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It Strikes Me ❦ ❦ ❦ *By C. O. Steele*

I DON'T KNOW WHY but often, when listening to a public speech, I am reminded of the story of the traveler who was visiting an Indian reservation in one of our western states. Engaging in conversation an ancient buck who had the appearance of having completed the allotted three score and ten and then some without ever having had a bath, the visitor asked, "And what do you do for a living?" "Me preach," the Indian answered. "How much do you get for preaching?" the visitor wanted to know. "Ten dollars a year," was the reply.

"Hmph," grunted the visitor, "that's damned poor pay."

"Hmph," grunted the Indian, "me damn poor preach."

At least the old boy knew his limitations, which is more than can be said for many of the political windjammers who assail our ears hours without end.

Maybe it is because too many speeches are like that old-fashioned article of feminine apparel known as the Mother Hubbard: they cover everything and touch nothing.

A good speech should be like a girl's bathing suit: long enough to cover the essential points and short enough to hold the interest.

The best after-dinner speech: "Waiter, I'll take the check."

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A MAN GUILTY of a misdemeanor is fined $200. A man guilty of erecting a small residence on a vacant lot is fined $200 *a year!*

About the only thing not taxed under the country's present tax system is brains. No brains were taxed in devising the system. No brains were used.

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DEFINITIONS: A statesman is a dead politician. A communist is a fellow who has given up hope of becoming a capitalist. A depression: when people have to do without what their parents never had. Rationing: A violation of the fundamental principle of consumers' free choice.

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THE REPORT that the dollar-a-year men in Washington are going to strike for $2 a year is believed to be an exaggeration.

* * *

A SPELLBINDER of national reputation said recently: "We must see to it that the America we are fighting for remains what it has been for 150 years—the land of opportunity, the country with a future, the state with a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

A Department of Commerce bulletin, entitled "Interstate Barriers," says that a truck going from Alabama to South Carolina must pay $400 in Alabama, $400 in Georgia and $300 in South Carolina—a total of $1,100.

America will cease to be a land of opportunity, and the future will be one that will be drab indeed if these barriers between states keep on growing. Nor are the states alone to blame. Many of our cities have had a try at the same thing. It was not long ago that the Mayor of New York, our own Little Flower, was trying desperately to put in jail New Yorkers who had the audacity to buy cigarettes in New Jersey, where, needless to say, they were cheaper.

This idea of self-sufficiency, carried to its logical conclusion, would have each man making his own clothes, cutting his own hair. Such a scheme of things would in time reduce the most prosperous country on earth to a howling wilderness.

Before the spellbinder emits again on the land of the free, he might well look into this matter of interstate barriers. Also, it would profit him more than a little to learn how completely indispensable to real freedom is free trade. And, while he is about it, let him discover for himself that complete free trade meeans freedom to produce as well as freedom to exchange.

* * *

SOME MISANTHROPE has said that many people spend their lives doing work they detest in order to make money they don't want to buy things they don't need in order to impress people they don't like. Probably it was the same sour-minded individual who said that half the people are trying to get their names in the paper and the other half are trying to keep them out. The statements do rather go ogether, like fair and warmer, politicians and bunk and other "naturals."

What of Labor?

IMPLICIT OR PROCLAIMED in the policies of every contemporary political regime is an awareness and an attitude toward organized labor.

In the collectivist state labor has been endowed with the symbolism of monarchy, with its duties prescribed and its freedom proscribed. In other totalitarian states it has been indoctrinated with a synthetic nationalist zeal and coerced into a machine of militant aggression. In the states where free political institutions mingle with a lingering oligarchy, labor party victories have been nullified by the conversion of its leaders to the traditional mold. In the traditional democracies, labor, characterized by greater individualism and reluctant to acknowledge a fixed social and economic status, has sought its objectives through group pressure in preference to direct political action.

But democracy's faith in its own institutions has wavered under the recurrent assaults of periodic depressions. Most of the remedies that history has proved fallacious have been tried anew in our current prolonged siege, and labor has been both a power and a pawn in a program of opportunism and expediency.

Popular opinion both friendly and hostile to labor is more frequently emotional than rational, and when tested by economic laws is found to reflect many discarded theories. The belief that wages must be advanced and furnished by capital has yielded to the recognition that labor is the essential active factor in the production of all capital and that in the average course of all producion capital expended is as steadily replaced by wealth of greater value. The assumption of a natural conflict between capital and labor has been superseded by the recognition of mutuality of interests as evidenced by the coincidence of the rise and decline of interest and wages. Man's ability to increase manifold his individual powers through cooperation, and his almost limitless capacity for production achieved through his accumulative ingenuity, have disproved Malthus' mournful conclusions.

It is a recognized fact of common observation that combinations of labor can raise wages by concerted action. Such increases, if gained at the expense of capital or other laborers, would not be beneficial but harmful. But where land is no longer free competition depresses the basic wage to a subsistence level and lowers the limit of the availability of capital to the cost of replacement. Any forced wage increase, therefore, can come from but one source—speculative rent.

That organized efforts to raise wages may be marked with frequent strife, that wealth may at times be wasted in the struggle, that no general increase may be achieved, that the gains will be temporarily lost in every stoppage of production and that such methods can never win for labor its full share of production, are considerations to be weighed against a single alternative—m a x i m u m toil and hours and minimum pay which are the inevitable result of unbridled competition.

Contemplation of a few of the consequences that this alternative entails—resumption of child labor, indiscriminate and unrestricted employment of women and the virtual enslavement of all labor under the pressure of a bare subsistence wage cannot but tip the scales on the side of the labor unions.

WILLIAM S. O'CONNOR

Apologies to Mr. Ellenoff

THROUGH ONE of those quirks of misadventure which pester the footsteps of an editor and cause his path to lie elsewhere than in a bed of roses—very much elsewhere, Brother, take it from us—the excellent article in the July Freeman entitled "Thurman Arnold and Post-War Prosperity" was not, as stated, by "H. Ellendorf," but by our old friend and frequent contributor, Mr. H. Ellenoff.

To credit so fine an article to H. Ellendorf is a fine compliment to H. Ellendorf, if there be an H. Ellendorf, but it is a gross injustice to Mr. H. Ellenoff, and an inexcusable bit of oversight on the part of someone not as yet identified. When the culprit is apprehended, his ears shall be cut off and he shall be berled in erl.

In the meantime, our sincere apologies to Mr. H. Ellenoff.

C. O. S.

Winning The Peace?

PLANS MANY HAVE BEEN OUTLINED for "winning the peace." These plans fall into three broad classifications. They are international cooperation on the political plane; international cooperation on the economic plane; and the building of an invincible war machine. Can any or all of these plans provide the groundwork for an enduring peace, or must peace be obtained by a method not contemplated in any of the plans yet announced?

The first mentioned plan would mean a balancing of powers. This we are now attempting in the agreement which has been entered into between the United States, Great Britain and Russia. Undaunted by past failures we are at it again. The League of Nations did not prove to be an effective bar to open hostilities, nor would a Federation unless backed by police power. With the establishment of an adequate police force the question arises, what a nation or nations would control the police power. And in controlling it, wo uld it be directed to maintain arrangements which were advantageous to the larger and more fortunately situated nations at the expense of the smaller nations who were less favorably placed? Would a Federation insure justice for all nations of the earth, and for all peoples of all nations? It is only on such a basis that peace can be maintained.

The second plan: international cooperation on the economic plane has possibilities, but can these be realized when we have yet to learn the meaning of economic cooperation on a national plane? The United States with all its vast resources, its natural opportunities and great manpower, has suffered for many years from widespread and chronic poverty. Some of us did not need the reminders furnished by the Temporary National Economic Committee's report on economic trends to realize that wealth shows a tendency to concentrate into fewer hands each year. We have long been aware that poverty is reducing to virtual serfdom masses of our people, while others in these United States have more than they can ever use.

Plans for the future which would guarantee a comfortable and decent standard of living for all people must either contemplate taking the necessary funds, in taxation, from those who do produce, to bring the living standards of the masses to a more advanced level; or they must consider redirecting the stream of wealth from its source into different channels than those into which it now flows. How to keep men producing that which they know will be taken from them and given to support those who are unable under out present system to make a decent living for themselves, is a problem that has not been solved through the democratic process. How to induce men who have once been kept in decency and comfort through another's efforts, to sweat for their own bread is also a problem which has not been solved through individual freedom of choice.

It is also not through choice that men live under the degrading conditions which poverty enforces. Nor do they willingly work for wages inadequate for human needs. The reason they are forced to do so should have public recognition. Newspapers instead of side-stepping this problem and its solution, should give it the widest publicity. When we have the moral strength to provide a remedy for unwilling unemployment and for living standards that provide the barest living, we shall be ready for concrete proposals on an international scale. Proposals which not only will end open hostilities but will provide a firm background for genuine peace.

The third plan of forestalling attack by arming to the teeth may prevent war, but it will not promote peace. It will prove a costly drain on the production of the countries which contribute in men and money to the mobilization. Maintenance of large standing armies is not consistent with democratic teachings. We are now paying an enormous price to get a second chance to make democracy work.

ELSIE BALLARD

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Divine Rights

THE HISTORY of the nations that have come and gone, as well as those that are still able to preserve their national entity, shows a general pattern that is applicable to all.

At first, chiefs elected by popular will guide the people. All have equal rights to the use of the earth. But as wars increase, the war chiefs are metamorphosed into hereditary kings. For generations these kings rule over the people, but eventually they become rulers *over the land.*

For hundreds of years the English kings were styled Kings of the English, but in time this was changed to Kings of England. In Belgium, the kings at first were Kings of the Belgians; later, they became Kings of Belgium. It was in the long-ago year of 1360 that Jean II of France had a coin, the franc, struck off which bore the following words: "Francorum Rex," which means literally King of the Francs.

Invariably, when families of human beings are able for generations to compel others to fetch and carry for them, so that they may live without working, they take on ideas of grandeur. And thus kings came to believe that they are possessed of divine rights. When kings are the government, subjects are dependent for any measure of happiness upon favors from the king.

In subtle form the idea of favors from the king has persisted in America down to this day. For example, certain highly-placed individuals in the present National Administration have expressed the belief that the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights are privileges given the people by their federal government.

In 1837, two years before the birth of Henry George, that great apostle of Freedom, Caleb Cushung, member of Congress from the State of Massachusetts, delivered an address in the House of Representatives in the course of which he identified in stirring words the true source of the people's liberties. The following passage from that memorable speech is worth treasuring:

"Gentlemen talk of these, our great fundamental rights—the freedom of speech, of opinion, of petition—as if they were derived from the Constitution of the United States. I scout such a doctrine . . . We hold them by the concession of a higher and broader charter than all the constitutions in the land—the free donation of the eternal God when He made us to be men . . . It is a liberty—native, inborn, original, undervied, imprescriptible, and acknowledged in the Constitution itself as preeminently before and above the Constitution."

Inspired words, those, as true today as when spoken more than a hundred years ago.

H. ELLENOFF

Politics as Usual

THE SPEED AND DIRECTION of things is frequently determined by circumstances.

On a blistering day in August a bulldog was chasing a tomcat. It was so hot they were both walking.

Then there was the farm bloc and the "ever-normal granary" idea. The Government was to finance crop surpluses in times of large yields and low prices in order to assure adequate supplies and prevent runaway prices in times of short crops.

The weather turns cooler. The dog and cat are now running for life—the cat's life.

The demand for farm prices has increased enormously. We are in desperate need of a greater supplies of meat, eggs, poultry and dairy products to meet our own requirements and those of our Allies. Fortunately we have a huge supply of wheat, hundreds of millions of bushels of it acquired by the Government in making crop loans to farmers.

It is now proposed that the Commodity Credit Corporation sell some of this wheat for livestock feeding at less than parity prices in order to encourage increased production of meat, eggs, poultry and dairy products. The Senate has given its approval. But the House rejects the idea. It is adamant against sales at less than parity.

When farm products glutted the market, the "ever-normal granary" was invented to give the farmer much higher prices than he could have got otherwise, all, of course, at the public's expense and in attempted defiance of the natural law of supply and demand.

But the weather turns cooler. When the "ever-normal granary" would operate to prevent the public from being gouged further, the farm bloc throws a monkeywrench into the works.

There is no moral to this tale. It merely shows that come hell or high water, war and devastation, unprecedented national peril, with the farm bloc **it is politics as usual.**

C. O. S.

Constitutional Taxation

By F. M. PADELFORD, M.D.

The Courts have asserted, and the view is generally accepted, that the right to tax (private property) is inherent in the State. This, we question.

A clause in the Bill of Rights states that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation. It would appear, then, that unless it can be shown that services rendered by the government constitute just compensation for any private property that is taken, taxation of such property is unconstitutional.

Probably the greater part of the taxed property in this country is capital. Practically all taxes on capital are ultimately collected from consumers. No consumer knows, or can know, how heavily he is taxed. In the price of everything that he buys taxes are included. What the total is, in any given case, it is impossible to determine. In view of this, and of the fact that social service is not a tangible thing which can, directly, be weighed or measured, it seemingly is impossible to devise any system whereby services can be so rendered as to constitute just compensation for any private property that the government may have seized. If, in any instance justice is attained it must be by accident rather than design. The ability-to-pay theory and the theory of compensation are inconsistent.

On the property of a successful merchant a heavy tax is imposed. Every article sold by this merchant will bear some part of this tax. The taxes paid by any given customer will be on the basis, not of what he owns or of what he is able to pay, but of his expenditures. The larger the family which he undertakes to support the heavier will be his taxes. Between these taxes and the services rendered him by the government, there is no definite relationship.

Assume that Mr. A builds, for tenant occupancy, a house costing, in labor and material, $10,000. To net a five per cent return on his investment, Mr. A must collect in "rent" $500 a year, over and above taxes. If taxes amount to $400, this must be added and the tenant will have to pay $900 a year. Were Mr. A to assume the tax burden himself, his net return would be reduced to $100 a year. In effect this would cut the value of his investment from $10,000 to $2,000, since $100 a year is a five per cent return on only the latter figure. But by fixing the annual "rent" at $900, the owner will still have $500 for himself, or a five per cent return on his $10,000 capital investment. Thus will the market value of his house be maintained at approximately its cost.

What is true of this tenement house is true of our whole capital structure. The whole burden of capital support rests on the shoulders of tax-burdened consumers. Widespread and bitter poverty, with their consequent evils, are the inevitable result. Under such conditions no political democracy can long endure. Only by force can order be preserved. A government by force is not democratic.

In no democracy has a competent electorate ever granted to the government the right to tax private property. Where this power is exercised it is usurped.

One purpose, if not the fundamental purpose of government, in a democracy, is to ensure equality of opportunity and security of person and of property.

The right of the individual to possess the fruits of his own labor is natural and inalienable. To deny this is practically to affirm that force is the only basis of property ownership. But the right to own property is of little worth if, upon this property, the government has a first and unlimited lien. It should be self-evident that if the individual has a right to own property the government has not the right to seize it; if the government has the right to seize property without making just compensation the individual has no worthwhile right of property ownership.

An individual may relinquish his own rights but he is not qualified to limit or nullify the rights of others. Therefore, even the vote of a majority in favor of such action, in a democracy, does not make lawful the seizure of private property by the government, for any purpose whatever, unless, for this property, adequate payment is made.

That to the producer belong the things produced is axiomatic: What I produce is mine; what you produce is yours; what we produce is ours. Economic Rent we, collectively, create. It therefore is ours. It is public property. The government, which is the accrediated agent of society, must appropriate and use it as public revenue. Failing to do this the government must, to secure needed funds, seize private property and, in so doing, violate or nullify the very rights which it was established to defend.

The socially-created wealth which the government fails to appropriate remains, as private property, in the possession of those who own the land. Landowners are, therefore, a privileged class. Obviously, where a privileged class is there cannot be equality of opportunity.

Any political democracy which secures its revenue by resort to methods which create inequality of opportunity and inseurity of property makes inevitable its own downfall. Plutocratic influence or control is the first downward step; an authoritarian State comes next, and this marks the end. On the battlefields of the world fruits of both are reaped.

While the last clause in the Fifth Amendment of the Federal Constitution continues in force there is one tax, and one tax only—if indeed it be

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Mr. Bellamy's Utopia

By PAUL PEACH

During the past decade or so there has been a sharp revival of interest in the economic theories of Edward Bellamy. There have even been students of Henry George who, abandoning George, turned to Bellamy in the belief that the latter had something more to offer—something of a concrete, hard-headed, practical nature. It seems likely that questions about Bellamy will be encountered more and more often as time goes on. Serious students of political economy should, therefore, make themselves acquainted with this man's work; there is even a chance that Americans may be called upon, in the not-so-far-distant future, to accept or reject what is essentially a Bellamy society.

Edward Bellamy was born in the United States in 1850. The work upon which his fame chiefly rests, "Looking Backward," appeared in 1888. It gave rise to fairly animated controversy, and when Bellamy found that most of the objections to his plan followed a fairly uniform pattern, he incorporated his answers into a second book, "Equality," published in 1896. "Equality" is more serious in tone than "Looking Backward," and followers of Bellamy usually prefer to have his ideas judged by the later work; unfortunately, it is the earlier and somewhat frivolous "Looking Backward" that has maintained itself in print and is commanding an increasing readership today.

Both books are in the nature of fiction; there is a sort of quasi-romantic plot to act as mortar to hold together the politico-economic bricks. Julian West, a rich and cultivated Bostonian (as what Bostonian is not?) is troubled with insomnia, and builds himself a subterranean crypt where no sound can penetrate. Every evening a hypnotist comes below to put him to sleep, and every morning returns to wake him up. An accident interrupts the sequence, with the result that Mr. West sleeps through a hundred years and wakes in the bosom of the family of Dr. Leete, still in Boston, but in the year 2000. Under the tutelage of Dr. Leete's lovely daughter Edith, he studies the economic system with which the new order has displaced the old. Between times, he sandwiches in a love affair with Edith, who, it turns out, is the descendant of his own love a century back. As a romance, the books have no claim to recognition; nor indeed did Bellamy intend to do more than provide a fragile thread of fiction upon to string his treoretical beads.

The community of Dr. Leete is socialistic. Following the Marxian pattern, the growth of private monopolies has eventuated in their being superseded by the greatest monopoly of all, a State Trust. All production and distribution are in the hands of the State. The State is the universal employer, the universal storekeeper, the universal landlord. Not only is private enterprise nonexistent; even private exchange is forbidden. If I have two cups, and my neighbor has two saucers, we may not exchange a cup and saucer without subjecting the whole transaction to State scrutiny, and only when adequate reason can be shown are such transactions permitted to take place. There is no money; every citizen is given a credit on the books of the State, which he may use as he pleases; he cannot, however, allow his credits to accumulate from year to year except in extraordinary circumstances, as perhaps to pay for something unusually expensive. Saving, except for some special purpose, is not permitted; at the year's end, one's unused credit expires.

All citizens receive equal credits; one shares in the social product, not because of anything peculiar to himself, but by virtue of being human. And upon each rests the obligation to work, to the limit of his capacities. Everyone receives the equivalent of a high school education and some vocational training. At the end of the schooling period, the young man or woman spends three years in a labor army whose duty is to perform any job assigned; these are the hewers of wood and drawers of water. Invention and improvement have, however, reduced to a minimum the amount of necessary drudgery; thus, housecleaning is avoided by having everything waterproof, so that in order to clean a room one merely puts away anything that might be damaged by water, turns a valve, and in a jiffy the room is thoroughly hosed down; a current of warm air dries it, and it is ready for occupancy. The washing of clothes is a thing of the past; all garments are made of paper, worn once or twice, then thrown away. The whole strength of social intelligence is thrown into the battle to do away with those features of any job that make it dirty and unpleasant.

When the young citizen has completed his three years' service in the labor army, he may elect an occupation of his own choosing. The State fixes the number of teachers, doctors, engineers, etc., needed each year by the community. If the number of candidates for some profession is greater than the requirement, preference is given to those with good records; others have a second, third, and n-th choice. If the candidate wishes an assignment in a particular place, his wishes are given consideration; here again he may have to be content with something other than his first choice.

If for any reason the number of candidates for a particular occupation is insufficient to fill the quota, an effort is made to attract enough volunteers by adding extra inducements in the way of shorter hours. If necessary, working hours may be shortened to ten hours a day in a particular occupation, in order to secure enough volunteers to fill the

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How Is It To Be Done?

By THOMAS F. WOODLOCK

(In the June issue of The Freeman we published an article by Mr. Woodlock under the title of "The Right of Property in Land," and an answer thereto, "Fundamentals of the Land Question," by Mr. Will Lissner.

Mr. Woodlock's current article, which, like the earlier one, is reprinted by permission from the Wall Street Journal, is answered elsewhere in this issue of The Freeman by Professor Harry Gunnison Brown in "A Reply to Mr. Woodlock."

Further discussion of the points raised by Mr. Woodlock will appear in the September Freeman, in articles by Mr. A. C. Matteson, Jr., and Mr. J. Rupert Mason. —The Editors.)

From the letters and printed matter so generously poured on the desk of this writer by disciples of Henry George, for which he can make no more than a general but genuinely grateful acknowledgment, he is under the impression that the four syllogisms, in which, a few days ago, he endeavored to condense the essence of the George gospel, are substantially correct. The final conclusion was that land values as distinct from values of structures erected thereupon and labor expended in their construction and operation belonged to the community, that is, that unimproved land in the hands of an individual persor was not property in the sense that all products of human labor are property. As this writer's present purpose in discussing the subject is his own education—including that of such readers as are like himself in need of education and wish to get it in the easiest way—he will assume the above principle to be true, and move on to the next stage—namely an answer to the question what we ought to do about it.

Broadly speaking, land in the (so-called and perhaps erstwhile) civilized world, is now in private ownership to about the same extent as is other property. This is directly contrary to the above-mentioned principle. What this writer would like to know is the series of steps which the believers in the gospel have in mind to transfer land ownership from the individual to the community, where the gospel asserts that it of right belongs. A hasty "fingering" of the material at his hand leaves him under the impression that, when this is done, the George school sees poverty abolished once and for all. Passing the question as to poverty, what should we **begin** to **do tomorrow** in this country to effect the above-mentioned transfer? To make it quite concrete what should we do about real estate in the city of New York, when the legislature of the State assembles next January? And what should the City Council of New York do meantime?

Presumably whatever is done would be done mainly by taxation, and taxation which would have for its object the capture by the community of the value of the land in the form of its rental value, for the best measure of the value of fixed property is the income that it can be made to yield. If this is correct, the question is one of real estate taxes. All real estate in New York City is already taxed except that which is used for certain religious, educational and other philanthropic purposes. Most of it is improved; some of it is not. In the case of the former class of property some of the total tax paid represents taxation on the improvement; in the latter case the tax is on only the land itself. It would seem that the community is already recapturing at least a portion of the rental value of the land in both cases. How much is the amount so realized by the community at present short of that full rental value? Before that question can be answered some measure of value must be found. Upon what principle should that measure be based? Is there any principle other than what the nineteenth century called the "higgling of the market?" And assuming that that process produced an answer and that answer disclosed a large gap between the tax collection and the rental value, how should we go about closing that gap by taxation? Should we do it gradually by easy stages, or at one step? And what would be the nature and extent of the disturbance to existing conditions in either case?

This writer assumes that answers to all these questions are available in the gospel itself or in commentaries of the "fathers" (no sneer implied!) on that gospel, but as he is trying to make others do the work for him, being, as he freely admits, himself obliged to be thrifty to the point of meanness in the expenditures of his own definitely exiguous stocks of time and energy. On that ground he is frankly a beggar for assistance, perhaps even an intellectual panhandler! But he knows the generous spirit of the gospel's missionaries and shamelessly extends his tin cup. Some sixty years ago there was an "Anti-Poverty league" in these parts in connection with the George gospel. As already mentioned above, some at least of the literature fingered left this writer under the impression that the followers of the gospel believe that the reform it proposes with respect to the land will of itself abolish poverty. Up to this point the present writer has approached his study—if it can be called a study—of the whole thing with a really open mind and a simple desire for knowledge, but here he confesses to a good deal of skepticism. This for two reasons; one is that here we enter the sphere of prophecy, and the other is that he doubts that the problem of wiping out poverty is susceptible of quite so simple a solution. To avoid any misconception he will admit that he is equally skeptic concerning each and every other anti-poverty panacea that has ever come his way. Is this claim really part of the George "deposit of faith?"

A Reply to Mr. Woodlock

By HARRY GUNNISON BROWN

It was a pleasure to read Thomas F. Woodlock's June 17th "Thinking It Over" column in the Wall Street Journal. For the spirit of reasonableness and open-mindedness displayed are admirable. And so is the clear and systematic way Mr. Woodlock approaches the problem of land values and their taxation. Such an approach was, of course, to be expected from the distinguished author of "The Catholic Pattern," and other notable works.

But the truth is that a peculiar perversity seems to afflict most persons who, being on "the outside" of the ranks of those already convinced that land rent should be socialized, attempt to discuss the matter in print. They seem to think it incumbent on them to find something wrong with the proposition even though their discussions usually indicate that they have never carefully studied the grounds on which it is to be advocated and even though they show, in their writing, that they do not really understand it. They appear to feel that opposition is expected of them, that the land-value-tax is not favorably entertained "in the best circles" and that they'd best make sure no one will accuse them of supporting it! Mr. Woodlock, on the other hand, writes as a sincere inquirer who has, already, an understanding of some of the most important relevant basic principles. He is one who, far from merely seeking inconsequential arguments to buttress a pre-determined opposition to the land-value-tax program, desires the fullest possible theoretical and practical knowledge of it.

As to a method by which the change to the public appropriation of land rent might be brought about—one of Mr. Woodlock's questions—we might proceed somewhat as in the case of the Pittsburgh (and Scranton), Pa., graded tax plan. In 1914, the city tax rate on improvements in these two cities was made 90 per cent of the rate on the lots. In 1916 it became 80 per cent. In 1919 it was 70 per cent; in 1922, 60 per cent, and in 1925, 50 per cent. No further change has been made; and a request of officials of (the League of") third class cities in Pennsylvania that the legislature extend the system to them has been ignored. Furthermore, the law does not apply to state and county taxes but only to city taxes (in these two "second class" cities). But it would be simple—were there a will to do it—to extend the system both in the cities where it is in force and throughout the state. And in increasing and extending territorially the tax on rent, it would be possible to abolish or greatly reduce also other taxes than those on capital, e.g., sales taxes.

Such a change could be made at a more rapid rate than was done in the Pittsburgh case or at a slower rate. Those who realize most clearly the advantages of the public appropriation of rent will probably prefer, most of them, a more rapid introduction of this reform. But any significant reform, in a democracy, must wait on a favorable popular sentiment and can proceed no faster than such popular sentiment will allow. Just because the economic and social advantages of this reform are so great, it is desirable that we take some steps towards its realization as soon as politically possible, even if to gain the necessary political support these steps must be slow.

Mr. Woodlock's contention that the land-value-tax reform would not "of itself abolish poverty" is, of course, reasonable. Abolition of tariffs which interfere with profitable specialization, control of the monetary and banking system so as to avoid alternate inflation and deflation, effective prohibition of u n f a i r methods of competition, and other policies calculated to make the free competitive system of industry operate to promote the common welfare.—all these are important. And, of course, poverty can come from sickness, laziness or other causes not connected with public policy.

And yet I cannot avoid the conclusion—and I believe Mr. Woodlock will agree—that the most fundamental of all economic reforms is this one of public appropriation of the rental value of land. For surely, a system under which the many must pay to a comparatively few, billions of dollars a year merely for PERMISSION to work and to live on the earth in those locations which geological forces and community development have made relatively productive and livable,—surely such a system is inconsistent with the principles on which we should properly expect to build a fairly decent economic order.

But let us examine specifically how the social appropriation of rent would operate, if not to abolish poverty, at any rate to decrease it appreciably. First, it would make unprofitable the holding of good land out of use. This would mean competition of landowners to get their land used and, therefore, it would mean lower rents charged for the use of land. The consequent availability on the basis of these lower rents, of increased amounts of land, would mean greater productivity of labor than when it has either not enough land to use or must use inferior land because of the holding out of use of vacant land. Studies on this subject have shown, in various American cities, from a fourth to more than a half of lots held vacant. No longer available for agriculture, they remain, for years, unused in the cities. A tax system which would abate this evil would, by diminishing waste and adding to the productiveness of labor, definitely tend to raise the level of wages.

Again, the taking by the community of the rent of land as its first source of revenue, would certainly

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Why No Ceiling on Land Values?

By WILLIAM LEON

The recent report of the Alexander Hamilton Institute sheds some light upon the matter of war time wages and inflation. Now that labor is to be frozen, thereby eliminating the choices that make pay increases possible, we learn that wage increases are only partly responsible for the advance in commodity prices. The Institute reports that since war began wages have increased by 20% while raw material prices have risen 43%. Although the wage addition might be said to account for higher raw material costs the disparity between gains remains. Ground rent rears its ugly head.

Somehow the price fixers cannot seem to understand that land is a factor in production. In order to protect the working man from the horrors of inflation his wages are to be placed under a ceiling. Then of what he can have, some is to be taken at the source by the income tax collector. Since the remainder is a potential inflation threat, another portion is earmarked for war bonds. With the individual's budget carefully planned, a given standard of living is supposed to result. But one important ceiling is neglected by the architects. That on land values is specifically left out.

While attempts are made to hold wages and prices at fixed levels, costs are mounting at the source of wealth. Retailers, working under ceiling prices, are oblivious of the fact that goods sold today were manufactured when the rent line and raw material prices were lower. Little do they reckon that theirs will be the fate of the Puerto Rican merchants who found wholesale prices over-reaching the legal ceilings.

Some advance in popular economic thought is indicated by the fact that an attempt at rent ceilings has been made in such cities as Hartford and Seattle. In time, perhaps, the idea may permeate that rent is a factor in the value of consumer commodities.

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quota. Except in the labor army, the selection of employment is on a purely voluntary basis; a man may not get his first choice, but he does always have a voice in determining what he shall do. However, he must do something if he desires to remain in the community. If he refuses, he is given a supply of seeds, some simple implements, and access to a plot of land upon which, if he wishes, he may lead an individualistic life at subsistence level.

Advancement is by the merit system, from the lowest to the highest grade. Politicians depend, not upon votes, but upon achievement records, which automatically determine their place in the social structure. There is no oppression, no imposition of uniformity; though goods of standard pattern are universally obtainable, nearly anything imaginable can be supplied custom made at a trifling cost. Authors, artists, and other creative workers are allowed to finance their own works; the public's acceptance or rejection determines whether these persons shall be permitted to devote their entire time to their arts. At nearly middle age everyone is retired from active service, while his share of the national product continues the same as before; those who desire may retire earlier and accept a smaller portion.

* * * *

Because he alone of all recent Utopian writers has offered a detailed description of his Utopia, Bellamy enjoys a considerable following; theoretical generalizations in political economy may attract the student, but a good clear picture always catches the fancy of the layman. But Bellamy's picture is still too good to be true. He recognizes the right of the individual to live his own life—even to lead a completely unsocial life, if he so desires. He imposes upon the individual the obligation to contribute to the community to the extent of his ability, if he elects to share in those benefits which the community provides. With most of these concepts all men of good will may well agree.

But the experience of our own times demonstrates how impossible is this dream of actual fulfillment. Marx, and Bellamy too, felt that the huge trust or monopoly has always a necessary advantage over the small enterprise. How mistaken this view is was ably shown by William Leon, in his article on "The American Woolen Company" (The Freeman, November, 1941). The fact is that beyond a certain point great size is a handicap and not an aid; just to the extent to which the head of a corporation gets away from its foot, to that extent is there a loss of elasticity and flexibility, a downhill plunge of efficiency. A private corporation, with all the incentive of a profit motive, finds it utterly impossible to expand beyond a certain point and remain efficient. But Bellamy asks us to accept a society that accomplishes the feat of maintaining a single monopoly, not in one field, but in all fields of production; a gigantic super-trust which shall include the whole of enterprise for the entire country. Nowhere in history do we find any evidence that such a thing is even remotely possible.

The ideal of Socialism, says Henry George, is grand and noble. Granted that government can be made pure (but what modern government is or ever was?) we may still refuse to believe that government can achieve omniscience. And nothing less will suffice to direct intelligently the endless intricacies of production in a highly civilized society.

Monopoly's Menace to Labor

By MARTIN E. PECK

We have with us today certain individuals called "Authorities"—a title as false as an obituary—who, mouthing the philosophy embodied in certain folklore, are determined to remind us that our productive system is capitalism. This is a misnomer as far as labor's relation to the system is concerned, and when historians write of our times they will wonder why this fabrication emanating from avariciousness was foisted upon and accepted by a democratically inclined proletariat.

From the myriad of Sacred Books written by the Authorities, we garner that the life blood of capitalism is the steady flow of capital into the productive process. These writings, entitled "Principles and Practice of Economics," imply that capital emanates from the savings of labor. It, together with land and labor, is brought into production by the enterpriser. The Sacred Books describe the enterpriser as being an extremely important individual who undertakes the business, assumes the risk, and inherits certain patriarchial duties relevant to the distribution of the shares of wealth that go to land and labor—the primary factors in production.

Beause the worker is the source of capital, he is encouraged to practice thrift. The worker's savings are placed with the capitalist (investment banker) who in turn lends them to the enterpriser. Thus, the risk bearer is able to purchase additional machines, expand plant, encourage new inventions, put more men to work, raise the margin of labor, and reduce the cost per unit.

For the use of this capital, the capitalist receives interest, part of which is returned to the worker. To function smoothly and tend toward an equalization of shares in distribution, both the "Authorities" and their sacred "Principles" counsel a minimum of interference on the part of the primary factor—labor—with the enterpriser and capitalist. In short, the enterpriser will work only for profit and the capitalist only for interest. Further, the greater the profits accruing to the enterprise and the higher the rate of interest paid the capitalist, the greater will be the wages of labor, for, in the last analysis, the interests of the capitalist, enterpriser, and worker are identical.

Let us depart from the recital of this Holy Writ, which takes a profound view of human nature and state our thesis: Capital no longer comes from the earnings of labor. Its source is the cost of production. The enterpriser, thanks to the monopoly of land and vested interests, confiscates the product of labor and thus obtains capital by invoking the law of monopoly price. To argue otherwise is to deny history. Prior to 1890, the American Frontier served as an outlet for the savings of labor and the landless population. Between that date and 1914, we witnessed the growth of monopoly. Plant expansion was necessitated by immigration, an ever-lowering death rate, and a rapidly approaching war. Then came a short period of war investment with the Government assuming the risk, followed by the construction and expansion of American owned plants in foreign lands. Then came the panic and depression and labor's savings represented by stocks and bonds, tobaggoned to the very bottom of the scale of value. In the last decade, and I quote the report of the **Temporary National Economic Committee**, ". . . no one but the government has been willing to go into debt." (Monograph No. 37, p. 109.) Government financing of the present war material plant expansion adds reliable proof to this assertion.

The end of the "free land" era in the United States was a warning to the proletariat that a new age—land monopoly—was at hand. In the interim between 1890 and our times, monopoly in its rise to power slowly throttled investment in new fields and at the same time restricted output in existing fields. What has been the result? A recent report of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York gives us the answer. The report states that 400 of America's largest corporations showed a 26 per cent increase in profits for the first nine months in 1941 over the same period in 1940, and a 78.6 per cent increase over the same period in 1939, **after paying corporation and excess profits taxes, and providing for depreciation, depletion, contingency reserves, and other bookkeeping items.**

What do such terms as, "Government bearing the full burden of financing plant expansion" "and depreciation depletion, and contingency reserves," infer? They indicate the presence of a new phenomenon in our economy—the absence of the enterpriser from the capital market. The enterpriser with these reserves has become a capitalist and a landowner. His profits, which come from the cost of production, include interest on his own capital which he has confiscated from labor via monopoly and land ownership. As a consumer, the worker is, in fact, paying to the enterpriser-capitalist a return that, according to the capitalistic theory, should go to the worker. Thus, it is the worker who is assuming the risk; and nowhere in this new pattern of production are the interests of the factors concerned identical!

You ask: "Why does the proletariat adhere to this pious fraud?" The answer is simple: The laboring class is the victim of deceit and fear. The "Authorities" in chanting their folklore are employing the most effective of all propaganda techniques. Repeat a lie over and over again, and the victim will accept it as the truth. Monopoly realizes that production for use with labor having a free access to the land and a full reward for its efforts will mean the end of power. Therefore, the proletariat is encouraged to be-

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The Foolishness of the Wise Men

By STEPHEN BELL

(Concluded)

Throughout the life of the German Republic Hitler has sought power, proclaiming that the policy of moderation and reconciliation was vain and would get Germany nowhere—that she would get no relief until she became strong enough to break the treaty, in which position he promised to place her. Until the Austro-German customs union proposal was turned down he had become more of a political nuisance than a political threat, but a year and a half later, in January, 1933, he won the national elections and became Chancellor of Germany! In that position he became possessed of power never before held by mortal man.

Pierre Laval was Premier of France when the Austro-German customs union proposal was vetoed. He who could not possibly cooperate with the German Republic now gladly cooperates with Adolf Hitler. Why should he not? Did he not do as much to put Hitler where he is as anyone in Germany?

Had the Allies at Versailles framed a peace treaty on the principles urged by President Wilson, the probabilities are that the Austrian house-painter who now bestrides Europe and threatens civilization everywhere would be earning his living in useful industry, unknown to the world, even as Napolean Bonaparte might have ended his career as an obscure captain of artillery had not the monarchies of Europe intervened to suppress the French revolution of the 18th century.

* * *

Tariff restraints on trade for the supposed "protection of home industry" and "preservation of the home market," have been for ages a prolific source of international friction, disagreement and enmity. The density of the average "industrial" mind regarding trade—especially international trade—would be unbelievable did we not see this mind at work on the problems thereof. The industrial, commercial and financial policies of the nations, as expressed in their legislation, have been vicious since the beginning of history, but since the first World War they have reached new heights of economic stupidity. They have become policies of economic suicide.

Trade is trade. It is exchange, barter. By its very nature it is a two-way traffic. Yet the nations have been doing what they could in their separate ways to make it a one-way traffic—each aiming to sell as much abroad and to buy as little as possible. In pursuing this ideal they have together starved the economic life of the world at large while individually impoverishing their own.

Is this belief that a nation enriches itself by sending its products abroad and impoverishes itself by bringing foreign goods from abroad based on an intelligent selfishness, or on ignorance? Can they not see that the only means the nations have to buy abroad the goods they need is by the sale abroad of their own products? Their moneys are legal tender and circulate only at home. Money is not a medium of exchange in international trade. International payments are made both ways by the exchange of credits through the exchange banks in the various countries.

The United States has long been among the greatest offenders against this economic truth, having thrice raised its tariff barrier to unprecedented heights since the war in order to discourage importations.

* * *

The reparations obligations imposed on Germany and the "war debts" apportioned among the Allies, had this in common—they were utterly uncollectible in any way that the creditor nations would accept. They were not "exchange" operations," for they required the one-way transfer of fantastic sums for whose payment no adequate credits could be established across the existing trade barriers. The debtor countries could pay only by the sale of their goods in creditor countries in amounts commensurate with their debts, applying the proceeds of the sales to service of their obligations. Would the creditor countries, committed to "protecting our home markets," consent to this? They would not. They did not. They built their barriers higher.

The persistence of the United States in trying to collect these uncollectible "war debts" was a powerful influence impelling the Allies to persist in their efforts to make Germany pay the equally uncollectible reparations. A wiser course would have been to recognize the futility of trying to collect them, and wipe them off the slate, saying, "Forget them, boys, except as our contribution toward winning the war." Kept alive, they could only be an intentional irritant.

Following the war vast sums were loaned to European governments, corporations and financial institutions to reconstruct their shattered industrial and commercial structures. These were regular exchange operations and would have caused no serious trouble in the absence of the "war debts" and our unwillingness to accept the status of a creditor country with its import surplus. With these obstacles in the way it is not strange that many of these loans "turned sour." In their efforts to service their commercial debts and maintain their credit many of the nations established "exchange controls" which further obstructed trade, denuded their currencies of needed "gold cover" or backing, filled our vaults with three quarters of the world's currencies, to the distress of all and the benefit of none. Great Britain did not go off the gold standard. She was pushed off.

If the nations' desire for peace, se-

curity and prosperity is great enough to pay the price thereof, they can have them. The price is repentance for past and present errors and a new orientation of their aims and policies. Their cherished game of Beggar-my-Neighbor, which they call "protecting the home market," must be given up for one of "live and let live," and their professed desire for international cooperation must be made real. Freedom of commerce, not its suppression, restriction and strangulation, must become their mutual policy. As Cobden acclaimed a century ago, "Free Trade is the international law of the Almighty!"

This price for peace will grow larger as time passes and its payment is withheld.

They need not wait for concerted effort in freeing their trade from restraints, however, nor need they dicker over how much freedom they can afford to give their peoples. The first nation to realize the true nature of trade and act accordingly will reap a rich reward. By casting off its own restraints regardless of what others do it will gain a great competitive advantage over its fettered competitors in a world trade. An increasing share of the world's commerce will be drawn to its ports as by gravitation, and it will become a powerful force impelling others to follow its example lest they be left behind in the march of progress. Nor need it fear a "deluge" of foreign imports. It would merely require a corresponding "deluge" of exports to pay for them.

Great Britain's failure to lead the world to free trade is not in point. "English free trade" was "phony." She maintained customs duites and collected as large or larger revenues therefrom than did the United States.

Germany, or Italy, or Japan, separately or in concert, could have profited by this course as well as any other country, did they but know it. The opening of their markets freely to the trade of the world would have been an incentive to other nations to do likewise in sheer self-defense. They could not only have gained trade that would be profitable to all concerned, but could have raised civilization to a higher level — an opportunity we also "muffed."

Instead they chose to become pirates. Stupid futility on all sides.

That the pirates who now control and direct the peoples of Germany, Italy and Japan must be soundly trounced and their power completely smashed is not merely admitted, but asserted. Our safety and the future of civilization itself depend upon the destruction of their malign power. But to follow their defeat with a policy of vengeance against their people will merely defeat the peace at which we aim. All things in this perfectly natural world bring forth fruits after their kind, and vengeance is no exception—it begets only vengeance, of which the world is now full to overflowing.

We may freely admit that these nations richly deserve the severest punishment we can inflict on them—such punishment as fits their crimes —that hell is too good for their leaders, and that our feelings prompt us to administer such punishment. A longer view, however, forbids our visiting this punishment upon their peoples when the tiger strife is over and the victory is ours.

The longest human lifetime is but a minute in the lifetime of the world. In a few years all those on both sides of this war who will have participated in it or lived through it will have passed away and a new generation will be in our place. Do we want our children and our children's children to go through further periods of death and destruction even more terrible than those through which we are passing?

We will again have the choice, even as we had in 1919, between peace and vengeance. We cannot have both. Is the vengeance so many of us would like to have worth the price of the security, peace and happiness of our children and grandchildren in the years to come?

We come here to the real liberation of man—the Truth that is to make us free indeed. If the liberation of trade from its strangling restraints necessitates the freeing of all industry from the mountain of tax burdens which oppress it in all countries, let us rejoice. This can only force us to a back-to-the-land movement to get an adequate public revenue, and the rental value which comes to land when and where civilized communities arise and grow is Nature's own provision for the public revenues of civilized society. It is the creation of society itself and belongs to society by the fact of such creation. It is the measure of the value of society to its individual members.

Here we may see Nature's grand program for man's complete freedom—the land liberated from the control of dogs-in-the-manger who use it not, but hold it only to exact tribute from those who do, and its resources opened to man on terms equitable to society and to its members alike. The free land which man seeks vainly on the outskirts of civilization may be found at home in all countries. No need for them to stand idly in the market place because no employer has hired them. No need for nations to wage war for "more living room" where unused land exists in abundance.

Here is the Truth which Isiah had in mind when he wrote: "They shall build houses and inhabit them. They shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build and another inhabit. They shall not plant and another eat. They shall not labor in vain nor bring forth for trouble, for they are the blessed of the Lord, and they shall long enjoy the work of their hands."

As we contemplate the accomplishments of the human mind on the material plane, in the realm of physical science, we are awed by what has been done in our time, to say nothing of what was done in preceding ages. Does it not shame us to think of the small gains made on the social plane, in the art of living together in peace and harmony, in security, friendship and plenty?

Yet all our marvels of physical science awaited only the "know

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Denmark Carries On

By GRACE ISABEL COLBRON

News trickling through from Denmark indicates that, despite almost insuperable obstacles, Georgists are carrying on in that brave little country. As showing the difficulty of communicating with the outside world, the November issue of STUDIEKREDSBLADET, official organ of the "Ekotechnical High School" (The Henry George School of Denmark) did not reach the writer until early in July although it was postmarked in Copenhagen November 17, 1941.

STUDIEKREDSBLADET (Journal of the Study Circle) tells of the progress being made by the school and particularly of classes opening everywhere in Denmark, despite conditions. Classes have been organized in seven or eight Danish towns and the number is growing steadily. Even on the Island of Bornholm there is a fine growing class greatly interested in learning the Truth as preached by Henry George.

In addition to the classes at the headquarters school there is a class in Copenhagen whose students are functionaries of that city's trolley and bus system, operated by the city itself and not by private owners. The school journal says that this class sends many requests to the main school for speakers, printed material and other aids to teaching.

The 1941 annual meeting of the High School was held the last week in June, and it was at that time that plans were made for publication of a journal devoted entirely to teaching the philosophy of Henry George. The first number appeared in November, 1941—that is the number mentioned above which was received here only a few weeks ago.

Mr. Bue Björner is manager and teacher at the main school which was started by him and his energetic wife, Mrs. Caroline Björner. Both are well known to Georgists in this country where they have visited a number of times.

It is good to see that in spite of the troubles of the moment, Denmark is living up to its reputation as one of the countries of the world where the true relation of man to the land is widely understood.

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make possible reduction of other taxes and, presumably, would make possible the abolition of some of them. In so far as the taxes thus abolished are taxes levied on commodities that wage earners have to buy, their abolition—or even their reduction—means that of their now higher wages, less is taken from them by such commodity taxation.

Still again, if land is taxed more in a given country or state, the tax on capital (buildings, machinery, steamships, planted trees in an orchard, etc.) can be reduced and perhaps entirely abolished. This reduction or abolition of taxes on capital would leave larger returns to those whose savings make possible the construction of capital. It would mean that persons who save would thereafter prefer to invest their savings in the country or state which taxes geologically and community produced land values and so is able to untax the capital that is made possible by the work and thrift of individuals. It would mean, therefore, that capital would tend to increase there at the expense of jurisdictions following a less intelligent policy. But with more capital, labor is better equipped, and better equipped labor can produce more and, therefore, can earn more.

Thus, real wages can be higher for three reasons:

(1) More good land is available to use.

(2) More capital equipment is available where capital is taxed less or not at all.

(3) Wages are themselves less taxed—or not taxed at all—since taxes on the incomes of wage earners and on the goods wage earners buy can be abolished or, at least, substantially reduced.

But this is not all. For the sale price of land would be brought down more and more as the land-value tax took more and more of the community produced annual rent. The reason is that the sale price of land is found by capitalizing at the prevailing interest rate the net anticipated rent to the owner. Thus, with a low sale price of land it becomes relatively easy for a person who is willing to work and save, to acquire title to land for a home or farm. Such a reform would really facilitate the transition from tenancy to ownership. The worker in such a country could earn more; if, from these larger earnings, he saved more, he could enjoy a larger return on his savings (with capital no longer taxed); he could buy land for a home, a farm or a business more cheaply; and after buying it, though the annual land rent, as such, would go mostly to the public, he would have to pay (presumably) no taxes at all on any buildings or other improvements that he might construct on the land.

Some economists seemingly have been unable to see the advantage of the land-value-tax system thus accruing to a person trying to save enough to buy a home, but this is from the failure to perform—surely not from inability to perform!—the simple arithmetical calculations which would conclusively demonstrate it.

Certainly it is altogether inconsistent with an economic philosophy which would base incomes on service, which would reward industry,

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More on Land Holdings in Early New York

By IRVING MARK

(Second of a series of seven articles on "Agrarian Revolt in Colonial New York, 1776,"* copyrighted, 1942, by American Journal of Economics and Sociology, Inc. Reprinted by permission.)

*EDITOR'S NOTE: This paper is based upon materials gathered for the author's "Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York, 1711-1775," New York, 1940 ($3.00), especially chapter five. This recent publication of the Columbia University Press, one of the Columbia **Studies in History, Economics and Public Law**, may be consulted for more detailed documentation and materials.

In the period that followed the French and Indian War, the purchase of disputed Indian titles became a hopeful avenue of escape for the oppressed tenants in Dutchess and upper Westchester Counties, and on the Van Rensselaer and Livingston Manors. Indian title disputes, like boundary controversies, seemed to be occasions for deep-rooted small farmer agitation. The discontent did not confine itself to litigation. It flared into serious peasant rebellions that appeared in 1766 in disaffected areas in the eastern part of Hudson Valley from Cortlandt Manor to Rensselaerswyck.

The issue between rival claimants was first joined in the early '60's in the Philipse Highland Patent. Here the Wappinger Indians, under their grand sachem Daniel Nimham, claimed for a long time all but a small portion of the patent, the bulk of which had never been legally transferred to the patentees. The Indians sold titles to discontented Philipse tenants who either bought their land outright or became tenants on more favorable terms, usually for 999 years. By 1756 the proprietors, Philip Philipse, Beverly Robinson, and Roger Morris, who derived their title from Adolph Philipse, seized the land while the Wappingers were fighting for the King and while their old men, women, and children were at Stockbridge. By 1761 they brought ejectment suits against those who claimed land titles through the Indians. When Nimham countered by appealing to the Council, Attorney-General Kempe was ordered to investigate the claim, which he reported technically deficient.

In 1763 a number of Philipse tenants renounced their leases. Taking others from the Wappingers, they continued to occupy the land but refused to pay rent to those claiming the land under the original patentee. The Philipse representatives ousted them by fifteen successful suits at law. But this remedy was costly and the defendants were invariably financially irresponsible. Hence on the advice of counsel the proprietors appealed to chancery on Feb. 6, 1765, setting forth these circumstances. Meanwhile, in March, another petition of Minham presenting his claims against the Philipse representatives had arisen before Lieutenant-Governor Golden and the Council, who constituted the high court of chancery. The issue was joined and a trial held at a hearing on March 6. The trial, held before a Council of great landowners indirectly interested in the outcome, could have but one conclusion. Blocking the Indian efforts to prove fraud, the Council upheld the Philipse cause and took steps forcibly to implement its decision.

While Nimham was pursuing his appeal to the Crown resulting in an unsuccessful retrial in 1767 before a similarly stacked court, the controversy became more extended and violent. In April, 1765, the Mohicans at Stockbridge claimed Van Rensselaer land between Clavrack and Kinderhook. John Van Rensselaer brought ejectment action against many of his tenants. The Indians and the settlers with Indian title, charging fraud, seemed increasingly disposed toward violence to protect their land. Furthermore, ejectment actions of Livingston against his tenants boded ill for future harmony. Moreover, the settlers on the Highland Patent refused to submit to the Philipse proprietors. The terms they were offered, which were one year leases and bonds of £1,000 to guarantee fulfillment, contrasted quite unfavorably with the 999 year leases tendered by the Indians. Determined to reinstate dispossessed tenants by force, the settlers boldly advertised a meeting in November, 1765, to achieve this end. The Dutchess rebels were resolved to compel their landlords to grant security of tenure and lower rents. To accomplish this they vowed, "They would stand by each other with Lives & fortunes, would not suffer any particulars of them to compound with their landlords without the Rest." Their leaders, William Prendergast, Samuel and Daniel Munroe, Joseph Crow, Stephen Wilcox, Elisha Cole, Isaac Perry, Silas Washburne, and Jacobus Gonsales, many of whom had suffered ejectments, prohibited all service of warrants on the days of their meetings and promised to rescue any who were arrested for refusal to pay rents or for any activity in furtherance of their movement.

In the ensuing conflict the small farmers desperately sought to defend what they believed was their equitable right to the land. They bitterly felt that this right, as Prendergast declared, "could not be defended in a Court of Law because they were poore therefore they were determined to do them(selves) Justice (and) that poor Men were always oppressed by the Rich." Alarmed by this mass resentment, the Philipse proprietors petitioned the provincial authorities to prevent the violence threatened by the anti-rent movement. But by March, 1766, the disorder had become widespread. It engulfed upper Westchester County where tenants united and seized land. Against the growing rebellion, Governor Moore issued a proclamation on April 2, 1766.

In April, the Westchester "levellers" carried forward the crest of small-farmer rebellion. They were dubbed "levellers" because they re-

fused to pay rent to their landlord, Van Cortlandt, until he would remedy their insecurity of tenure. These tenants desired a fee absolute rather than life terms or the long term leases at low rentals that they had. In these respects they were somewhat better off than the Livingston, Van Rensselaer, and Philipse tenants. Yet, because three of their fellows had been arrsted under the proclamation of April 2, a large number of them gathered and threatened a rescue from a New York City jail where the prisoners had been taken. Though the Dutchess rebels at first had shown a disposition to dissociate themselves from Westchester "levellers," they vigorously followed their leaders in support of the movement to rescue comrades imprisoned in New York City. The Governor, alarmed by exaggerated rumors that the rebels planned to burn the city, prepared for the onslaught by summoning the militia.

Even the Sons of Liberty, successful organizers of mass demonstrations against the Stamp Act, appeared to be perturbed at this militant manifestation against the landlords. The keen-eyed Captain Montresor cynically noted that the Sons of Liberty were "great opposers to these Rioters as they are of the opinion no one is entitled to Riot but themselves." Certainly their leaders, like John Morin Scott, who later sat in the court that condemned small farmer agitators, were more more concerned with urban uprisings that reflected the colonial struggle of radical merchants, artisans, and mechanics against British restrictions, than with rural ones that small farmers aimed at the landed aristocracy.

The non-support of the Sons of Liberty must have been a grave disappointment to the rebels. For, when they went to New York City to deliver the "mob men," "they expected to be assisted by the poor people there." Indeed, they liked to think of themselves as rural Sons of Liberty. Significant are the words with which Prendergast later threatened an offending magistrate: "If any person or persons offended those whom you call the Mob—& we the Sons of Liberty," he should be punished with a mud bath, a whipping, and exile. This was the substance of Prendergast's proclamation, issued at Kingsbridge where the rebels had gathered.

This show of bold determination was matched by the Westchester men who threatened to pull down the city homes of Pierre Van Cortlandt and of Lambert Moore unless their demands with regard to land were recognized. On May 1, a committee of six entered the city "to explain matters" in behalf of 500 comrades stationed north of the city at Kingsbridge. But before the committee could act effectively, a show of military force and a stern proclamation dispersed the rebels whom they represented. The proclamation issued on April 30 offered a reward for the seizure of specifically named leaders "and other rioteers, who dispossessed p a r t i e s in Northcastle, Westchester County ... "

This proclamation itself showed that the disaffection was spreading. It named three men from Dutchess County, William Prendergast, William Finch, and Samuel Munroe, who were actively leading poor farmers against the Philipse patentees. Furthermore the informations for riot drawn by Attorney-General Kempe in April and July named twenty-six yeomen and laborers from Cortlandt Manor in Westchester County and seven from South Precinct and Beekman Patent in Dutchess County. On May 6, a proclamation offered £50 for either Munro and Finch, two officers, "en second." Prendergast on the next day narrowly escaped capture. By the middle of May, dispatches from Livingston Manor carried the news "that some hundreds of Tenants are also turned Levellers and are in arms to dispossess some and maintain others in their own, without rent or taxation." This "levelling" tendency reminds one of the "natural rights" of the New Jersey anti-renters who contended, "No man is naturally intitled to a greater Proportion of the Earth, than another ... " and of the Shaysites who were urged to support those rights to which "the God of nature hath intitled" them. On June 10, James Livingston, sheriff of Dutchess County, reported that John Way, arrested for debt, had been rescued from a Poughkeepsie jail a few days previously by a "mob" of five hundred which explained "that the debt was for rent which they did not approve."

The local authorities seemed to be unable to cope with a rapidly developing dangerous situation. Warrants for the arrests of the leaders proved futile. On June 19, the Council advised application for military aid to suppress the disorder. The next day a proclamation was issued offering a reward for the arrest of Dutchess leaders on charges of high treason. To give it force, the same day the Twenty-eighth Regiment was on its way from Albany to Poughkeepsie. Apparently, the militia, composed of sympathetic small farmers, was not dependable. The civil authorities of Dutchess County were ordered "to dispose of and employ the troops to be sent to said county for the purpose of quelling disturbances."

But still the rebellions spread. Even Connecticut was affected. In June it was rumored that "4,000 people in Connecticut entered into agreement & signed to make an equal divident of property there." This levelling movement was bound up with anti-creditor sentiment which about seventy farmers of Wallingford expressed in their petition that the County Court at New Haven give no judgments on debt actions. In this respect the Connecticut movement was strikingly different from the New York disturbances where Prendergast insisted that all debts except those for rent be paid in full, though execution was to be levied upon the appraised property of the debtor and not upon his person. On June 26, Harmanus Schuyler, the Sheriff of Albany County, riding with a posse of 105 men to dispossess disgruntled settlers on Van Rensselaer land who had taken Stockbridge titles and to arrest their leaders, met an armed band of sixty. In the skirmish the embattled farmers were dispersed but Cornelis Ten Broeck

(Continued on pagee 236)

Flip It Over

By JANET RANKIN AIKEN

Odd how little things such as carrying a kitten will point to social solutions. Recently Donny and Twospot and I were entraining for Connecticut. We had nothing but a carton with a hole in either end for Twospot, and she showed true feline ingenuity in worming between the flaps and getting her head into the outer air.

We conferred a lot of joy on miscellaneous subway passengers between home and Grand Central—I began in fact to wonder whether one good way of edifying poor oppressed humanity might not be just to ride all day on the subway with a small boy and a box with a kitten's head sticking out of it—but somehow we got to the station and on to the high-backed seat where Donny and Twospot waited while I got the tickets.

It was while turning away from the grille that I got the idea. I found Donny with Twospot on his lap and the kitten box empty. So we untied the cord, opened the box, popped in T w o s p o t, and quickly turned the box bottom side up so that the free flaps made the floor of the kitten prison. After that we had peace. Twospot philosophically went to sleep and stayed so all the way out to Camp Sideshow.

Now society is like Donny carrying that kitten. Its intentions are of the best. It desires nothing but a safe and pleasant journey toward freedom, prosperity, justice, security for everyone. It thinks its box of tricks right side up—boxes are obviously meant to stand that way—look at the w r i t i n g on the wall, "JACK FROST SUGAR"—why, everything must be the way it ought to be.

But—the kitten is always getting out of the box. Those loose flaps don't hold. There is confusion where order was most surely anticipated, and affairs growing worse and worse instead of better and better.

Let's turn the box over. Let us start looking toward lower prices instead of higher ones, toward removing burdensome regulations instead of piling them on, toward progressive action instead of merely carrying the social body upside-down and it is time we changed.

The r e a l l y extraordinary thing about economic leaders is that while they are walking backward, they are facing the light. They know clearly what society needs and yet they seem compelled to go in the opposite direction toward its attainment. They m u l t i p l y compulsions while talking and wishing freedom.

Can it be that the answer is simple—just walking in the direction we want to go? Can it be that we have the power to solve the problem of poverty, eliminate wars and depressions, by an expedient as simple as flipping over a box with a kitten in it.

I think the answer is yes.

(Continued from page 222)

a tax—which lawfully can be imposed. This is not a tax which may be imposed, but one that must be imposed if we are to have political liberty and a just distribution of the wealth which men create.

The value of land reflects the value of social service. The individual who pays, for the use of land, either as tenant or owner, a fee or tax which equals its rent, pays in full for what he receives.

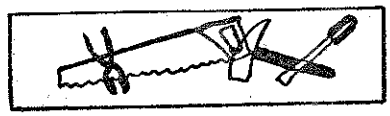
The investment value or market price of land is its capitalized net rent. When the government collects land rent, as public revenue, there will not remain in the possession of those who own land any appreciable amount to be capitalized. Therefore land will be free. When land is free and all private property is tax free, equality of opportunity and security of property will have been attained. Then shall we have a lawful and enduring government and a free and prosperous people.

By private property in Economic Rent is our house divided against itself. "That house cannot stand."

(Continued from page 227)

lieve that association in equality will result in sloth and final disintegration of society. To prevent this catastrophe, the state within the state must be retained and the worker is encouraged to become a member of that inner state. In accepting this theory, the worker places himself in a position that prevents him from examining any other opposed to it.

The success of disseminating to the proletariat the teachings of Heenry George depends primarily on penetrating and destroying the philosophy of the inner state. Once this has been accomplished, the first battle will have been won.

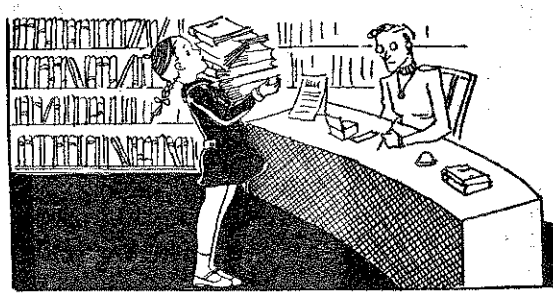


Approval From Washington

NEW YORK—A high official in the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, has written Miss Margaret E. Bateman, Director of the Henry George School of Social Science, as follows:

"I have been interested in the philosophy of Henry George for many years although I have never made an effort to understand more than the fundamental principles of it. I have found the material you sent me intensely interesting, and I fully intend to read the book just as soon as time permits.

"The work of the school impresses me as being extremely important, especially in times like these when there is so much muddled thinking about economic and social problems. I hope very much that on my next trip to New York I shall be able to visit the school and have a talk with you."



The BOOK Trail

ONE MAN'S MEAT
by E. B. White
Harper & Bros., $2.50

I love to talk—that is, when I can find an audience, which is none too often. In order to hold an audience, I'll even choose a subject and stick to it. But the kind of talking I like best is to give my fancy the reins, unhook my jaw, and let Nature take its course. You never know what will come out, but it will always be the particular thing I wanted to say at that particular moment, and that makes it spontaneous and interesting —to me, at any rate.

It would seem that E. B. White has much this same kind of taste in talking. "One Man's Meat" is a string of almost completely disconnected short pieces which appeared originally as a sort of monthly magazine column, over a period of several years. The first entry is dated July, 1938, and tells of the author's removal to the country with half his belongings, including, one infers, fifty-eight and one-half chairs. Each month until December, 1941, he makes his entry in his little journal —more or less rambling thoughts, in which he mulls over the world and the people in it against the rustic background of a New England farm.

It is not a little fascinating to see the author unveil his mind and exhibit the motion of the wheels. Daniel Webster's hay fever, the reason poets are obscure, income taxes, lambing and farrowing, Hitler, and the independent life of a lobsterman —all these subjects float through the pages of "One Man's Meat" almost as though on gossamer, so tenuous is the thread that holds them together. And yet, as one reads, one senses a personality writing, a philosophy prompting the expression, and one realizes that the personality has humor and kindness and occasional irony; and that the philosophy is one in which the dignity of man and the worth of freedom and the importance of the individual all loom large. The lobsterman Dameron is free, his own master; his boat smells "of independence and herring bait." "Freedom is a household word now, but it's only once in a while that you see a man who is actively, almost belligerently free...Either we should continue to have it or we shouldn't, this right to speak our own minds, haul our own traps, mind our own business, and wallow in the wide, wide sea."

Perhaps Mr. White's most remarkable essay is "Intimations," written three days after Pearl Harbor. It is this piece with which he concludes his book. Here he raises the question of whether patriotisn can survive the war—whether, indeed, it ought to survive. Can we have a world of peace and progress unless we forget nationalism? One group of people exists "to whom the planet does come first. I mean scientists. Science, however indiscriminating it has seemed in the bestowal of its gifts, has no disturbing club affiliations. It eschews nationality. It is preoccupied with an atom, not an atoll." His observations on the psychological bases of nationalism are penetrating. And he comes very close to Henry George when he says, "The planet is everybody's. All it offers is the grass, the sky, the water, and the ineluctable dream of peace and fruition."

These dreams seem remote today. Yet while there is life there is hope —and what is more to the point, while there is hope life persists. With good cheer and good humor, an occasional bit of foolery and much friendly gossip, E. B. White invites you to partake of the hospitality of his wandering thoughts. It is a good hospitality, and gives one a feeling of friendship for the author. Moreover it is all done with a facility of expression that is altogether charming. The man has a feeling for words. He writes with grace and ease, with a style—to use that much abused word as referring to writing—that might well be the model for aspiring young writers.

PAUL PEACH

(Continued from page 229)

how." They could have been attained ages ago had men but known how. So it is with the social conditions which a true and properly directed intelligence can bring to us.

In the situation which piratical governments have forced upon us we must indeed fight with all the power and skill we possess to crush those malign powers. But when the war is over and they are crushed, as they surely will be, let us do what a higher Wisdom than ours has commanded, that we may have peace:

"Avenge not yourselves!"

Are we "visionaries?" So be it. A visionary is one who has vision and can see what he looks at. "Without vision the people perish." Let us make sure that when the time comes to make peace, the clear vision of peacemakers will prevail over the blind "practical wisdom" of any avengers who may be at the conference table. Let the conquerers not balk us again.

News of the Crusade for Economic Enlightenment

The Publicity Director Writes a Letter

When Jean Lackey, "The Vagabond Coed," now publicity director of the Henry George School of Social Science, returned a few years ago from a world trip during which she had earned every cent of expenses, she concluded an interview with a reporter from the Milwaukee Journal with these words:

"You know as well as I do that there is no legitimate reason for our unemployment problem. There is plenty of work in this world for everyone. There is work crying to be done while millions sit idle and no one seems to know how to get the work and the workers together. There's no sense in it. I want to solve that problem."

Earlier in England, at the home of Sir Herbert and Lady Matthews, Miss Lackey had expressed the same views and Sir Herbert suggested that, on her return to America, she should look into the works of Henry George who would help her solve the problem.

Two years later, after writing a book about her adventures, the youthful globe trotter attended a tea party in New York to hear a speech on Social Credit. At that party she met Mrs. Anna George de Mille and Miss Margaret Bateman, who suggested that she study fundamental economics at the Henry George School of Social Science.

Miss Lackey accepted the invitation, took the courses, read the books and speeches of Henry George, and found that, after searching the world over, she had discovered the answer to world-wide poverty and chaos right in her own country.

At the Commencement dinner of the Henry George School of Social Science in Philadelphia a few weeks ago Miss Lackey described some of her adventures. She told of arriving in Egypt with only 10c, checking in at the best hotel in Cairo, and then getting herself an advertising and publishing job with the Egyptian Air Lines. This gave her a good salary as well as an opportunity to see Egypt and other Near Eastern Countries. She commented that this was a practical illustration of the axiom that "Wages do not come from Capital."

Publicity Director Lackey recently mailed the following letter to several hundred friends throughout the world, enclosing with each one the first lesson in the Correspondence Course. A number of her friends have already enrolled.

To My Friends in Every Country:

The world is being bombed to chaos. People are fighting to preserve threads of democracy, which have long been knotted. Billions are invested in gun powder and millions are dying. Do you know WHY? It seems to me, our present world economy is like the proverbial American host as he mixes a toast; he adds sugar to make it sweet; lemon to make it sour; ice to make it cool; bitters to make it hot. He then says: "Here's to You," and drinks it himself.

We build airplanes for travel and to trade goods and services; anti-aircraft to shoot planes and men to pieces. We build the most modern ships to bring goods at low cost, and then set up tariff barriers which make it impossible to buy the merchandise. Through culture and invention, we progress to the highest pinnacle of civilization; yet, in the midst of progress, we have not overcome chronic poverty and chaos. It is as if we say: "Here's to humanity," and kill it ourselves.

Whatever be our means toward a better world, we are all aiming at one target—Freedom to earn a living and security. British, French, Germans, Italians, Chinese, Indians, Japanese, Americans or Egyptians, regardless of race, creed or nationality, have this in common.

National Defense Units are meeting our immediate problems. In these perilous moments, we must learn to Think clearly and then to act courageously. We are trying to win the war; we must also learn how to win a better world after the war. Not so many years ago, there lived a great American philosopher, Henry George, who foresaw our present conditions. His philosophy is one of astounding prophecy and a clear cut solution. He was a practical thinker, who earned a living from a printing press and saw far beyond the type.

Today, throughout America those who understand Henry George are constructively building International Democracy. This keeps me busy. What are YOU doing? If you are interested in knowing the WHY of our abundant chaos, and want to learn what YOU might do about it, browse through the enclosed pages.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

JEAN LACKEY

Farewell Party

NEW YORK—The numerous friends of Mr. Paul Peach staged a farewell surprise party for him in the school cafeteria Wednesday evening, July 29. As announced elsewhere on this page, Mr. Peach has left for Des Moines to take up certain responsible scientific work in connection with the war effort.

A Visitor From Overseas

Mr. C. Craig of Liverpool, England, was a recent visitor to the New York School. Prior to the outbreak of the war, Mr. Craig, now in the British Mercantile Marine, conducted classes in the philosophy of Henry George in Crosby, the Liverpool suburb in which he makes his home. He received his own class instruction under Mr. E. J. McManus. Mr. McManus had inaugurated a series of classes in Liverpool following his attendance at the London Economic Conference in 1936, having been influenced to that course, to some extent, at least, by the urging of Mr. Lancaster M. Greene, an American delegate to the conference, with whom he had become well acquainted during the sessions.

Mr. Craig reports that the war has curtailed teaching activity in England but expressed his delight at seeing the New York School in full swing. He said that the School is the most encouraging thing he has seen in many months and that it has revived his hopes that something may be done in a practical way to bring about a more widespread understanding of the philosophy of Henry George.

After visiting Mr. Greene's class and chatting with a number of students and teachers, Mr. Craig accepted the School's offer to furnish him with a Teacher's Manual and Lesson Sheets so that he could conduct a class on shipboard.

Mr. Craig is now on his way to a far-distant part of the world and it is quite possible that his shipboard class will be able to complete the full course in Progress and Poverty en route.

Colleges Studying George

NEW YORK, N. Y.—As a result of the activities of the College Committee of the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, a number of colleges report that they are using "Progress and Poverty" and "Protection or Free Trade" as texts.

In this connection the president of Grinnell College writes:

"The materials which you sent me from the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation are most interesting, and I was glad to get them. It is interesting to know that after so many years many thoughtful men are studying again with real profit the economic and political ideas of Henry George. Perhaps in due time this great social prophet will come into his own. I certainly hope so."

Sincerely yours,

Samuel N. Stevens

President

Paul Peach Resigns

July 20, 1942

Miss Margaret Bateman, Director,
Henry George School of Social Science,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Miss Bateman—

It is with the utmost regret that I notify you of my intention to resign from the staff and faculty of the New York School, effective August 1, 1942.

I have received a request to undertake responsible scientific work in connection with the war effort, which will take me away from New York, probably for the duration. While I am not at liberty to disclose the exact nature of the work in question, I may say that it will make use of my chemical and mathematical knowledge. Although I do not wish to make any unnecessary mystery, I think it best not to reveal any details as to my further plans, save that I shall be in Des Moines, Iowa, for a training period of possibly two months. After that I shall be assigned to active duty elsewhere. My wife will remain in New York until I receive my final assignment, and will then join me.

It would be idle to deny that I have from time to time had differences with some here at the School. It is my wish that all these differences may be forgotten, and that I may leave behind me only pleasant and friendly memories. I shall never forget the spiritual and intellectual benefits I have derived from my five years' association with the School, and shall never cease to pray for its continued purity and growth. I hope that wherever I may go, I may yet be an influence, even though in but a small way, for the eventual bringing about of a true free society.

Any communication addressed to me after I leave should be handed to my wife, who will forward it to me. After her departure I can be reached through Lieut. William Witort, U. S. N.

Please convey to all my dear friends the assurance of my continuing warm regard.

Yours sincerely,

PAUL PEACH

Headmaster, Correspondence Division

Engagement Announced

A little bird told us that our charming co-worker, Miss Alma Christiansen has become engaged to Mr. Warren A. Beman, a student of the School. Miss Christiansen is the daughter of Mr. Andrew P. Christiansen, veteran Georgist teacher and is herself assistant registrar of the New York School.

Another Georgist

On Sunday July 19th Miss Amanda Brown joined the family of Mr. and Mrs. Cal. Brown as the new and junior member. Calloway Brown is one of the teachers attached to the New Jersey extension of the Henry George School of Social Science.

MARY'S LITTLE LOT

Mary had a little lot—
The soil was very poor;
But still she kept it all the same,
And struggled to get more.

She kept the lot until one day
The people settled down—
And where a wilderness had been
Grew up a thriving town.

Then Mary rented out her lot—
(She would not sell, you know)—
And waited patiently about
For prices still to grow.

They grew, as population came,
And Mary raised the rent.
With common food and raiment now,
She could not be content;

She built her up a mansion fine—
Had bric-a-brac galore—
And every time the prices rose
She raised the rent some more.

"What makes the lot keep Mary so?"
The starving people cry—
"Why, Mary keeps the lot, you know,
The wealthy would reply.

And so each one of you might be—
"Wealthy, refined and wise"—
If you had only hogged some land
And held it for the rise.

(Continued from page 232)

was killed and seven other militia wounded. The posse's opponents suffered the loss of three killed, including Thomas Whitney, one of their leaders, and many wounded, including Robert Noble, prominent in outbreaks of the previous decade, who made his escape. The survivors took refuge in Noble's house, from which they continued their resistance. In vain did the Sheriff go to Poughkeepsie to get the assistance of the troops; for when he got there he found that they had gone off to Prendergast's home on the Philipse Patent.

Meanwhile dispatches from Livingston Manor told of another uprising in which about two hundred men "marched to murther the Lord of the Manor and level his house, unless he would sign leases for 'em agreeable to their form, as theirs were now expired and that they would neither pay Rent, taxes, &c, nor suffer other Tenants." However, they were dispersed, after making dire threats, by an armed band of forty led by Walter Livingston and his son.

True in Cross Creek, Too

Writes Mrs. Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings in her latest best-seller, "Cross Creek":

"It seems to me that the earth may be borrowed but not bought. It may be used but not owned. It gives itself in response to love and tending, offers its seasonal flowering and fruiting.

"But we are tenants and not possessors, lovers and not masters. Cross Creek belongs to the wind and the rain, to the sun and the seasons, to the cosmic secrecy of seed, and beyond all, to time."

I wish to thank you for publishing "Caoutchouc," by Mr. George B. Bringmann, in the May Freeman. I myself have been a rubber grower in West Africa, and I am interested in the fight Mr. Simpson is waging against the monopoly and selfish greed as demonstrated today even in a grave crisis.

Burlingame, Cal. Albert R. Gould

New Trustee and Director

NEW YORK—Trustees of the Henry George School of Social Science announce that Mr. William S. O'Connor has been elected as a member of the Board. Mr. O'Connor resides in Westport, Conn., has long been active in the Georgist movement, and is a teacher at the headquarters school.

Mr. O'Connor has also been elected a Director of The Freeman Corporation.

(Continued from page 230)

enterprise, thrift and inventive genius, to maintain such an incongruous element in the system of free and competitive enterprise as the present arrangement by which the rent of land goes chiefly into private pockets. For this means, as has been already indicated, that a part of us are allowed to collect from the rest of us merely for giving the latter **permission** to work on and to live on the earth in those locations having geologically produced and community produced advantages. The free enterprise system, reformed as it might be reformed, is greatly to be preferred, or so many of us believe, to a socialistic or communistic system. But what if men cannot be made to understand why it works as badly as is does, and cannot understand—or will not understand—why and how it needs rforming! And what if the end result is a completely regimented economics system under the direction of a highly centralized and all-controlling state!

Mail Enrollment Boosted

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Selection of "Progress and Poverty" by the Classics Club has resulted in a windfall for the Correspondence Course Division of The Henry George School of Social Science.

By arrangement with the Classic Club editors—John Kieran, Hendrik van Loon, Pearl Buck and William Lyons Phelps—a copy of the first lesson of the school's correspondence course was enclosed in each of the 40,000 copies of the special edition printed to meet the anticipated demand for Henry George's masterpiece.

The books are moving out steadily, and already more than 1,200 enrollments for the correspondence course have been received. School officials expressed the belief that the total is likely to run to as many as three thousand.

Filipino Students Sought

NEW YORK—The Filipino Reporter, a monthly periodical dedicated to the cause of American-Filipino goodwill, friendship, and mutual understanding, which reaches 150,000 Filipinos in America, will carry a full page advertisement of the Henry George School in the next issue, urging Filipinos to enroll for the School's free course in Progress and Poverty.

Manfrini Transferred

R. Joseph Manfrini, teacher at the headquarters school, has been transferred to Waterbury, Conn. on an accounting job that will last for a few months. Friends who would like to write to Mr. Manfrini should address their letters to 18-2nd Avenue, Waterbury, Conn.

New Jersey Faculty Meets

NEWARK, N. J.—The New Jersey Faculty met at 17 Academy Street on June 26th for its regular monthly meeting, to discuss "The Ethical Approach as a Way of Teaching the Georgist Philosophy." Mr. S. Fiore gave the principal talk of the evening, and, in speaking of George's deep humanitarianism, protested a too coldly rationalistic approach to what is in no sense merely an academic study.

The July Faculty meeting was held on the 30th, with Mr. George L. Rusby in the chair. The topic for the evening was "Definitions."

It's a Difference of Opinion That Makes Horse Races

Gertrude E. Mackenzie, Washington, to Lancaster M. Greene: " 'Queer Wreckonomics' is a clever title for your little contribution in the July Freeman."

A newspaperman, a friendly critic, to the Editor: " 'Queer Wreckonomics!' An atrocious play on words ___ to be avoided ___ not bright and too undignified."

Canadian Visitors

Recent visitors to school headquarters in New York were Miss Strethel Walton, Secretary of the Henry George School of Montreal, and Miss Aileen Rogers, a graduate of that school.

There's a Reason

The following letter speaks for itself:

I have a friend who has received a Government check for $1,000 this year for not raising hogs. He now proposes to get a farm and go into the business of not raising hogs; says, in fact, not raising hogs appeals to him very strongly.

Of course, he will need a hired man, and that is where I come in. I write to you as to your opinion of the best kind of farm not to raise hogs on, the best strain of hogs not to raise and how best to keep an inventory of the hogs you are not raising. Also, do you think capital could be provided by issuance of a non-hog-raising gold bond?

My friend who received the $1,000, got it for not raising 500 hogs; now we figure we might easily not raise 1500 or even 2000, hogs, so you see the possible profits are limited only by the number of hogs we do not raise.

My friend who received the $1,000 check has been hog raising for 40 years, and the most he ever made was $400 a year. Kind of pathetic to think how he wasted his life raising hogs when not raising them would have been so much more profitable.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

A life-long Republican who now wishes to join the Democratic party

New Quarters

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The newly elected president of the Women's Single Tax Club, of Washington, Miss Gertrude E. McKenzie, has established headquarters for the organization at the Washington Hotel. Fall and Winter meetings of the Club will be held at the new quarters.

Miss Lackey Writes On the Philippines

NEW YORK—Miss Jean Lackey, Publicity Director of the Henry George School of Social Science, has been asked to prepare a series of articles on her recent visit to the Philippines a few years ago for The Filipino Reporter. The Editor of The Reporter writes to Miss Lackey: "I shall ask you to be one of our special contributors, and to give me more about the Henry George School of Economic Thought. I want to see that Progress and Poverty is in every Filipino home. To that end I would like you to supply me with all the available material that might help The Reporter to induce Filipinos to buy the book and to become apostles of the immortal Henry George."

Miss Lackey's articles will not only cover the more interesting experiences of her sojourn in the Philippines but will highlight the fact that her search for an answer to the problem of poverty, in the Philippines as well as other countries of the world, led her finally to the Henry George School of Social Science, where a solution to the problem was found.

Painting Restored

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Through the generosity of Mrs. George Howe of New York, Washington, and Alexandria, Virginia, the Misses Dorothy O'Grady and Alice Rice, and Mr. Archie Matteson, the portrait of Henry George has been restored. The painting hangs in the Students' Room and is a welcome to all who enter.

New York Faculty Meets

NEW YORK, N. Y.—On Thursday evening July twenty-third members of the faculty of the Henry George School of Social Science listened to Lancaster M. Greene and C. O. Steele tell "Why a tax on land values cannot be passed on." Miss Joan Billington presided and under her skillful and gracious chairmanship the question period following the two talks brought out interesting comment and several intricate blackboard diagrams.

Another meeting of the faculty will be held in two weeks and a paper prepared by Paul Peach on "The Nature and Cause of Interest" will be read.

Attention Please

Those living in and near New York who would like to contribute some of their time and talent to the cause for economic enlightenment might do so by dropping in at the school and helping the overworked regular volunteers get out the announcements for the Fall courses. Stuffing, stamping, addressing and that sort of stuff.

Regional Meetings

NEWARK, N. J.—July 14th marked the first of a series of regional meetings for the Henry George School of Social Science of New Jersey. Held in Oradell, N. J., this was especially for the alumni and faculty of Bergen County.

A. C. Matteson, the chairman, spoke of plans for the Fall classes. The speaker of the evening, Mr. Frank Chodorov, spoke on The Law of Human Progress, and invited a question and answer period at the cose of his talk. There were thirty-five graduates present.

On July 17th, a second meeting will be held in Dover, with W. L. Hall presiding. Other sessions will be held from time to time throughout the summer in the various communities where classes have been conducted. It is hoped that these occasional get-togethers, at which more advanced phases of Georgist philosophy may be presented, will serve to keep alive the spark of interest kindled by the courses on fundamentals.

Lucky Montrealers

Members of the summer class in Democracy vs. Socialism at the Henry George School of Montreal were entertained by the school president, Mr. John Anderson, at his Islesmere home on July 15.

Fall classes at the Montreal school will begin in September.

The article in the July Freeman by H. Ellenoff entitled "Thurman Arnold and Post-War Prosperity" to my mind is another classic example of how the editors of the Freeman are willing to sell George down the river merely in order to uphold their policy of opposing the present Administration.

In defense of Arnold, I invite the readers of the Freeman to obtain a copy of Arnold's 81 page book entitled "Democracy and Free Enterprise," published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

Let the reader then judge for himself if Arnold is not in complete agreement with John C. Lincoln who states in the article in your July issue "A Firm That Makes Labor Profitable" that "if those who control the flow of capital withhold it from use where it will make possible higher efficiency, in an effort to foster monopoly and safeguard existing investments, they are not giving free enterprise a chance."

What does Arnold say specifically? Let me quote from his book mentioned above (page 45 and 46):

"The President in his remarkable message in 1938 decided on a campaign against the cartel system, which in this country is ordinarily referred to as 'monopoly.' That tradition consists not in hiring experts to make broad general plans, but in breaking up, one at a time, the restraints on production and distribution of goods. There is nothing in it which is antiethical to any particular plan relating to any particular industrial activity. It does assume, however, that legislative plans should be adapted to specific evils and that the future of industrial democracy does not lie in any more government control than is required to remedy specific evils. It believes that in the long run the most efficient production and distribution of goods will come from PRIVATE INITIATIVE IN A FREE MARKET." (Capitals mine).

Instead of Georgists opposing Arnold they should be realists enough to support him. And for the same reason that Henry George was willing to support any candidate who opposed the tariff.

In George's time the burning question of the day was the tariff question. As he says in his "Protection of Free Trade" the tariff question necessarily opens the whole social question.

Under today's conditions, many Georgists believe that it is the patent question that opens the whole social question and not the land question or the tariff question.

Arnold and his Anti-Trust Division is logically the spearhead of such an attack.
Boston, Mass. Franklin S. Barry

One of the nicest things about The Freeman are the biographies which appear each month. But most of them are stories of veteran Georgists; I recall few laudatory stories of those dauntless younger Georgists, born in the twentieth century, who are carrying on the work.

Among these, none shines with a brighter light than Mrs. Otto (Edith) Siebenman, and it is time somebody gave this little girl a hand! (And little girl she is—size 11 in dressmaker's parlance). President of the Chicago Women's Club for three terms, she found time to teach classes and to do an infinite number of manual and mental chores for the school. Edith has never minded getting her finger-nails broken painting walls and washing windows, and making drapes for the school; on the intellectual side, she has written articles, given talks, designed and lettered invitations, planned programs and a hundred other chores that might go thankless because of the dispatch and personal modesty with which they were accomplished.

She is a dynamo of energy, and everything she does is for the glory of Henry George, and the perpetuation of his works. I think she is typical of many Georgists, and it is time these unsung heroines get a bouquet or two.

Orchids to Mrs. Siebenman and all the other younger people who are too busy to receive congratulations.
La Grange, Ill. Mildred Baldwin

I think you will find that "The Fence or the Ambulance" poem, printed in the July number of The Freeman, was written by Edmund Vance Cooke, a very close friend of Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, whose championing of the Single Tax cost him a fortune and a host of erstwhile friends.
Seattle, Wash. Louis Nash

I want you to know how thrilled I was to see "Pioneers of Social Reform in Chicago" in the June Freeman, and to learn that this was only the first of a number of such articles to come. It will certainly please a lot of us oldsters, as well as the younger set.

John A. White—a great power. Your article brings to mind how John used to wade in and lambast that wild-eyed Socialist, Tom Lucas, in debate. I termed him the Lion of the movement. That was back in 1900 or so in Minneapolis, when good old Dr. Finnegan, Clint McDaniels and others of note were with us. S. A. Stockwell is still on deck, as is Oliver T. Erickson, now of Seattle, Washington.
Fairhope, Ala. Emil Knips

It seems to me that in his piece in the July Freeman Mr. Ellenoff has used Thurman Arnold as a peg on which to hang his interesting findings regarding eearly land legislation in this country, and has not therefore been altogether fair to Mr. Arnold.

The Saturday Evening Post is not particularly noted for its willingness to grapple with fundamental economic principlees and Mr. Arnold no doubt cut his cloth to suit the circumstances. I heard Mr. Arnold address the Kiwanis convention on June 27th and was amazed and delighted with the force and bluntness of his attack on resource monopoly in this country. Whether or not he subscribes to Mr. George's remedy I do not know, but he brings down plenty of abuse upon his head for even pointing to the evil and for even faint gleams of intelligence we should be thankful, maybe even hopeful.

Mr. Ellenoff's article was excellent however. Mrs. W. S. Holman, the congressman whose eloquence he brings to light was apparently a precursor to Henry George. Strangely enough such bits of eloqueence do not find their way into oratorical anthologies.
Briarcliff, N. Y. Herbert Thompson

Judging by letters on the "reader's page" quite a number of Georgists resent The Freeman's editorial policy regarding the present war. As Georgists they are properly convinced that wars are the result of economic ignorance and injustice, and could be prevented if the

economic principles in which they believe were put into effect. No argument there. These dissenters probably will also agree that it is a fact that this nation is in this war, win, lose, or draw, but they seem to believe that individually they have the right to refuse to participate. They emulate Mahatma Ghandi—or the proverbial ostrich.

As Georgists we are also convinced that robbery and burglary are the results of avoidable economic conditions. Does that mean that we forego the accepted right to protect ourselves against such by force? Is one who resists responsible for ensuing violence? Is one who advocates resistance guilty of "ballyhooing" for robbery and burglary?

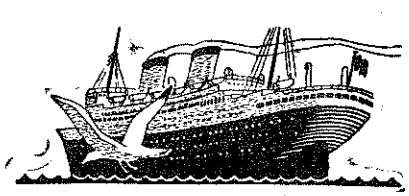
Do these critics believe that a barricade of Henry George's works will suffice against the bayonets of those who would enslave them? Or do they believe conditions as we have known them were so bad that the new order imposed by the Herrenvolk will be an improvement? It might be helpful if they would clarify their own position and also suggest a plan of action to take the place of fighting.

In the meantime they might declaim the folly of war to Hirohito and Schickelgruber; most readers of The Freeman are probably already convinced.
Springfield, Mo. Paul R. Nolting, D.D.S.

Where does Robert C. Ludlow get that "we" stuff when he refers to the Georgist cause? Mr. Ludlow is obviously a Marxist. Or, perhaps, alas, he is merely that saddest result of literacy, the eclectic rebel, who has read all the literature of dissent since Piers Ploughman and is in impartial agreement with the entire library, which includes Robert Ingersoll, Sir Thomas More, Edward Bellamy, Upton Sinclair—and, oh, yes, Henry George.

Fortunately, Mr. Ludlow is very young—a fact which is readily deduced from his rather shop-worn anti-bourgeois humor. Twenty years ago, when Mr. Ludlow was in rompers, a favorite jest of The Liberator was Babbitt's daily shower.

Fortunately, also, Mr. Ludlow is not without a smattering of Henry George and is probably acquainted with a number of New York Georgists (it goes without saying that Mr. Ludlow lives in New York). Perhaps they can persuade him to enroll in a "Progress and Poverty" class.
Morton Grove, Ill. Herbert B. Jones



In the July issue of The Freeman Stephen Bell makes the following statement: "As far as we can see, nature and her laws are fixed and inexorable—beneficient if observed and used right, and visiting their own punishments if ignored or used wrongly."

Is not Mr. Bell confusing natural law (intent or will of the Creator) with human law (intent or will of hman beings)? On page 60 of "Science of Political Economy" Henry George states: "Natural laws have no sanctions in the sense of penalties imposed upon their violation, and enforced subsequent to their violation; they cannot be violated. Man can no more resist or swerve a natural law than he can build a world."

By using the words "beneficient," "aright," "punishments," and "wrongly," Mr. Bell has brought in the factor that is answered on page 91: "But in the light of modern civilization we may see that that (exertion) they deemed a curse is in reality the impulse that has led to the most enormous extensions of man's power of dealing with nature. So true is this that all good or evil are not in external things or in their laws of action, but in will or spirit."
Boston, Mass. Sanford Farkas

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Although a reader of the Freeman, to the extent that time has permitted, I must acknowledge that I have not been such a consistent and thorough reader of its pages up to now as to be qualified to express either approval or disapproval of its contents. Spurred, however, by the criticisms of the Freeman, which you have so wisely published in your May and June issues, I have made a study of the March to June issues, which cover the period since you became editor, and I have become convinced that the attacks on the Freeman under your editorship are unjustified and that you are doing an excellent job.

The most conspicuous attack of course is that of Mr. Bashian in the May issue and is principally centered on your editorial in the March issue entitled "The Right to Work." In this you mention the attempts by union labor to secure special privileges by legislation in violation of the right to work, and although you add that this right to work lies elsewhere, Mr. Bashian can only see in your editorial an attack on labor. To me it is nothing of the kind, but it does show to union labor the unwisdom of its present policy, and how the true rights of labor can be secured.

In the June issue you are criticised from the isolationist point of view because of your editorial "Georgists in the Fight for Freedom," in which you state "the immediate task, before us, is to win the war, the war which is to decide whether the world is to be slave or free." It is a pity that the emotions stirred by the war tend to force the Georgists into hostile camps, but I venture to say that your critics would be far more numerous than they are, and properly so in my opinion, had you adopted the anti-war attitude of the isolationist group.

I have found many excellent articles in your issues of the Freeman, particularly the sound educational article by John C. Lincoln in the April issue, your own article in "Landfall after the War" in the June issue and the article in the same issue by Henry Ware Allen on Labor Unions and Strikes. I give you my best wishes for the success of your efforts in the work you have to do, so difficult under present circumstances.
Boston, Mass. John S. Codman

June issue is good, even if Una E. Miller of Summit, N. J., doesn't approve. "Who Gets It," by R. W. Stiffey, should be published in leaflet form for the man on the street.
Irvington, N. J. Robert Blacklock

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