniences in quantity and quality of any large city. Others can learn from it, and will profit from its adventures; it is a model well worth the study.

The fundamental greatness and fault of New York is its land and natural resources. With one of the finest harbors in the world, it is the inevitable seaport of the East Coast. All roads lead to it, and while heavy manufacturing has left New York, it has been replaced by the largest processing and assembling industries. A diversity of employments has made this leading city of the world well entrenched in banking, small industries, commerce and entertainment. But accompanying all this is a troublesome and chaotic land policy.

Mr. Rodgers has a familiarity with George, as parts of his work indicate. He noted that few people realize the city was originally the owner of nearly all its land. Parcel by parcel, the land was sold or leased for a song to pay for the public services that its

and free trade, leave one wishing he had given them more emphasis. It is clear that he understands those principles and could have stressed them.

Mr. Agar has the ability to state

population clamored for. Lack of understanding about the need for zoning, and corrupt municipal authorities denied the people that which was their birth-right. The slimy story of Tammany is adequately told. Through these decades the public debt rose to such fantastic heights that the city is still staggering under a load fostered by rapacious and "individualistic" landowners. Real estate taxes alone cannot keep the city on a going basis, under the present setup.

The city must lend ear to its City Planning Commission. New York may seem overpopulated, but it is really underdeveloped. Less than a third of its area is properly built upon. Another third is covered with obsolescent buildings that strain the city's finances. A considerable portion is vacant land. Without even touching the vacant land, the population can be doubled and comfortably housed, the industries can be doubled in number and efficiency. Strict zoning, the razing of obsolete structures, and the consequent lowering of the price of land, are the answer.

When a new subway line or auto highway is constructed to the outer reaches of the city, new houses rise like magic along the way. The landowners reap fantastic prices, the new residents clamor for municipal services, while along the old routes where such services are already existent, realty values go down, taxes cannot be met, and a slum prematurely begins. These far-flung routes waste people's time in excessive travel, waste the city's finances in duplication of services, and cause economic and political conflicts where localities border on other towns and states.

New York City is an empire in itself, yet limited by a hostile state government. The metropolis has to beg others for permission to benefit itself, while it furnishes the means to keep its captor solvent. It deserves free local self-government, and the understanding of authorities so that it may rise unhampered to the truly great status it can reach.

A. B.

what he wishes stated so well that too many questions do not enrich his text. It may be his strict honesty and integrity which have made him lean over backward.—S. CLEMENT HORSLEY.

Books—Continued

ORTHODOXY AGAIN IN THE SADDLE

"The Shifting and Incidence of Taxation," by Otto von Mering. The Blakiston Press, Philadelphia, 1942. 262 pp. \$3.25.

While the roar of taxation debates goes on in the legislatures of nations and municipalities, there is a rattling of a skeleton in the cloakroom, unheard by most of the disputants, and ignored by the rest. The bony fellow is called "The Shifting of Taxes," and he is concerned with whom the incidence (impact) of taxes strikes. Serious men have sought to analyze him, but most of them have been timorous in showing their findings because of the complexity of the subject.

Lately, however, taxation has become so dominant a factor that studies of its incidence have emerged from academic treatment. Otto von Mering attacks the problem with graphs and mathematics. He covers every type of tax, and plots the effect of taxes on price. The field ranges from taxes on single monopolists to free competition.

He advises caution in evaluating the effect of a tax by statistical methods alone. The general proposition may be stated thus: "Whether and to what extent taxes may be shifted depends on the degree to which supply and demand may be restricted with advantage." Thus even the single monopolist may not be able to shift taxes completely, and even an income tax may be shifted to a degree.

Some conclusions Prof. von Mering gives are: a tax on "rent" cannot be shifted; a tax on building costs will be borne by the tenant; a tax on an article will reduce the number of sales; in a free economy, taxes on the producer can be shifted, but when prices are fixed by the government, they cannot be shifted to the consumer.

Though von Mering pursues his work with mathematical tools, his efforts are vitiated by faulty groundwork. When he speaks of rent he does not distinguish between site-value of land and the building upon it. Labor to him includes the application to the production of wealth and general services. Capital consists of both the wealth applied to the production of goods and money. These errors lead to such declarations as: (1) a consumption tax leaves production unchanged; (2) an income tax increases

it; (3) and a capital tax increases production still further. In economic matters Prof. von Mering is strictly orthodox.

The subject of tax shifting deserves the attention of municipal authorities as well as national legislators. It must be clear that taxes should be so drawn as to hamper production as little as possible. Von Mering himself says, "The task of the legislator cannot be made easier by presenting him with a list of taxes, each having attached to it its special rule of incidence. An analysis of the general economic conditions is necessary in each case."

A. B.

* * *

THE LEFTIST CRUSADER

"Make This the Last War," by Michael Straight. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1943.

Michael Straight is a young man with the temperament of an artist and the spirit of a crusader. He is now a member of the United States air force, so the problems he attacks in his book probably presented themselves to him with a peculiarly personal urgency. Unfortunately, his engaging personal traits do not compensate for his vagueness.

Mr. Straight's suggestions for the solution of our difficulties lie entirely in the field of government planning. Government, says Mr. Straight, should decide which businesses are necessary and which unnecessary. The profit motive is loftily dismissed as a "crude and irrelevant criterion," utterly to be disregarded in war time, and of very little value at any time.

World wide economic problems, in Mr. Straight's scheme, are to be put in the hands of United Nations' purchasing and distributing boards with, of course, Great Britain and the United States in the most prominent roles. These boards, set up to deal with the emergency problems of war are to become permanent peace time agencies, directing the distribution of the world's staple crops.

The author's confidence in the efficacy of boards and committees is so great as to at times approach the naive. His suggestion that local defense groups continue after the war as nuclei for greater cooperative planning within the community may sound like a good idea, but it certainly won't work. Anyone conversant with the squabbles and difficulties of air raid wardens feels quite sure they will fall

apart as soon as the necessity for them disappears.

A great deal of energy went into the compilation of statistics and data. The impression, however, is that the author has worked up a mass of detail without sufficiently digesting or analyzing it. The foundations of the new world must be solidly laid. Mr. Straight has not succeeded in doing it.

MARTHA STRONG.

* * *

SOCIOLOGICAL HISTORY

"Democracy, Efficiency, Stability," by Arthur C. Millspaugh. The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1942. 522 pp. \$4.00.

This volume is not, as might be expected, a statistical work concerned with a thesis. It is, instead, a first-rate study of American History by an able historian.

Mr. Millspaugh defines political democracy as popular control, efficiency as economic progress and national security, and stability as predictability with peaceful orderly change. He traces the factors influencing these points from colonial days to the present.

While believing thoroughly in democracy, and writing with love for his country, the author is not blind to the forces and sweep of that which is America. He sees at all stages in our national life, as at present, the groups that battled to control our destinies, and favor their own interests. The result is an adult work for bringing into proper focus that which is our past. It is the kind of history that should replace the dry, date-filled, disconnected books which are even now used in high schools and colleges. We get from Mr. Millspaugh the broad flow of our national life like a great river, and we do not ignore the eddies, whirlpools, and by-streams along the shores.

Take the Constitutional Convention. The bickering did not end with the ratification of the Constitution. Our first two Presidents worked for greater efficiency and stability in the government, with little efforts toward greater democracy. Under Jefferson the common man surged forward, with no loss in efficiency, but with a strain on stability. Subsequent Presidents reversed the trends, but Jackson was so favorable to an increase in States' Rights, and frontier independence, the country rocked between the opposing groups. When the see-saw battle could be contained no longer, we had a Civil War.

Since then the Federal government has increased its power, and the President has concentrated it. Efficiency and stability were being realized, but democracy kept pace with new amendments to the Constitution. What will come out of this present war we cannot as yet tell.

Mr. Millsbaugh, always the historian, in concluding, points out the immensity of our land, peoples, and problems. The page is solemn; but the questions, he says, are not unanswerable.

A. B.

* * *

FOR A COTERIE OF CHOICE SOULS

"Sociocultural Causality, Space, Time," by Pitirim A. Sorokin. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1943. Cloth bound, 246 pp.

The author is Professor of Sociology at Harvard University, and previously with the Universities of Minnesota and St. Petersburg. He is an integralist sociologist, one who uses all methods to collect, arrange, and interpret data on social and cultural matters, but uses also certain reference principles. These principles consider that purely physical sciences can have very little application to the social sciences. Even statistical and sampling techniques are to be regarded with suspicion.

Through the fog of wordiness one gathers that he must be very careful in his data, and use common sense. The professor labors mightily in stating that an idea is different from a thing. For example, you might be interested in knowing that a church building divested of its religious character is nothing but a pile of stones like any other building; or that a flag without its patriotic significance is nothing but a piece of cloth. Such conclusions, which an ordinary person takes for granted, seem to need great elaboration. However, Sorokin has unearthed a great number of people who try to plot on geometric co-ordinates "the state of one's feelings," or "the time of one's life on vacation," etc. Since he mentions names and quotations, such beings must exist, but one suspects they are also professors, who seek the shelter of the walls of university halls, thereby avoiding other shelters.

Throughout the book Prof. Sorokin pursues these erring individuals, and deals with them relentlessly. And, as he scorns the use of one- and two-

syllable words, he employs only heavy artillery. The book is of little interest to the general reader, and is apparently intended for a coterie of choice souls like the author. One is reminded of the old lady who asked the zoo-keeper what the sex of the hippopotamus in the cage was. "That, madam," he replied, "is a question that would only interest another hippopotamus."

A. B.

* * *

A LESSON IN CORRUPTION

"Lords of the Levee," by Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan. Bobbs-Merrill Co., New York, 1943. 384 pp. \$3.00.

Two Chicago newspaper men have written a history of their city, with emphasis on the period of 1890-1910. It will appeal to Chicagoans interested in the makings of their metropolis; and to the general public, it is a primer of municipal corruption. It is the story of Bathhouse John and Hinky Dink.

The First Ward contains the Loop business district and the Levees. The last was the name given to the district on Clark Street, near Taylor Street, and later transferred to the neighborhood of 21st Street. The Levees were the gambling, brothel, and opium dens of greatest prominence. In the First Ward was born John J. (Bathhouse John) Coughlin. He grew to a strapping young man, owner of popular bathhouses and saloons. These were all the requisites needed for politics, and from ward-heel The Bath became Alderman, a job he held for 45 years.

Though illiterate and inane, he knew how to get the votes. With the aid of Michael (Hinky Dink) Kenna he was the central figure in the vilest swindles and rackets in Chicago. And this, despite a blameless private life. He merely regarded prostitution and gambling, two of the most flourishing industries in the ward, as necessary evils.

Wendt and Kogan indict all legal monopoly and privilege as the founts of easy wealth. Time and again lands and right of way (of great rental value created entirely by concentrated population) were voted away by the City Council for paltry bribes. Strangle-holds on the city's windpipe of production were secured by men who did nothing but levy tribute on the hapless citizens. The business men

cared little how they were governed, so long as the price of privilege was not too high. The aldermen really believed that the franchise rights of the city belonged to them personally.

It is clear that Chicago's notoriety was due not to lawlessness, but to law. Even to the time of Capone and beyond, the grafters and gangsters needed law and the police department on their side. In an anarchistic city the crooks could never have survived. But with a bought Council and police who clubbed honest citizens, corruption was king! To this day the sprawling city struggles fitfully with inadequate local transportation and insufficient public services. Chicago is an object lesson in the need for careful franchise granting, city planning, and land value taxation.

A. B.

* * *

(Continued from page 3)

HELEN BERNSTEIN, graduate of the H. G. S. S. S., brings us a page each issue that is important to integration between Freedom Economists and Freedom Civic Groups.

J. RUPERT MASON remained in the investment field until 1926. Since then he has been an inveterate traveler-student on every continent. Trustee of the United Committee for Land Value Taxation, and a member of the California Planning and Housing Association.

CATHERINE KLOCK, interior decorator, has been an active volunteer at the H. G. S. S. S. since graduation from Fundamental Economics three years ago. Joining the League of Women Voters a year ago, she is convinced that political and economic consciousness go hand in hand.

To ALEXANDER BOARDMAN goes the palm for most consistent endeavors for this office prior to each issue. Besides reading the many books we give him—sandwiched in between his job as Chief Chemist for the Paramet Company—Mr. Boardman takes over onerous editorial assignments, as the deadline of publication inexorably approaches.

CLAYTON BAUER is the editors' most diligent critic. Trained in the Uzzell School of Creative Writing (as well as the H. G. S. S. S. Correspondence Division), Mr. Bauer has written some excellent short stories—but his criticisms are better.

ECONOMIC AGENCIES OF FREEDOM

HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

New York Headquarters, 30 E. 29th St.

By MARGARET BATEMAN, *Director*

The "Invitation to Learning" program, condensed elsewhere in this issue, brought in an avalanche of letters to Columbia Broadcasting System. The School received copies of hundreds of the letters from the writers.

Station WINS featured the director, Board Member L. M. Greene, and a student, Betty Haslitt, in an interview with Daniel Lionel of the *Brooklyn Eagle* on Sunday, March 28, at 12:30 P.M.

The WXQR program and spot announcements have brought in a large number of students for both the classes and the Correspondence Course.

The School is offering a review course, based on "Economics Simplified" by Bowen and Rusby. Two other new courses are "The Law and Broad Acres," conducted by Arnold Weinstein; "American History—Principles of Growth," conducted by Philip Kodner.

New classes have recently been opened in the districts of Harlem, Gramercy Park, and Wall Street. Another is in the Andrew Jackson High School.

CHICAGO EXTENSION

111 West Jackson Boulevard

By JOHN LAWRENCE MONROE,

Associate Director

Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, will be the speaker at the annual banquet, to be held at the Bismarck Hotel on Monday evening, April 27, at 7 o'clock. Francis Neilson, Trustee of the School, will be toastmaster. Reservations for the dinner should be sent to School headquarters.

The banquet will mark the entry of the Chicago extension upon its tenth year of uninterrupted classwork. Of the 29 terms held since 1934, 450 classes have been conducted by 134 different teachers. For the encouragement of other towns, it can be said from experience that, with rare exceptions, a class can be conducted every term in any community having a population of 10,000 or over.

Robert Schalkenbach Foundation

By V. G. PETERSON, *Executive Secretary*

"Who hears our message and how?" is a question we are often used. We have only to look within ourselves to answer the first part. Each man who fights his way outside himself, hears, for our message is the echo of truth. Almost every day we find a new explanation for the second part of the question, "How?" Professor Tandy is an interesting example of one way. Let me tell you his story.

Professor Tandy—his first name is Lou—spent his early teaching days at a large Southwestern University. To him, Henry George was just the name of an American economist, and the author of several books. He had never read those books. One day, Professor Tandy wandered into the university library, and, browsing idly, for the day was warm, he chance upon a thin volume entitled, "Significant Paragraphs from 'Progress and Poverty'." On its cover was the challenging statement by John Dewey, "No man has a right to regard himself as educated in social thought unless he has some first-hand acquaintance with the theoretical contribution of this great American thinker."

"So intrigued was I with this challenge," says Professor Tandy, "that I determined immediately to read the book. I started with the idea of a task to be done, but soon I found myself reading rapidly—jumping ahead to see what the author was leading up to."

That copy of "Significant Paragraphs from 'Progress and Poverty'" was one of several thousand which this Foundation contributed to college libraries the country over. It started Professor Tandy towards new horizons as it has started others in the same direction. He has made a close study of all the George books and has introduced them to students wherever he has been teaching. Three years ago when he could not give classroom time to the subject, he organized a group of his pupils to take the correspon-

dence course given by the Henry George School. Last year he gave the full course as outlined in our "Teacher's Guide for Progress and Poverty," in both the winter and spring semesters. This spring, in the large Ohio university which is his latest promotion, he is giving sixty pupils our new six-week course in economic rent. We are sending him thirty-eight copies of "Progress and Poverty" to supplement those which the library has, and other free material.

Another interesting "how?" was proved last week. Mr. Gilbert Tucker of Albany, New York (you know him as the author of "The Path to Prosperity") bought several Henry George calendars from us this Christmas and aimed them at carefully chosen targets. A week ago one man sent in his check for a full set of books. "It is time I looked into this," is his opinion. It is a long chain, this one we weld together, and each, in his own way, has the opportunity to forge his link.

Our newspaper advertising this winter has sold, so far, eight hundred and twenty copies of "Progress and Poverty" to new people. It is significant to note, if we are to judge from the letterheads, that the majority of these orders came from men in medium-sized businesses of their own.

Our old friend, Dr. T. J. Kelley, of Marathon, Iowa, is dead. When Mrs. Kelley wrote us the sad news, she sent us a check for \$37—a contribution towards our college work. Dr. Kelley, his widow told us, had always grieved that he could not make large gifts of money to the movement. Before his death he requested his friends not to send floral tributes but, instead, to give whatever money they would spend, to his favorite organizations—China Relief and this Foundation. Dr. Kelley used all his spare time to educate those around him to a better way of life.

Whether one lives in the Loop, the North, Northwest, West, South, or a suburban section of Chicago, there is a class open for those willing to give

one evening attendance a week. Space prevents our listing the 35 classes. Communications should be addressed to 111 West Jackson Boulevard.

A Chat with a Greek Refugee

THE office of LAND AND FREEDOM has long been a clearing house for the exchange of ideas, and a Mecca for visitors from all parts of the world. Only recently, it was our pleasure to have a gentleman of Greek birth call upon us. He is a refugee from his native land, at present enrolled in an American university.

It was heart-rending to have our guest relate the tragedy of his compatriots now enslaved under the yoke of the oppressor. From a Turkish friend, a neutral resident in Greece, he learns that the emaciation of the townspeople renders them practically incapable of ever taking part in Hellenic reconstruction. Neither will the urban children be likely to grow into normal men and women. Boys and girls in their early teens, with wizened faces and bodies, are now literally aged persons. Constant fear has made of them, for the rest of their lives, a mass of frustrated humanity, senile without having passed through normal maturity.

Speaking with controlled emotion, he said:

"The Nazi-Fascist taskmasters rule with 'scientific' brutality. Wherever anything grows, there will be found a modern publican waiting to claim the harvest. The produce is counted while yet unripe on the tree, and death is the penalty exacted of the Greek husbandman who takes so much as one lemon above his miserable allowance. Just enough to keep their victims alive at the brink of despair is the Fascist formula of distribution under the new order."

Nevertheless, the people in the farming areas are still in comparatively good physical health. If not broken with some new instrument of torture, they may yet be able to procreate another generation to restore the land. Reflecting on this, our friend comforted himself with the knowledge that though the Ottoman Turks came close to exterminating his people, a beneficent Providence prevented the seed of rebirth from being wholly destroyed. Nature has always fought with might and main to preserve the species of a resolute people. We need go no farther for a classic illustration than the history of the Jews. Besides, there are still Greek fishing families on the surrounding islands. Of these, only a relatively few meet with unnatural death—when their craft are spotted in verboten waters, and machine-gunned by Fascist patrol boats. From the farming and fishing villages, then, and the many refugees abroad who will one day return, may we count upon a nucleus for the repopulation of our suffering Greek ally.

The first requisite, our friend reminded us, in the rehabilitation of Greece and other prostrate

countries, will be the immediate distribution of food. A determined effort must be made to salvage what we can of their exhausted bodies. Next, the devastated areas will require supplies for reconstruction. New roads, public buildings, and shipping centers must be rebuilt.

We, in turn, remarked that through the International Red Cross and our newly formed food commission much could be achieved, adding that probably an outright gift by the American people would be made, as has been done countless times before when great areas have faced distress. However, of such generosity, our friend would have none. He was certain that repayment would be the only honorable course. He had it all figured out, but imagine our disappointment when he said, "The wharfage fees and duties on ships and cargoes entering the fine harbors of a rebuilt Greece will be sufficient to our repayment."

The proposal was offered with such sincerity that for a moment we were stunned. It almost seemed cruel to disillusion him too suddenly.

"But you are proposing that your people pay a tariff on their goods, the goods which America and other more fortunate allies want to make available to your nation. You are penalizing your own countrymen!" we protested.

He was about to expostulate, but checked himself.

"How can you reconcile," we asked, "the desire to encourage your country's rehabilitation with anything that would discourage the sending of goods into its borders?"

He puzzled on this for a while. But he gradually awakened to the import of the question. He looked about at the books by Henry George in our office—he studied the bust of George majestically resting atop its stand. Then, in our guest's countenance flashed something suggestive of a new-found acquaintance with the lore of ages.

"You've got something there!—as you say in the United States. Of course! Have you anything I can read about this?"

Indeed, we had! We gave him some literature, and bade him well as he left our office, a wiser and a gladder man.

ANNOUNCEMENT

On the request of our dealers LAND AND FREEDOM has moved the date line ahead by one month. This will not in any way affect subscribers' full year of issues.

Spring Honor Roll

To Free Market Institute, Boston, for the largest order of January-February copies for both office and store distribution—100 copies; also, for a purchase plan whereby Free Market Institute assumes physical cost of all copies ordered, whether sold or not, thus making store-returned copies available to those in Boston without cost to LAND AND FREEDOM.

To Robert Zwicker, Newtonville, Mass., for the largest personal order in a small community (population 70,000)—56 copies; a sample of his sales talk which prompted the column to the dealers on the right-hand side of this page; also, the brilliance and thoughtfulness expressed in the advertisement on the cover opposite.

To Arthur W. Nelson, Jr., Detroit, for his sizable order, 50 copies, increased to 75 copies, current issue; and his check to cover copies sold or personally given away; his care in selecting department stores for distribution; his huge list of names for sample copies, for which he paid costs; also his air mail request for this issue's titles of special articles, which prompted our circular letter to volunteer distributors that they also write letters to local newspapers.

To Robert King, Chicago, for handling the Chicago H. G. S. S. S. assignment of 50 copies to stores, out of 70 ordered; also his design for a magazine rack, a photo of which we hope to reproduce in the next issue.

To Mrs. Celia Swanson, for her month of volunteer services to the office, averaging 25 hours a week—this, in addition to her regular outside job.

HENRY GEORGE COLLEGE COMMITTEE

By WALTER FAIRCHILD

The Trustees of Lafayette College, of Easton, Pa., announce that cash prizes totaling \$200 will be offered for the best essays on the subject of "Economic Rent."

The competition is open to all Lafayette students, and viewpoints expressed by the students will have no influence on the final award. The prizes were made possible through a

Single-copy Price and Supplement

LAND AND FREEDOM, as we announced in the last issue, is now on sale at selected magazine stands throughout the nation. In New York, you can buy the journal on any of 200 stands. If your dealer anywhere in the U. S. does not carry it, ask him to drop us a postal; and will you write to us, too?

Our single copy price of 25 cents has met with approval both by our subscribers, and with buyers in stores. While most publications, big and little, have been increasing their price owing to increased war costs, LAND AND FREEDOM has made this reduction in price in order to capitalize on the public's growing awareness of its contents.

Our annual subscription price remains \$2.00 per year, but through great sacrifice of effort, with limited manpower, we shall provide you at least once a year with a Supplement. Special articles from our authors will be presented in this Supplement. These articles will cover subjects which are considered beyond the interest of the single-copy purchaser, such as:

(1) Errors of judgment in past activities. (2) New techniques being used by the international movement to promote land value taxation. (3) Controversy of a technical nature. Outstanding articles are being held now for the Supplement.

Your suggestions are always read with interest. And if there is a magazine stand in your community to which you can supply two or three copies each issue on consignment, will you not do so? Please write us.

Gift subscriptions and sample copies are always welcomed by both your friends and men of affairs. Gift subscriptions together with your own renewal, \$3 00. Single copies, six for \$1.00, fifteen for \$2.00.

LAND AND FREEDOM

150 Nassau Street New York

grant of the John and Emma Allen Foundation. Professor Frank R. Hunt, head of the Department of Economics, is in charge of the contest.

To Our Dealers

I BELIEVE that you will like this magazine. That you will get ideas from it which will help you in your business. I know you are busy. I know that you keep long hours, perhaps with too little help; and definitely you pay too high rent or taxes.

There is something off the beaten track on the subject of taxes in LAND AND FREEDOM. May I suggest that you look into the subject in this magazine. Read the story called LITTLE TALES OF ROBBERY, on page 7.

And for something inspirational, that will make your heart glow, read the radio broadcast on page 8. Three prominent men in New York gave this program from CBS over a network of 80 stations a few weeks ago, and the program was so well liked it has been printed herein. Other articles in LAND AND FREEDOM, I am sure, you will equally enjoy.

You want more business! Some of your customers buy from you for convenience, and you know there is not much you can do with these individuals. Many, however, stop to talk with you, ask your recommendations on reading matter, even talk war and politics. These are the people who can and will buy more from you, if you know your merchandise.

You will find LAND AND FREEDOM to be a magazine you have time to read and like. It is serious, yes, and important to you, without being heavy. Authoritative and well-written, it concerns you and your customers vitally.

LAND AND FREEDOM is 43 years old—old in years, but tells about today's affairs. It speaks of the way you and your friends make a living; about your taxes; about the thousand hindrances on us all when we conduct our businesses. It is a beacon light that clears the path along which we trudge and illuminates the pitfalls before us. You, yourself, will find it of absorbing importance.

Read LAND AND FREEDOM! Keep it on display, and point it out. Your enthusiasm will spread to your customers, and they will become your friends.

And write to LAND AND FREEDOM any questions you have.

HARRIET GRONER.

LAND AND FREEDOM

**I have purchased this
space to state a belief.**

I agree with Thomas Jefferson, who said:
"The earth belongs in usufruct to the living,
and is given as a common stock for men
to live and labor on."

And with Theodore Roosevelt, who said:
"The burden of taxation should be so shifted
as to put the weight upon the unearned
rise in the value of the land itself, rather
than upon the improvements."

I hope that other men—the thousands of
them who have read this magazine, and
are imbued with this same conviction,
will buy many pages of space in the in-
terest of strengthening the force being
generated upon the consciousness of
people by LAND AND FREEDOM.

ROBERT ZWICKER

Newtonville, Mass.

The Life of Joseph Fels

By MARY FELS

The biography of Joseph Fels, millionaire
soap manufacturer and ardent disciple of
land reform. His efforts at home coloniza-
tion in England and the rehabilitation of the
unemployed.

A warm human portrait of a generous and
democratic character. 192 pp. Cloth \$1.00

Send orders to

ROBERT SCHALKENBACH FOUNDATION, INC.
32 East 29th Street, New York

The American Journal of Economics and Sociology

A Quarterly Journal in which distin-
guished writers present their views on
current topics in the field of the social
sciences.

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CURRENT ISSUE)

Towards a Rational Basis for International Law

by JACKSON H. RALSTON

The Appeal of Communist Ideology

by HARRY GUNNISON BROWN

The Passing of the Middle Ages

by FRANCIS NEILSON

The Place of Statistical Methods in Modern Historiography

by ERNEST RUBIN

The Christian Basis for a New World Order, IV

by DONALD A. MACLEAN

Henry George: the Dedication Period

by ANNA GEORGE DEMILLE

Issues in Ethical Theory

by PAUL WEISS and JOHN WILD

Cultural Dynamics in a Democratic Structure

by MAURICE H. KROUT

Dr. William Temple, New Archbishop of Canterbury

by PRESTON KING SHELDON

Comment . . . Reviews . . . Contributors

\$1 per copy — \$3 per year

SEND IN YOUR SUBSCRIPTION NOW

**AMERICAN JOURNAL OF
ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY,
INCORPORATED**

32 East 29th St., New York, N. Y.

Special Combination Offers: TWO IMPORTANT BOOKS for Economists and Students

Replete with Charts

The PHILOSOPHY of FREEDOM

by GASTON HAXO

\$1.00



**WESTERN
UNION**



**LAND AND FREEDOM
150 NASSAU ST NY**

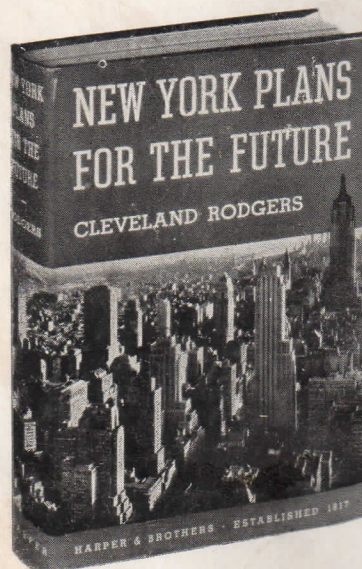
**PLEASE SEND IMMEDIATELY 50
COPIES HAXOS PHILOSOPHY OF
FREEDOM TO EDWARD VANTASSEL
NEWTONVILLE MASSACHUSETTS
AND 25 COPIES OF SAME TO
90 BEACON STREET**

HERBERT GOOD

OF COURSE, people are in a hurry. This streamlined version of "Progress and Poverty" is an illustrated condensation that presents Henry George's findings in a manner to fit our times. **The Philosophy of Freedom** was written for a busy and skeptical generation that wants its information in summaries and outlines.

Mr. Haxo's 25 years of teaching George's works has been used to good advantage in **The Philosophy of Freedom**.

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED



"... a must for every intelligent layman... a stirring and vivid account... free from the stuffy self-satisfaction of the technician who has a 'solution'... by all odds the best on why we need city planning and why we haven't got it."

**—CITIZENS'
HOUSING
COUNCIL OF
NEW YORK**

\$3.00

by CLEVELAND RODGERS

Member, New York City Planning Commission
Former Editor, Brooklyn Eagle

**WHAT IS SAID ABOUT HENRY GEORGE? ...
WHAT ARE NEW YORK'S PLANS FOR THE
FUTURE? ... WHAT CAN OTHER CITIES LEARN
FROM NEW YORK'S APPROACH TO PLANNING?**

A book that every Georgeist, civic worker, taxpayer, business man, real estate owner, every person concerned with city planning in or out of New York will find as dramatically absorbing as it is important and enlightening.

The larger problems of municipal government and city planning together with such difficulties as traffic congestion, building regulation and zoning, housing, park development, etc., are set forth in their modern perspective. Trends are analyzed to provide a working blueprint of the city of the future. The result is a brilliant biography of a dynamic city—yesterday, today and tomorrow.

----- PLEASE MAIL BOTH SECTIONS OF COUPON -----

**(Yearly subscription to LAND AND FREEDOM,
including Annual Supplement, is \$2.00)**

- ☐ Enclosed is \$1.00 for Philosophy of Freedom.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$3.00 for New York Plans for the Future.

Special Combination Offer to New Subscribers Only

- ☐ Enclosed is \$2.00 for Philosophy of Freedom and a one year's subscription to **LAND AND FREEDOM**, including Annual Supplement.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$4.00 for **New York Plans for the Future** and a one year's subscription to **LAND AND FREEDOM**, including Annual Supplement.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$5.00 for both books advertised and a one year's subscription to **LAND AND FREEDOM**, including Annual Supplement.

LAND AND FREEDOM

150 Nassau St., New York, N. Y.

**I want to take advantage of your
offer, as checked in adjoining panel.**

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ **State** _____