

The Freeman

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Five Cents

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Steel-clad forts could afford no defense against the dynamite-dropping balloons and death-dealing airships which will be the next product of destructive invention, (but) free trade would prevent their ever being sent against us.—Henry George in "Protection or Free Trade?" (1886).

Thought and the World of Action

A friend of mine—one with whom amity rests on understanding—writes me that “ideas have no commodity value today.” He does not elaborate. Therefore, the meaning of this remark must be garnered from the context of his background and his present preoccupation.

When one who dwells in the realm of ideas is suddenly thrust into a maelstrom of action—as, for instance, a college professor turned politician—the resulting sense of accomplishment is quite exhilarating. Now he is “doing something.” He is like a football player who after many rainy afternoons of blackboard instruction has finally dug his cleats into the sod.

There is a physical satisfaction which the ivory tower denied him. Things are moving; the ringing telephone portends importance; people are coming and going; orders are given and received; there is motion, noise, tense situations to meet, problems to solve—he is “doing something.”

It is natural and necessary that he should give value, “commodity value,” to the something he is doing. It is natural because self-sanction is compensatory. It is necessary because it makes for the efficiency that is reflected in the pay envelope. The man who does not enjoy his work places no value upon it, and hence loses in that self-esteem which is the balm of life; nor can he achieve the emoluments of success. Pride and profit lead to job-rationalization.

But objective values, those that obtain in the market place of history, have a way of making the hustle-and-bustle values of temporary achievement appear picayune. And these objective values are entirely in the field of ideas.

The glory that was Greece, as we see it now, was not in the make-work programs of Pericles but in the ideas expressed in its art and its philosophy; the grandeur that was Rome may have seemed at the time to be the conquest of the known world, while now we think of it in terms of Cicero, Plutarch, Cato, Vergil, et al. It is the ideas of Voltaire that now have “commodity value,” not the activity of the guillotine.

My friend might answer: “I am not interested, because I cannot influence the verdict of history; I am concerned only with those values which in my time and by my effort can gain currency.”

This point of view is sound and cannot be dismissed offhand as expediency. We must do things now, first because we live now, and sec-

ondly because we must live. But even the things we do are important only insofar as they express ideas, and their importance is in direct proportion to the soundness of these ideas.

We must dig potatoes or make shoes or write briefs, to sustain life. But we have a choice. We can do these things only because of the profit involved or we can grow better potatoes, fashion therapeutic shoes or build justice into our briefs. Or, better yet, we can do these things for profit and invest our lives with the most satisfying “commodity value”—ideas.

The glorification of action for action's sake is a soporific. It lulls that intellectual curiosity which makes for real action, a change in the status quo of thought. For it satisfies the restless soul with a refuge from reality; it substitutes physical exertion for mental adventure; it replaces the difficult value of ideas with the quasi-value of movement.

To this my friend might retort: “In the long run, it is true, ideas influence thought and change social conditions; but there is the immediate problem of existence that must be met, and the short-term policy most important to the contemporary scene requires the doing of something now.”

But if what can be done now must in its results invalidate basic principle is it even temporarily desirable? Is the palliative worth while if it makes the patient sicker and delays his recovery? Or kills him?

The yearning for palpable results is the mirage which unbalances the mind. It arises from an identification of one's corporeal and finite existence with all reality. It is the search for immortality here and now. It is compensation for the deflated ego. It is the sign of sophomore immaturity, but it is by no means the insignia of youth. It is the idolatry of evanescent success.

Calisthenics have their proper function, and in the routine of existence it is necessary that action must implement ideas and record results. But emphasis upon action per se, or idealization of recordable results, is like identifying amorous conquests with love. It is a false evaluation. The only true values are ideas, which, permeating the depth of the human mind, work in their inscrutable way toward a better world of better men.

*Other than by fire, vandalism, etc.—Metropolitan Housing Council, October, 1939.

tions. It means that the world will get all that the cartel managers estimate it can consume and at a monopolistic price. What the price of rubber would be in a free market—without restrictions on planting, with plenty of room for storage, without political pressure on capital—could be ascertained only in a free market, which does not exist anywhere. How much rubber the world could consume, how many rubber tires, for instance, would be discarded before they reach the blowout stage, there is no way of telling in a monopolistic market. But, if it is true that man seeks to satisfy his desires with the least effort, then one can safely say that if the price of rubber were down many more children would have rubber dolls, and tennis would be a faster game.

No monopolist, yellow or white, wants a free market. Price, not patriotism, determines the course of his blood. So the cartel decided that at a price which would yield them a fat profit the world in 1940 would use 1,050,000 tons of rubber. The production was put at 1,450,000 tons. The excess supply of 400,000 tons enabled the British government to complete deliveries to United States of the agreed-upon war reserve. Nice arrangement! Figured out to a T—although with little regard for the fellow whose jalopy is about to skid into Kingdom Come because he hasn't the price for a new set of tires.

Some details of the clever manipulation toward a monopoly profit are interesting. For instance,

the quota for the third quarter of 1940 was set at 85 per cent. But the demand rose because of the war and at a meeting of the International Rubber Regulation Committee on September 9, 1940, it was decided that an increase of five points for the fourth quarter would not lower the established price or the desired profit. In fact, soaring war prices made increased production quite alluring.

And so carefully is the permitted world consumption figured out that the exact amount of tons which each of the signatory countries may export is established in advance. British Malaya, Netherlands East Indies, Ceylon, Thailand, Sarawak, North Borneo, India, Burma—each is told what it may ship. Britain, Holland, France and Japan (the "mother countries") give the colonies a domestic market; but the cartel takes care of the world.

It is reported that the cartel opposed the decision to permit greater production of rubber for the first quarter of 1941. They figured that not only would war taxation deprive them of any possible profit from the added sales, but also that once the United States had accumulated its reserve a serious curtailment of production would follow. Twice the meeting was postponed to permit the cartel to get a report from its agent in the United States; and it was only when he arrived with "strong American representations" urging quick delivery that the cartel consented to the increase.

Those cartel wangers are British, not Japanese.

Hatless Daze

THERE OUGHT TO BE A LAW. Because women's bobbed glory went hatless last summer, the millinery business went off six million dollars. Style changes should not be allowed to put so many chap-peaux makers out of work. Congress should pass some prohibitive legislation.

If the solons can't regiment milady into covering up maybe they can establish an ever-normal battery; they can set up a fund for taking off the market the excess production of the cute contraptions that adorn fair heads.

It may cost us a few cents in extra taxes, but we're used to that. And what gallant gentleman would object to helping the poor unemployed modiste?

We give the farmer a bonus for not producing wheat. The building owner who cannot induce people to live in his verminous slum dwelling is protected from loss by the value of his land, if he owns it.

Inefficient retailers are protected from chain competition by the punitive tax method. Composition billiard ball makers are made safe from the competition of foreign elephants by the tariff on ivory.

Everybody needs some form of protective help. Why leave the poor millinery business to its dire fate, now that the girls have decided to go hatless?

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Monopoly in Your Coffee Cup

CARTELIZATION is the technique for stabilizing a market which land monopoly has destabilized. A cartel is an agreement between monopolists, sanctioned by one or more governments, to control production of a commodity so to hold up price. "Market support" is the euphemistic excuse.

Our system of cotton, wheat and corn crop loans and export subsidies is an instance of an isolated national effort to regulate world market conditions. In effect, our government attempted to cartelize the production of these commodities—for the benefit ultimately of the farm land owners. It has failed in its ostensible purpose of affecting the world market because these products can be produced in many parts of the world; our subsidized prices encouraged competitive foreign production, even on marginal lands, and lost us our foreign markets. The net result of this internal cartel is that our government has lined the pockets of landowners and mortgagors with tax money.

Recently an agreement was signed on behalf of the United States and fourteen coffee-producing countries of the Western Hemisphere (subject to ratification of the home governments) in which the cartel principle of quota division of available markets among the producer nations has been applied. Details of the agreement are not at this moment available, or necessary for an evaluation of its purpose or probable results.

All such agreements are based on an estimated "normal" demand; the parties then divide by higgling or fiat the proportion each country will be permitted to export. Financial support is promised (this time by the United States Treasury) and the respective governments supplement the agreement with sanctions. The coffee drinker pays.

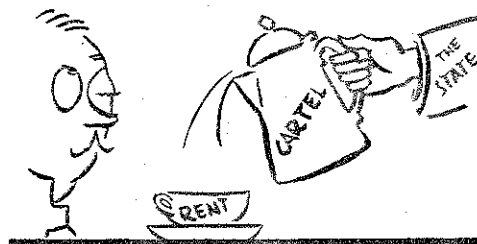
The rationalizing of such cartelization sets forth that it prevents "over production" on the one hand and destructive competition on the other. Its success depends on the degree of production control which the agreeing parties can maintain by virtue of ownership of limited sources of supply.

It is expected that the coffee cartel will succeed because it includes all presently important areas of production in the world and deals with a commodity that cannot be produced on large portions of the earth in quantities sufficient to affect prices.

But if the price established by the cartel discourages coffee drinking, there is always the cow or the water-well to fall back upon. Until then the cartelized owners of coffee lands and the various tax-collecting bodies will reap a harvest—at the expense

of the consumer, as usual.

The rationalizers of this scheme—and they include not only the monopolists but also many erudite men whose hearts throb for the welfare of humanity—never seem to consider how production would regulate itself in a free market; that is, if land were accessible to all producers on the mere payment of rent to the government.



Would men working for a living "overproduce" the things the market does not want? Would not the market price regulate their production? If a coffee farmer in Brazil found that the price did not repay him for his investment of labor and capital would he not automatically turn to the production of things the market calls for?

And, if there were no market he could at least raise the things that would assure him subsistence. Poverty, the scourge of civilization, would be impossible.

The reason for "one-crop" land is monopoly. The owner is not interested in production per se; he is interested in production only in so far as it brings him maximum rent.

In mass production of coffee, wheat, cotton or corn, he sees the greatest immediate return; he encourages the production of these "money crops" to the point where he is competing with himself, and his booty in rent declines. Then he seeks through government subsidy or the cartel system (which must have government support) to rig the market. It is the monopoly rent in the fixed price which is the magnet, not the world's need.

In "The Grapes of Wrath" the bewildered migratory worker, Joad, cannot understand what one man can do with a million acres. All he craves for, or thinks anybody could possibly want, is a few acres of "growin' land."

When land becomes "growin' land"—for crops and for buildings and for cattle—then only will all the economic evils of the one-crop system, and the social consequences, be avoided. But so long as land is used for raising the rent crop we will have cartelization and high prices—and poverty.

The House of Morgenthau

AMONG THE MOUNTAINS of brick and steel that converge at Wall and Broad Streets in New York is a severe looking two-story building which, in the folk-lore of our country, houses sinister men with macabre designs. It is the House of Morgan.

In the last war this group of financial devils deliberately drew this nation into the conflict, so the scribes said. Interpretive articles and annotated books supplied the "factual" basis for polemics on the matter, and so vehement were the verbal attacks by the reds and the pinks that somebody upped and bombed the bloody edifice. And the burden of all these attacks, written and oral, was that the House had manoeuvred us into sending our army and navy to Europe to save the Allies from defeat, in order that its loans to the Allies should not be wiped out.



Comes a new year. We're in it again, although not so deep as we will be. And the House of Morgan is strangely out of the picture, very strangely to us who have been taught to ascribe all wars to the machinations of international bankers. Can there be any other cause of war? Is it true, as some said in 1918, that wars are caused by the conditions that bring about poverty? That the lust for land is the prime cause of war?

However, the financial side of war, even if it is not causal, must not be overlooked. Somebody must pay. Unless and until the State decides to grab all property for the purpose of conducting war, thus abolishing the market and its price system, and reducing all its citizens to automatons, money will play a part in war. In the present war, it now appears, the fiduciary agency is destined to be the House of Morgenthau; that is, the United States Treasury.

This came to light a few weeks ago when the head of this house was reputed to be in consultation with British borrowing agents, and Jesse Jones, Federal Loan Administrator, declared that "Britain is a good risk for a loan." In the modern approved propaganda technique, this announcement presages a movement to make our national funds available to the British

when they want them. The public is being prepared for a fait accompli.

When the House of Morgan made a loan to anybody, private citizen or government, it took pains to secure collateral which it considered sufficient as to principal and interest. The monies it advanced were the monies of private citizens who entrusted their funds to this financial concern because they had faith, based on experience, in its judgment. The House of Morgan knew a "good risk." And the House of Morgan risked both its money and its business future on its judgment. If it made too many mistakes it would lose its trade.

The House of Morgenthau assumes no such responsibility and takes no such risk. The money it advances is neither its own nor that of investors to whom it must answer. It is tax money. While in theory it belongs to the people, who (again in theory) pay it for social services, it is in fact the property of the State—to be spent as the bureaucrats decide it should be spent, with no regard for its safety or return. If the State wastes the money, or lends it to a "good risk" which becomes a bad risk, the State accounts to no one. To replenish the loss there is always the taxing power.

The House of Morgan must ask its customers to subscribe to the securities it underwrites. The House of Morgenthau is only theoretically obligated to the citizens whose money it lends. There are no market rules for the State. Its only inhibition is the possibility of any threat to its power from public disapproval of its plans, particularly where its power is somewhat circumscribed by constitutional forms. Therefore, it must prepare the public for an acceptance of its acts. That's propaganda.

Thus we have the "good risk" argument. The language of the market place, which is always reasonable, is used to curry favor for an act of power. Britain will get the money regardless of its ability or willingness to repay. But the House of Morgenthau cannot say that. It must make the citizens believe that their tax money is being wisely invested.

Why? If we are at war, and if we believe Britain is fighting it for us, why not make an outright gift of the money? Why ask the British for a list of their securities and land holdings in this country? Why ask them to pledge their rents?

Evidently the House of Morgenthau has reason to believe that the citizens whose money it is about to give away are not so convinced that this is their war. That seems to be the only explanation for the "good risk" euphemism.

Wallace, Evangelist or Buyer

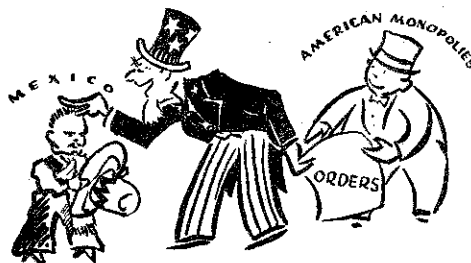
VICE PRESIDENT-ELECT WALLACE good neighbored us into Mexico last month. Rumor has it that this sort of work in Latin America will be a function of his otherwise innocuous office during the next four years.

Now, a good neighbor is one who not only passes the time of day with you, but also one who will help you out when you are in need. And a neighbor who flatly refuses to do business with you, even when you offer him attractive bargains, can hardly be called good. By that standard, in view of our protective policy, Mr. Wallace may find difficulty in convincing Latin America of our good neighborliness.

His mission may indeed have some embarrassing moments. For instance, he may run into the proposition of buying Mexican oil at a lower price than our domestic producers demand. Some months ago this happened. The Navy, which is under instructions to buy only domestic products, whenever possible, found that the only company able to guarantee such delivery was asking ten cents per barrel more than the lowest bidder, whose product would have come from Mexican oil wells. The higher bidder got the business.

Overlooking the extra cost to American taxpayers, this was not the way a good neighbor should act. Would not the purchase of this oil have improved our relations with Mexico much more than the most evangelical protestations of good will?

Large quantities of copper and other non-ferrous minerals are accumulating rapidly in Mexico (as well as in Chile and Peru), because the war has shut off European markets. These metals are vital for military purposes, yet because of our tariffs they can not come in. Mexican copper can be bought for two cents a pound less than domestic copper, but a four cent tariff keeps it piled up in Mexican warehouses. *Apparently we are more neighborly toward our own mine owners.*



With warehouses in Latin America bulging with raw materials, especially farm products, and the United States the only important market, no amount of explaining our willingness to buy from them will be conducive to kindly relations. Our deeds and Mr. Wallace's words simply won't harmonize. Hitler, with his disadvantageous barter system, would seem a better neighbor to Latin-American if he were able to dicker for their surpluses.

Labor, Wake Up!

IN 1918 PRESIDENT WILSON called some striking machinists in an arms plant "disloyal," and another plant was commandeered by the government when the owners refused to abide by a decision of the National War Labor Board. This country's experience in the World War was punctuated with strikes, but on the whole, arbitration methods worked well, particularly in plants operating on a cost-plus basis. And manufacturers of civilian goods conceded wage demands readily, adding the extra cost, plus profit, to their prices.

A very important change in the position of organized labor has taken place since 1918. At that time it was a litigant in dispute with capital. The government was the judge. Now, through labor legislation and through representation in government, it has acquired a place on the bench. Like all priv-

ileged groups it is part of the State.

But an essential condition of privilege is that the State which creates it may destroy it. The usual procedure is for the State to absorb the privilege it finds necessary to destroy. In Germany the absorption took the form of a "labor front" under complete domination of Hitler's henchmen, including former labor leaders. The British parliamentary procedure made absorption quite simple; a few places in the cabinet were conceded and labor's freedom of action ceased and in place of a voice on wages it got legislation of dubious market value.

Just how labor will become a vassal of the State in the United States is not quite clear yet. The outlines of the transition from freedom to slavery are visible in the active participation of labor leaders in the administration of the defense economy. But

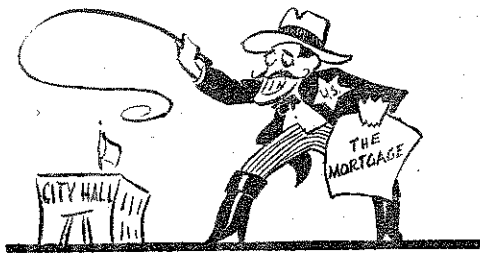
this is merely the procedural precursor of the event. Vital interference of labor with the plans of the State must bring about the clash that leads to liquidation.

Already we have had a skirmish: the strike last month in an aircraft plant. Arbitration obviated any important repercussions. But immediately a conference to study means of averting strikes that might stall the armament program was called at the White House, and the President declared that the

Administration's general policy was to keep defense production factories open. The details of this policy are still to be fixed. Also Congressmen have introduced bills which have the purpose of restricting labor's freedom of action. These straws indicate the direction of the wind. More power for the State means more shackles for labor. What will happen when, as a war economy brings about the irritating lag between wages and prices, labor becomes more restless, more demanding?

The World's No. 1 Singletaxer

WHEN REXFORD GUY TUGWELL—ex-professor, ex-braintruster, now economist for New York's Little Flower—was planner supreme for the New Deal, he learned that one must not be too prodigal with the truth. For saying right out loud that the purpose of the New Deal was to supplant private enterprise with an arch-angeled economy (which everybody who had eyes could see), he was eased out.



But, once a planner always a planner. He enjoys an incurable disease, one that combines the thrill of martyrdom, the feeling of omniscience, the pride of superiority over the common herd, the calm of messianic sublimity. It's grandiose to be a Planner, particularly in these days when it pays well.

Rex is promoting a new plan, for New York City this time, and because it contains a trick bonus to metropolitan land speculators there seems to be some chance of its getting beyond the talking stage.

Here's how it goes: New York real estate is overtaxed. Therefore, let's abolish real estate taxes alto-

gether. Property owners would pay just an income tax. (Rex may not have thought about it, but this is the very thing land speculators have dreamed about and prayed for.)

Having finished off the problem of real estate taxation so nicely, Rex has a scheme for abolishing the country's fiscal troubles in toto. All taxes should be paid to the Federal Government, which would then allocate the proceeds back to each city and State. Thus, beside saving the real estate business, Rex would stop the race between the cities and the Federal Government for workers' wages.

The plan at first glance may seem fantastic. But Mr. Tugwell, who deals in futures, knows his blueprint well. He knows, for instance, that through loans and grants to the cities and the States, the Federal Government is acquiring a mortgage on these political sub-divisions. Foreclosure must come sometime, because these reckless borrowers will never be able to pay up. Bankruptcy settlement will take the form of handing over all taxing power to the One Big Tax Collector; then mayors and governors, as a matter of duty, will lobby Washington regularly for subsistence hand-outs, holding forth the power to deliver votes as the quid pro quo.

Maybe R. G. T. is not so far-seeing as he appears to be. Other planners predict the necessity of a nation-wide sales tax to meet the defense budget and advocate a whopping levy so that all others could be abolished. Wouldn't that be a single-tax? Wouldn't the New Dealers be the world's No. 1 single-taxers? Or, is Hitler No. 1?

To Abolish War Make Peace Profitable.

Modern Feudalism at Work

By Dr. RAYMOND E. CRIST

The Balkan region, long notorious as the "cockpit of Europe," is characterized by a deep seated restlessness and instability. Turbulence, feuds and corruption are the heritage of centuries of Turkish misgovernment, and these evils have been accentuated by the conflicting Near Eastern policies of the Great Powers. In an attempt to analyze some of the developments in the Balkan area as a whole, let us examine a typical Balkan case — Yugoslavia, particularly the peasantry of Croatia and Dalmatia.

Before World War 1 the peasant in Croatia and Slovenia was a serf, bound to the soil; this serfdom (Kmetstvo) was abolished only after the war. In Dalmatia and Istria he was a share cropper; this system, with its familiar abuses, has by no means disappeared, in spite of laws passed to abolish it. In Bosnia and Herzegovina also the feudal pattern existed, but there the landlords were Moslems; Christians could be only serfs or free peasants. In 1915 there were 96,000 serfs, 151,000 free peasants and perhaps 10,000 landlords, and the free peasants were almost all Moslems. Here, too, serfdom was abolished after the war; but the agrarian reform was carried out in such a way that the peasant class was impoverished and the arable lands greatly reduced.

In the provinces of Slovenia, Croatia-Slavonia and Vojvodina there were 720 great landed estates with a total area of three million acres. A little less than half of this land was expropriated; most of it was given to the 300,000 families who were living on it at the time. Each family received about three acres. In addition, other settlers, including families of war veterans, received varying amounts up to about 18 acres. In Dalmatia the share-cropper system was abolished (at least on the statute books) and 97,000 families were given possession of the land they had long cultivated—125,000 acres, almost all of which was in very small plots planted in grapes.

With the war spreading to the Balkans, the future of Yugoslavia is rather dubious. Surrounded by treachery and faced with famine caused by this year's crop failure, she is in no position to resist Axis demands; but her worst weakness is her own economic mess.

Dr. Crist's paper is thus particularly timely. It appeared originally in more extended form in *THE SCIENTIFIC MONTHLY* for May, 1940, and we acknowledge gratefully permission to publish this condensed version.

The great feudal estates of Bosnia and Herzegovina were similarly divided up; the average family received about 12 acres.

Social conditions were largely responsible for these reforms. With years of war behind them and starvation staring them in the face, many peasants were ready to fall upon the great estates and divide up the land without benefit of government decree. The peasant war veterans who had become accustomed to the use of force heard vague rumors about what had happened in Russia and clamored for land in no uncertain terms. To these discontented classes the new govern-

ment threw land reform as a sop and gave the appearance of legality to what the peasants were ready to do violently. Little heed was paid to economic considerations, and the plots were often too small. Furthermore, the landlords were paid, at least in part, and they continued to live. After what had happened in Russia they were glad to preserve their lives and part of their prerogatives.

The peasants, on the other hand, derived little permanent benefit from the partitioning of the land, and their economy today is meager in the extreme. They seldom have meat to eat—animals, and often dairy products, must be sold for cash, and (if a buyer is found at all) in a buyer's market. At the little hotel in Krapinske a peasant was asking 15 dinar (30c) for a big fat duck, and was unable to sell it. The main food crop of Croatia is corn (maize) which grows well in the hot summers and can be raised with beans and pumpkins under a system of interculture, thus materially increasing the yield of foodstuffs per acre. In Dalmatia the main crops are wheat



From an Old Print

TAX COLLECTION TECHNIC
Yugoslavia, 1940 U. S. A. (?)

and potatoes. Everyone eats as much as he can until about Christmas, when the supply begins to run low. During this season many peasants gain from 20 to 30 pounds. But then comes the season of lean meals, when the main dish for months is soup made of a kind of coarse cabbage. On this diet the peasant is able to keep alive till spring.

A great deal of wine was once made in Dalmatia, but the market has been hermetically sealed by the erection of high tariff walls. Furthermore, there are the taxes. Wine must pay a 10 % transportation tax if it is moved from the place where it was produced. The result is that less and less is made. Tobacco is a government monopoly, and a peasant must buy a permit in order to raise it. But since the cost of a permit is almost prohibitive, a great deal is grown illegally. The government seems to ignore the fact that trade brings wealth. By putting prohibitive taxes on many products it has driven the peasants to the most primitive self-sufficiency.

In some poor districts the tax collectors have stopped peasants coming from town and taken what money they had, since it was a foregone conclusion that every one had back taxes to pay. To avoid this the money was frequently given the children, who went home by circuitous routes. Most of the ready cash goes to the government, and the peasants have no money to buy manufactured goods. Matches may be an unheard-of luxury, and if the kitchen fire goes out coals must be obtained from a neighbor to start another. During 1932-1933 thousands of homes used no sugar or matches. Even though there was no market—or ridiculously low prices—for their hogs, sheep and other farm produce, a large part of the peasantry was chronically undernourished. A high percentage of those examined for the army are unfit, and the percentage of the fit decreases each year. The rate of infant mortality is one of the highest in Europe.

The small peasant is often driven to seek credit from the local money lender, whose rates are very high; the very fact that peasants will trust themselves to the tender mercies of

these loan sharks shows what a crying need there is for capital. Since the peasant often can not make enough to pay the interest, not to mention the principal, he soon finds himself in debt, working for his creditors instead of himself. This condition continues until his plot of land comes under the hammer in order to pay his debt. Then he joins the proletariat in the city or becomes a day laborer in his village. A great many peasants have met this fate, although they have attempted to defend themselves in many ways. Of these, one of the most important has been the development of collectives.

In former times there existed in Croatia a kind of patriarchal community organization of society. All the grown male members chose the *gospodar* or head man, who was vested with a great deal of authority but who could be removed as soon as the majority wished. (Now the authority of the *gospodar* has been assumed by the state, which is not so easily changed.) Socially the "zadruga" was a community bound together by blood ties; economically it was a collective. Long before the war there was a well developed system of these local cooperatives. Unfortunately, after the war many of them were captured by aggressive modern business men who managed them to their own narrow advantage. Despite this, the will to co-operation is still strong in the peasant, and membership in the cooperatives has grown steadily; they cannot yet, however, supply the leadership and capital that it was hoped they might, as in Denmark.

Taxes are one of the most oppressive burdens the peasant has to bear; they have remained fixed despite the steadily falling prices of agricultural products. The collectives tried to have them lowered. Attempts at negotiation with the central authorities were first made, but without success. Then the peasants simply refused to take their produce to market till the taxes were reduced. This had the desired effect in some areas, particularly in those where the officials had been selected from the locality. The peasants were not only successful in getting taxes lowered,

but they gained confidence in their collective strength as well. However, this action was less successful in the wine-producing areas of Dalmatia, where the officials are not chosen from the local communities, but are appointed in and come from Belgrade. They were not interested in local conditions or in trying to lower the taxes to a level at which payment would be at least remotely possible.

In short, Yugoslavia is in the process of internal Balkanization as a result of short-sighted government policies. In a half-hearted attempt to foster ownership of land by peasants, the government has destroyed security of tenure. The result is an uprooted peasantry, ready for any change that might again stick their roots into the earth that they have tilled for centuries.

Connubiality Guaranteed

The House of Nissan in Japan is promoting marriages among its employees. Just another "welfare service" rendered employees by an enlightened employer!

The employees, it seems, "are wasting their most eligible years in the service of the company," and just don't have time to arrange their own marriages.

The newspaper account does not make it clear whether the prospective bride or groom need but send a post card (postage paid by the addressee), telephone (reversing the charge), or send a telegram (collect). But the service will be available with results, presumably, guaranteed.

Anyone who has gone out on a "blind date" may hesitate over an arrangement of that sort that may become permanent. But what's a poor working girl to do if she just doesn't have the time?

It appears that the Welfare Ministry has approved the project. One might ask, "Whose welfare?" But that might offend the sensibilities of the extremely courteous Japanese.

The plan is expected to increase the birthrate and help populate "a new order in East Asia." Our Asiatic cousins are apparently looking forward to a prolonged adventure in China.

—LLOYD BUCHMAN

Our Copper Patriots

By GEORGE BRINGMANN

The people are the State—the people are not the State. Contradiction? Perhaps, but not when you consider copper. The paradox arises from one of the most juicy morsels of state granted privilege that ever existed. The facts are dry in themselves, but become more interesting in the light of present circumstances, for they involve the armaments-for-defense program. In this connection they afford information which is of vital import to the most casual reader.

From 1894 to 1932 the United States permitted the free importation of copper; then, in 1932, a 4c tax per pound was imposed as a "temporary" revenue measure (Section 601-c of Title 4, Revenue Act of 1932). It has been extended four times since its inception, the most recent extension being from June 30, 1939 to June 30, 1941.

The tax was first imposed when copper was selling at 5½ cents a pound. It purported to be for revenue only. Actually, it was the equivalent of an embargo against imports; it created a prohibitive differential, not merely at the 5½ cent price, but also at the 16 cent high of April, 1937.

No copper has been imported since the imposition of the tax, except under bond for re-export. The one per cent bonding charge does not cover the cost of collection. There has been no revenue resulting from the tariff, and in the face of this failure its continuation would seem to warrant investigation.

The latest extension of the copper tariff was a result of pressure applied by 60,000 miners employed in the United States copper industry. This suggests that "revenue" has been forgotten and "protection" substituted. In this respect, too, the effort has been a failure. Labor is not being protected by substantially higher prices; the average price since 1932 has been 9.473 cents a pound f. o. b. Connecticut Valley, and the average export price during

the same period has been 9.294 cents a pound c. i. f. European ports. In the latter part of 1936 and the spring of 1937, when production reached a peak volume, export copper sold at premiums up to one cent.

What the tariff has accomplished is to benefit the copper interests, who are concerned not only with the extraction of copper, but also with its fabrication into finished products. The tax allows, and indeed facilitates, control of copper production and fabrication by three companies. The annual mine production capacity of the United States, together with some Cuban duty-frees, is about a million tons. Of this total over 80 per cent is controlled by three companies:

Kennecott	366,500 tons
Anaconda	250,000 tons
Phelps-Dodge	236,000 tons
Total	852,500 tons

These three companies also own about 50 per cent of the copper fabricating capacity of the nation through the following subsidiaries:

American Brass Co. 100 % owned by Anaconda

Anaconda Wire & Cable 60 % owned by Anaconda

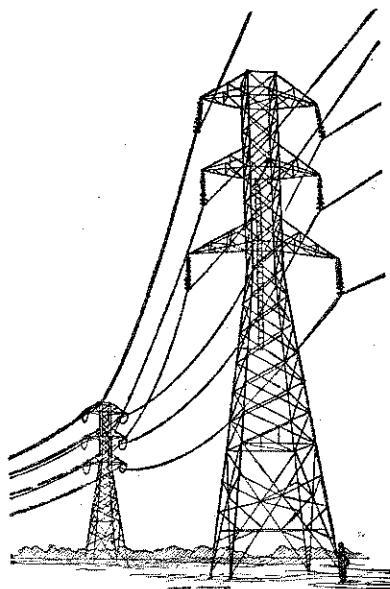
The Chase Companies, Inc. 60 % owned by Kennecott

Kennecott Wire & Cable 100 % owned by Kennecott

Phelps-Dodge Products Co. 100 % owned by Phelps-Dodge.

Under this privilege-created set-up the independent fabricator is compelled to buy in a controlled market. This circumstance tends to stall production and expansion by independents, for the Big Three could easily expand their fabricating plants from 50 to 80 per cent and fabricate their entire output. If the Three were to make this increase in manufacturing facilities, the independents would have no copper in a large proportion of their current plant. Moreover, the independents have another hurdle in their path. Large consumers of fabricated copper naturally tend to favor the Big Three in placing orders, to assure timely delivery. Orders with the independents might not be filled because of their inability to deliver, thus stalling production in the plants of the consumers of fabricated copper.

This tendency is accentuated by the fact that when export copper goes to a premium, raw metal is sent abroad, leaving less to the domestic market. If all the independently mined copper (less than one-fifth of the total production) were sold for export, the independent fabricators would be 40 per cent idle. If, in addition, half of the Big Three's raw surplus were exported, the independents would be 90 per cent idle. They just could not get copper. This means that the independents must outguess the copper market by buying large inventories at the right time and the right price, or perish. During the 1936-37 boom, the Big Three found it easy to get business away from independent fabricators by announcing price advances on 24 hours notice. The Big Three's fabricating



subsidiaries offered to protect all orders received before the deadline. The huge buying waves that followed left the independents unable to get metal.

Another method employed by producer-owned fabricators to get business away from the independents is to buy heavily from the parent producer, after which the producer announces a price advance. The subsidiary can then afford to sell fabricated copper at the old low price while the independent can meet these terms only if he has clairvoyantly guessed the plans of the integrated company.

The favorite argument for protection is that it stimulates production, but the copper tariff has had no such effect. The revenue has not paid its own costs of collection, and only monopoly has profited. But since 1932 the average price has yielded a 3½c profit margin. Since the outbreak of war in 1939, the price has ranged between 10c and 12½c a pound.

Now, for preparedness purposes we need copper, and we haven't enough. But there is plenty of copper throughout the world. The National Resources Board appointed by the President in 1934 reported that though the United States had some of the lowest cost mines in the world, our total known reserves recoverable at 9c or less are only 15 million tons. This is barely enough for twenty years, according to statistics on past consumption. Foreign reserves, on the other hand, are estimated at 83 million tons at a 9c stripped cost. The difference in cost of production in South Africa, South America and Mexico as compared with the United States is much less than is generally believed. In making such comparisons actual money cost of production is used; no allowance is made for depletion or royalties, but cost is credited with the value of by-products such as gold, silver and platinum.

On a stripped or money cost basis and running at annual capacity of one million tons, about half the American production is at 6c a pound or less, and the average cost for the entire million tons is estimated at

about 6c. Many of the larger South African mines have a stripped cost up to 8c, according to Standard Statistics. American mines yield a much higher percentage of precious metal by-products than do those of South Africa and South America. Mine owners know from experience that the low wages paid in Africa and Latin America do not result in lower costs, because of the inefficiency of the cheaper labor. The fact that the United States price does not vary from the foreign more than if no tax existed indicates that the tariff does not "protect" home industry; it simply keeps out foreign copper.

The present market price is around 12c. Latest reports have it that for 1941 copper fabricators specializing in armaments will need at last 1,200,000 tons. That amount exceeds our annual capacity. There is a small matter of 200,000 tons needed for the coming year. We can get some. But the 4c tariff keeps Chilean copper (at 10c a pound in United States ports) from entering the domestic market. Incidentally, much of the Chilean copper is owned by Kennecott and Anaconda. We find that because of this newest facet of the lovely tariff gem we are faced with a serious copper shortage which may seriously interfere with our preparedness program.

To meet this shortage it has been proposed that the government purchase Chilean copper (Kennecott's and Anaconda's) and that the government purchasing agency pay the 4c tariff. Of course, a tariff paid by the government itself is a purely fictitious transaction: it is like taking money out of one pocket and putting it in another; and thus at first glance the proposal appears to provide us with 10c copper.

A second glance, however, discloses one apparently innocuous fact—the Big Three of copper own and control half of the fabricating plants. With the government selling the metal at the previously set price of 12c in the United States market, the setup is simply a cute arrangement enabling the monopoly to purchase imported copper (mined by themselves in the first place) at 12c in-

stead of 14c, the price they would have to pay if they imported the copper themselves! As usual, there is a neat profit at both ends, and as extra usual, copper from sources other than those controlled by Anaconda and Kennecott are still effectively kept out of the market and out of competition.

A great hullabaloo has been raised condemning profiteering in the armaments program. Our naive citizenry has somehow acquired the idea that our preparation for defense should be unimpeded and as economical as possible. But celerity and economy cannot be assured if the necessary supplies of cheap, competitive copper are barred from entry—particularly metal from the low cost South African mines.

Repealing the tariff will bring South African copper into the market at considerably less than the monopoly-pegged domestic price of 12c a pound. And with the destruction of the monopoly in the extractive field would be destroyed the present privilege system in copper fabrication. Capital which is now frozen out would be attracted into the industry, and an increased plant capacity would make possible accelerated progress in the defense program.

This must be done if the people are to be the State in practice as well as in theory. It will not be done if the dignity of practice sits upon the brassy brow of Kennecott, Anaconda and Phelps-Dodge.

Confidentially, like sulfur, copper stinks.

The Freeman

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Israel in Bondage

By FRANCIS NEILSON

It is only in recent years that the economic conditions which prevailed in Galilee at the time of Jesus have received adequate attention. Now, however, several works have been published which not only cover the researches of scholars of a generation ago, but compare and sift their findings in the light of modern discoveries. Three of these are especially important: Dr. Joseph Klausner's "Jesus of Nazareth," Dr. Eisler's "The Messiah Jesus," and a particularly interesting short survey of the subject by Dr. Grant, "The Economic Background of the Gospels."

Renan seems to be the one writer of the nineteenth century who appreciated the question of tribute and tax as it affected the Hebrews. He says: "God being the sole master whom man ought to recognize, to pay tithe to a secular sovereign was, in a manner, to put him in place of God. Completely ignorant of the idea of the State, the Jewish theocracy only acted up to its logical intuition—the negation of civil authority and of all government. The money of the public treasury was accounted stolen money." The Talmud is explicit upon this point: the strict Jews regarded tribute as unlawful.

It would be useful if the significant evidence contained in the books of the prophets, revealing the crushing poverty, the double taxation, the spoliation which seemed to be carried on regularly, were gathered together in handy form. The cost of Herod's great building schemes must have been a frightful burden to a people who, so far as basic industry was concerned, had little chance to produce sufficient for its families. Famine was always a danger. There must have been frequent clamor against these exactions, for they covered pretty nearly everything: customs, octroi, tariff duties, temple toll, tribute, and tax, there was little that escaped; and to add to all these burdens there was the perni-

cious system of farming out the collection of taxes. One tax-farmer paid sixteen thousand talents a year for the privilege and retired enormously wealthy after about twenty years of collecting.

Conditions towards the end of the reign of Herod are described by the historian, Josephus: "When he (Herod) took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinarily flourishing condition, (but) he filled the nation with the utmost degree of poverty. There was no way of obtaining freedom from unjust violence without giving either gold or silver for it."

Three or four years before the birth of Jesus, the great revolt under Judas* began. For over sixty years riots and revolts were almost incessant. Spies were everywhere, and the people who could not flock to the standards of Judas were downtrodden and overcome by fear. The Zealots strictly upheld the old law concerning tribute, and by becoming outlaws escaped the ignominy of having to pay taxes. This is an important point and crucial in connection with many of the sayings of Jesus.

The Hebrews had known a system practically free of tax; there was the tenth to the tribe of Levy, because it had no inheritance. It is true, under priestly rule not only was the tenth increased, but many ways were devised to filch from the people more and more of their produce. Probably it is no exaggeration to say that agriculture was tithed to death. Many stories in

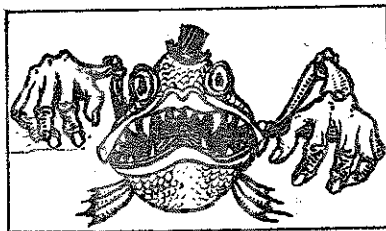
Hebrew literature reveal the rapacity of the priests, and every prophet of consequence protested against their ruinous exactions.

But what was oppressive from the priests became intolerable when the conqueror laid his heavy hand upon the Hebrews. Every class was roused to indignation by the Roman extortions. There was a poll tax on each individual, and for the first time women and slaves were included. There was an income tax, a tax on herds, a tax against the harvests. There was a salt tax, a "crown tax" (crowns of a bride and groom), and a tax on fruit trees. There were sales taxes, water taxes, city taxes, road taxes, and house taxes. Pliny says that "at every stopping place by land or sea some tax was levied." Small wonder that the poor became poorer and the destitute and unemployed increased.

Some Jews, it is said, were able to amass riches. Klausner says that the great landlords and rich bankers did very well under Roman administration. But the great masses of the people were crushed and helpless under the awful burden of taxes; beggary increased, and brigandage, highway robbery, and revolt were of daily occurrence. The robust of the outcasts sought refuge in "the caves and the desert places, and the rocks and crevices of the mountains." There their subsistence was reduced to the merest vegetarian diet, but they escaped the tax gatherers.

Klausner says that the Jews at the time of Jesus were essentially an agricultural people, but this does not mean that agriculture was their one pursuit. Large numbers had drifted into other trades, and the changes in ownership of the soil had brought new labor conditions and new avenues of employment. Most of Galilee was under cultivation, like a great garden; the wheat was famous, the crops of other cereals abundant. The country was rich in vegetables and there was an ab-

* Not, of course, Iscariot, but Judas of Galilee, mentioned in Acts 5:36. His party were called Zealots.



undance of fruits of many kinds, and nuts; oil was plentiful, the olive in some districts highly prized; the date palm gave oil and honey, and, according to Pliny, was a great source of wealth. The fishing industry about Lake Galilee was famous. Thus was justified the promise of Moses when he took the Hebrews out of Egypt.

But "there were hundreds of villages in Galilee round which smallholders held the land and made merely a living." Any economic accident might "reduce him (the small-holder) to the status of a hireling or laborer, or even cause him to be sold into slavery." The scholars have not yet decided the question of the great differences met with in the authorities; they all agree that Galilee had a fruitful soil, but, according to some, a large part of the population was reduced to penury, if not slavery, and according to others there were beautiful, busy cities, indicating generally a thriving people.

Few seem to understand that the luxurious city is nearly always a corollary of an impoverished people. Klausner speaks of the wealthy proprietors and says they were few; it would not require many, if the land were monopolized to any great extent. If there were large estates in Galilee, and there seems to be much evidence of this, their existence would account for the extremely hard condition of the small-holder, who probably was left with the poorest land, and explain the richness of yield of the big estates which could be tilled with slave labor. Share croppers, who sometimes got as little as a quarter of their produce for themselves, existed in Palestine, but to what extent is uncertain. Many sayings of Jesus indicate that cultivation must have been carried on under extreme hardship by the vast majority.

The conditions of labor show all the inequalities which appear under any system of land monopoly, no matter when or where. There were slaves in Palestine; but there was another large class who could be sometimes free and sometimes slaves for six years. Their lot was, on the

whole, perhaps worse than that of the out-and-out slave. The old regulations of the time of the settlement were long forgotten, and the bond servant in the house was, by the time of Jesus, very like a chattel and not as well cared for as a horse. There were endless disputations about diet and the Sabbath, but the ancient rules laid down in Deuteronomy to govern the status of the Hebrew servant, the conditions of his period of servitude, and the rewards he received at the end of his term—these gathered the dust of neglect. And one may be sure that many Hebrews who were forced into slavery felt the full Roman severity.

The conqueror usually taxed everything the people used. Whether the tariffs were scientific or not, the people suffered from them just as severely as though a commission of fiscal scientists had chosen the commodity and fixed the amount of the duty. The tariff decree of Palmyra, A. D. 137, given by Dr. Grant in his work, "The Economic Background of the Gospels," is almost as comprehensive as the Smoot-Hawley act, and there were probably many others like it.

How the priests fared in Galilee under Roman double taxation can only be imagined. Whether the milking process of the imperial power left anything for them cannot be determined, for there seems to be no reliable evidence of the amount collected in tithe after the Census. But Dr. Grant estimates that at the time of Jesus the total taxation of the Hebrews, civil and religious, took between thirty and forty per cent of all they produced.

From the evidence of the extortion and rapacity of the Romans and the priests, it is readily conceived why the mission of John the Baptist took hold of the poor. At the time of Jesus, there must have been a large body of the people always on the borderline between the freedom of the small-holder and the slavery of the landless man—a circumstance which explains both the frequency of the revolts of the Zealots and the source from which they drew their support. Klausner reminds us that

"the name 'publican' became synonymous with robber, brigand, ruffian, murderer, and reprobate; one whose evidence was invalid, whose money could not be accepted as alms for the poor, nor used in exchange, since it was suspected of having been acquired by robbery." Imperial power transformed the fertile valleys of Galilee into places of desolation.

The land was inalienable under the law of Moses, but the rulers did not hesitate to confiscate the estates of families who opposed their will, and the old system of not parting with the land outright had been long disregarded. Government had degenerated into what More described centuries later. He says in "Utopia": "The rich men not only . . . snatch away from the poor . . . (but) . . . have to this their wrong . . . given the name of justice, yea, and that by force of a law. . . . When I consider . . . these commonwealths which nowadays anywhere do flourish . . . I can perceive nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men. . . ."

All states suffer in the same way, once the landmarks are removed, and the history of the removal of landmarks in Palestine or in England can be read in the economic consequences, first to the disinherited masses, eventually to the whole nation. In the final reckoning, no class has ever escaped. The enrichment of the landlords at the expense of the common men marks always the beginning of the decline of a civilization.

More Taxes Wanted

There are still a few things some of us would like to see higher taxes on. For instance, how about increased taxes on cigarettes sold to ladies, dime novels, also poison gas and bombs, submarines, battleships and books on economics? And then it might be a good idea to place a little tax on the speeches of Congressmen, with a surtax on those who won't vote for single tax?—Gilbert Cope.

—From "The Porcupine"
—Publication of the Manchester
(England) Land Values League.

The Slums of Sydney

By PAUL PEACH

Sydney is the metropolis of Australia—over a million and a quarter population. It is the third city south of the Equator, eighth in the British Empire. Its climate is not unlike that of Los Angeles; its harbor is a navigator's dream; its hinterland is the richest area of the Island Continent.

Most interesting of all to Georgists: Sydney is the world's largest "single-tax" town. It collects all its revenue by a tax on land values; all improvements are exempt. In this great laboratory Henry George's fiscal reform is being tested—indeed, has been tested for a good many years. Here, surely, we may seek its triumphant vindication.

No one who has ever seen it could forget the picture of Pitt Street, choked with traffic inching its painful way southward from the water front. The single track of street railway, with trolley cars almost nose to tail, like parading elephants; the procession of automobiles limping down the narrow lane; the swirl of pedestrians,—all these speak eloquently of the industry and enterprise of a great city. Beyond, like the Genius of Trade, broods the mighty arch of the Harbour Bridge. Under it flows an opulent ocean commerce, and over it the stream of activity from the city.

But Sydney is not merely a collection of narrow, crooked streets and bustling traffic. There are broad avenues, and parks of sub-tropical beauty and richness. At the beach at Bondi, pleasure seekers stroll along the Promenade, or plunge gayly into the surf. A great city; a wonderful city; bursting with promise of human happiness and achievement; well fit to be a star in the Georgist crown.

Sydney has operated under a limited single-tax scheme since 1916. The original plan, to levy upon the annual rental value of land, was abandoned for a tax based on unimproved capital value; this tax now amounts to about five pence to the

pound, or 2 per cent. This provides a revenue of about a million pounds, based on a total valuation of nearly fifty million.

To all intents and purposes, the land of Sydney is not subject to further taxation. The State of New South Wales levies a land value tax in districts where no local tax is imposed, but not in Sydney. The Federal Government of Australia levies a similar tax, but allows an exemption of 5,000 pounds, which makes evasion easy; moreover, the tax rate is progressive and becomes burdensome only when the total value of an individual holding is fairly large. Non-resident owners receive no exemption and are taxed at a slightly higher rate. This plan has discouraged absentee landlordism, but its only other important effect has been to split up large estates and increase the number of landowners and of exempt parcels.

The people of Sydney are subject to taxation on three fronts. The city relies upon the land value tax; the

State depends primarily upon income and inheritance taxes. The Federal land tax is a minor revenue producer, and the budget is met by imposing tariff and excise duties, income and estate taxes, and a sales tax.

The result must be of vital importance to all Georgists. Nowhere in the world has George's fiscal reform received, in principle, so general an acceptance as in Australia. Three questions suggest themselves: (1) Is unemployment diminished? (2) Are slums eradicated? (3) Is land speculation prevented?

One word answers the first question: No. Of course, it should surprise nobody that poverty and unemployment persist in Sydney just as in Melbourne, which does not have the "single-tax." If conditions were materially better in Sydney than in Melbourne, Melbourne would be deserted. As long as labor is free to move about, in a given area, employment conditions tend to be more or less equalized within that area.



THE HARBOUR BRIDGE

By A. C. Matteson, Jr.



INDUSTRIAL AND SLUM AREA, CLOSE TO THE HEART OF SYDNEY, DRAWN FROM EXISTING FACTS

It may be worth while to point out here that Australia has stringent immigration restrictions, and that it is a closed-shop continent, unionized from one end to the other.

But with respect to the second question Georgists have a right to be hopeful. Slums are a local affair, and should be amenable to local treatment. Many Georgists believe that Sydney has no slums; it is the writer's unpleasant task to disillusion them. The following quotations need no comment:

"If Australia were an enlightened community it would not be possible for many thousands of pounds to be spent in the remodelling of the stately parts of the city—as has been done in more than one place—while within a few miles

of the remodelled area people are forced to live in wretched hovels with insufficient air and light, with a back yard in which it would be impossible to swing the proverbial cat." (SYDNEY SUN, December 27, 1939.)

"When the Premier (Mr. Mair) confessed he was shocked and surprised at what he saw in the crowded slum areas, many people thought that a man in his position should have known all about the dark and sordid side of Sydney." MELBOURNE ARGUS, December 29, 1939.)

"The slums would not now be a reproach to the city, if the housing question had been faced earlier." (SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, December 29, 1939.)

"Covering 2,000 acres of the metropolis, Sydney's slums stand as silent sentinels in the large burying grounds of human hopes, health and happiness." (CHURCH STANDARD, July, 1938.)

"Mr. Walter Hood, English social research student of Oxford University, who has been studying affairs in Australia for the past eight months says: 'Some of Melbourne's slums are as bad as the worst in industrial cities in England. But even worse slum pockets are in poor Sydney districts.'" (LEGION BULLETIN, December, 1939.)

To this evidence from the press we may add that of a poster distributed by the Australian Legion of Christian Youth. The pictures are alleged to be drawn from scenes close to the heart of Sydney. The text is headlined "Read These Facts About Sydney Slums" and continues:

"Slum areas, producing ill health, squalor, and congestion, cover 2,000 acres within the heart of Sydney. In one district alone there is an average of 90 houses to the single acre. These are damp, unhealthy tenements, rotting with age—each with its mean back yard and a street frontage of 10 to 15 feet. Health inspectors say that, in certain districts, 90 out of every 100 homes are unfit for human habitation.

"Of 1,500 dwellings recently inspected, 880 were found to be without bathroom or laundry. The serious effect upon health of such inadequate housing conditions is inevitable. The infant death rate in two of these areas is 63.5 per 1,000 births. The tubercular death rate is 71 per 1,000. These figures are double the death rate recorded from good housing districts.

"The relation of bad environment to juvenile crime and delinquency has been definitely established. Seventy per cent of Sydney's delinquents come from congested areas."

Another publication of the same organization quotes Sir Sydney Robinson, of London City Council, as saying, after a local inspection: "I know of no worse slums than some that have been shown me today. They are 'disease traps' as bad as the worst slums of the old world."

So much for the slums of the world's greatest "single-tax" city. Our third question has to do with land speculation. In spite of a local land value tax 4½ pence in the pound of unimproved capital value—less than 2 per cent—land values increased in the four years from

1934 to 1938 from 46 million pounds to nearly 48 million. In 1938 the tax rate was increased to almost exactly 2 per cent; total land values remained practically stationary. Even making all due allowances for the unreliable nature of land value statistics, it is certain that such evidence as we have points to increase both in land values and in land speculation.

Sydney is not unique in these respects. In 1915 Dr. Robert Murray Haig, now head of the Economics Department at Columbia University, made a factual report on the effect of the so-called "single-tax" in several American and Canadian cities. In none was there any significant advance in slum eradication, and in all of them land values increased in spite of the tax.

Georgists would do well to ponder these facts. Emphasis on land value taxation has done little to advance the idea of a free economy, and has possibly done much to hamper it. A mere shifting of taxation can never solve economic problems. If we forget basic theory in our eagerness to "accomplish something" we shall infallibly go astray.

The theory involved here is not difficult. Any increase in the demand for land must increase rent. If we give to industry the powerful stimulus of tax exemption, we increase the demand for land. It avails nothing to take a portion of the rent from the landlord in taxes; as long as he retains a remnant which increases in absolute magnitude, or which he expects to increase, there will be slums and land speculation. George, in introducing Book 6 of *PROGRESS AND POVERTY*, wisely quotes John Stuart Mill: "When the object is to raise the permanent condition of a people, small means do not merely produce small effects; they produce no effect at all."

Georgists who struggle for minor tax reforms easily lose sight of the ultimate objective, the complete socialization of economic rent—all of it, not just a part. But success in enforcing a partial shift in taxation may easily become a Pyrrhic vic-

tory. For when economic distress continues unabated, or only slightly abated, in spite of a so-called "single-tax" reform, the whole Georgist movement suffers a setback.

In Chapter 29 of *PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE* George says: "The advocates of a great principle should know no thought of compromise. They should proclaim it in its fullness, and point to its complete attainment as their goal." And even though he qualifies this statement,

he reminds us that moderate measures intended to succeed in practical politics must conform to principle. The "single-tax" as it exists in Sydney and elsewhere conforms indeed to the letter of Georgism, but not to its spirit, nor even to the requirements of a sound expediency. To spread the spirit of George, the passion for Freedom, the knowledge of economic good and evil, is the only course which promises us life. In our movement truly the letter killeth, but the spirit quickeneth.



This illustration, and that on the opposite page, are reproduced from a poster issued by the Australian Legion of Christian Youth.

Henry George School of Social Science FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

July 9-10-11-12, 1941

New York City

The Book Trail

Economic Principles and Problems. Walter E. Spahr, Editor; Farrar and Rinehart, \$5.00 (2 vols.).

Twenty-seven cooks have united their efforts to prepare this economic broth. The result is a work which properly requires twenty-seven reviews.

Each of the authors is an authority. The layman would expect to find a certain heterogeneity, but the student of economics text books will make no such mistake: "Economic Principles and Problems" is strictly true to form from beginning to end.

Among the suggested remedies for poverty are "the development of a concept of property as a social trust, of profit-sharing schemes, and labor co-partnership; the promotion of thrift, saving, co-operation, and more effective collective bargaining," "the elimination of wars and inflation" and so on. Wealth is distributed into "rent for the use of land, buildings and machines; interest on a money loan; and wages for labor." In such definitions of rent and interest the work lags far behind modern economic thought, and the chapter on rent is interesting only as an intellectual curiosity.

Readers who desire to have available in convenient form a representative selection of economic essays of the futilitarian school will find the work invaluable. It can also be used as two paperweights.

ALAN FREEMARTIN

Father Huntington, Founder of the Order of the Holy Cross. By Vida Dutton Scudder. E. P. Dutton, \$3.50

The Huntingtons were not a family of conformists. James Otis Sargent Huntington's father, Bishop Huntington, left the Unitarian fold to embrace the faith of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Father Huntington broke a tradition of Protestantism: he originated the Order of the Holy Cross, a monastic organization; for he believed in the religious life.

But the monastery was no cloister for Father Huntington; on the contrary, he felt that a religious community could justify itself only through untiring service in behalf of distressed humanity. Thus it was that the experimental years of this deviation from Protestant tradition were spent on New York's Lower East Side.

During this time Father Huntington became acquainted with Henry George. No disciple of the Philosophy of Freedom was more devoted than the founder of the Order of the Holy Cross. He, Father McGlynn, and Henry George himself, became an inseparable trio.

But Father Huntington's main devotion was to his religious order. In 1904 he established it in its present home on the Hudson just north of West Point. He never succumbed to the temptation of clerical ambition, although he probably could have become Bishop.

He died in 1935 at the age of 81. The usefulness of his long life receives a sympathetic testimony in Miss Scudder's biography.

P. E. M.

I Believe in America. By Ray W. Sherman. Oskar Piest, \$1.50.

The author of this work specializes in inspirational writing. Depressions, he believes, will continue indefinitely; they are an inevitable part of our economy caused by over-enthusiasm and speculation. But we may take courage from our industrial progress; unheard-of prosperity is around the corner. Have not "good times" always followed bad?

Mr. Sherman rejects emphatically collectivism and all its works. The first proposition of the Communist Manifesto, "Abolition of property in land and application of rents of land to public purposes" receives a particularly indignant pole-axing: "His first point we shall never accept. We shall not abolish private property"—period.

This book contains an interesting narration of some abortive communistic experiments of the Pilgrim Fathers, but is otherwise noteworthy only for its invincible optimism.

PAUL E. MUELLER

Religion or Superstition, Which? By Robert J. Cole. A book which will rouse strong emotions in its readers. Sentences such as "It is doubtful whether Christianity has done more good than harm" (p. 31) should be fruitful seeds of argument. But the book cannot claim to rank as an important work of higher criticism.

The Economic Democracy. By Horace J. Haase. Orlin Tremaine, \$2.25. An attempt to present economics in a modern idiom but from a Georgist point of view. In most respects, the book follows George. It goes even further than George in insisting that money and price have nothing to do with economics. The chief theoretical departure from orthodox Georgist theory is the assertion that transportation and exchange are not part of production (p. 59)—an assertion supported by somewhat dubious logic. Mr. Haase moreover feels that capital should not be distinguished from labor as a factor of production, and concludes that there is no point to discussions about "true interest" which he distinguishes from "loan interest."

"The Economic Democracy" is being currently used as a text for beginning students at "The School of Democracy."

* * *

Consume! By Dallas D. Johnson. Dynamic America Press, \$2.00. A posthumous publication. Mr. Johnson was a follower of Major Douglas, and his book is an attempt to interpret the present from the Social Credit point of view.

* * *

Corporate Financial Statements—Proceedings of the Accounting Institute. 1940. Columbia University Press, \$2.00. A series of discussions whose scope is only approximately indicated by the title. If you are an accountant, this book will help you choose a form of statement suited to your purpose. But if you are a layman, you will learn nothing from this book about the interpretation of financial statements.

* * *

The Pattern of Competition. By Walton H. Hamilton. Columbia University Press, \$1.25. A philosophical discussion, written for laymen, of the practical aspects of anti-trust legislation. The writer recognizes the importance of a free market, but his remedy amounts to little better than putting "teeth into the Sherman Act" and similar measures.

* * *

Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian. By James Burr Hamilton (ed.) (\$1.00—50c)

The Slave Business. By George W. Booker (\$1.00—50c)

Doublecross in Palestine. By Nathaniel Greene. (\$1.00—50c)

Seven Periods of Irish History. By Shaemas O'Sheel. (\$1.50—75c)

It Happened Again. By Adolphus van Werth. (\$1.50—75c)

All published by Flanders Hall; prices are cloth and paper respectively. "It Happened Again" is a presentation in quasi-fictional form of the events leading up to the Anglo-German war.

These books suffer from a lack of objectivity in their presentation, so that what might be useful informative material becomes, under obviously biased treatment, mere propaganda. The writers would do better to present facts and leave interpretation to the reader.

News of the Crusade for Economic Enlightenment

Edited by VIRGINIA M. LEWIS

Henry George School Commencements: Fall Term 1940 Here - There - Everywhere; and More to Come

CHICAGO, Ill.—Four hundred graduates and guests attended the commencement exercises of the Chicago Branch of the Henry George School. The exercises were held in the Auditorium Building on the evening of December 5.

The principal address was delivered by John Z. White, who spoke on "America's Need of the Hour." Certificates were presented to the graduates by Director Tideman.

In addition to Mr. White's address and four student speakers, the guests heard a delightful musical program presented by the Chicago Radio Ensemble and soloists. Harold Broliar and Clyde Bassler presented their motion picture "Candid Shots of the Fall Class of 1940."

* * *

NEWARK, N. J.—Diplomas were awarded to 170 students of the fall term at a graduation dinner held on December 10 at the Hamilton Restaurant.

William L. Hall presided. Anna George deMille welcomed the students, encouraged each to participate in the work of the School, and stressed the need for each graduate to do his part. George L. Rusby, founder of the Jersey Extension, gave an interesting illustration of his method of "selling" the course. Morris Van Veen, our accomplished raconteur, entertained the diners with tales of some of the big land speculation deals in New York.

A student speaker from each class gave his impression of the course and the School.

Virginia E. Tait was chairman of the Dinner Committee.

Georgists have many reasons for self-congratulation, but none better than the phenomenal growth of the New Jersey Extension. It has taken hard work and money and perseverance, but the results have been more than gratifying. The job of organizing the winter classes is already under way, and if work and zeal and enthusiasm mean anything, they should be more successful than ever.

* * *

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Eighty students were graduated at exercises held Saturday night, December 7, at the Hotel Melbourne. This represents a marked increase over last year, and Extension Secretary Alper reports that the outlook for the future is encouraging.

The principal speaker was "Tex" Farris, of Chicago (Class of 1940), who chose as his topic "A Recipe for Progress."

BOSTON, Mass.—About 100 students were graduated at the exercises held at the Y. W. C. A. Auditorium on December 17. This figure represents an increase of 55 per cent since last June. The exercises were attended by the largest and most enthusiastic gathering in the history of the Boston Extension. Winthrop L. Upton was the principal speaker, and discussed "Henry George and the Present Crisis." Mr. Upton is, of course, well known to readers of *The Freeman* for his informative fiscal articles.

The experiment is being tried in Boston of interposing an intermediate course in "Practical Economics" between the elementary course and International Trade. This course integrates George's theories to present day conditions and stresses their practical implications. The enrollment for advanced classes has been by far the largest ever secured.

The office of the Boston Extension will hereafter be in Room 102, 89 State Street. Address mail in care of Harold J. Power, Secretary.

* * *

BERKELEY, Calif.—The East Bay Extension, now in its fifth year of School work, held its fall Commencement at the Oakland Y. W. C. A. on Wednesday, November 27. There were 35 graduates.

The principal speaker was S. Edward Williams of San Francisco. Mr. Williams, a veteran Georgist with a long teaching record, spoke on the subject "Opportunity." Another speaker was Mr. E. C. Redpenning, a graduate of the School.

The spring session will begin February 17. Contributions totalling \$68 were received at the Commencement; the money will be placed in the postage fund for organizing new classes.

* * *

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — Twelve students were graduated by the Los Angeles Extension on December 3. Extension Secretary Ferrell reports that the class was an exceptionally good one, and will be followed up with another in January.

The next step in the Southern California area will be the organization of classes in San Gabriel. Georgists all over the world may well envy students the opportunity of studying to the sound of soft Spanish music and the bells of the ancient mission.

The illness of Mrs. Ferrell has made it necessary to postpone organizing a class in International Trade. Mr. Ferrell expects to organize this class in the near future.

TORONTO, Ont.—The class graduated at Hamilton was an enthusiastic one and the students are planning to follow up with advanced courses. Another activity which is engaging the interest of Hamilton students is building up a Georgist library.

The class in Ottawa has been subject to several interruptions and accordingly has not finished yet. Mr. H. G. Barber, instructor and organizer, is now in his third consecutive year of teaching activity.

* * *

HARTFORD, Conn.—Anna George deMille was the principal speaker at the third annual winter commencement of the Hartford Extension. Director Nathan Hillman presented the certificates, and George Schwolsky, recent graduate, acted as chairman.

A meeting of the Henry George Fellowship is announced for January 7. There will be an address by Dr. Cecil G. Tilton, professor of economics at the University of Connecticut.

Australia Conference

SYDNEY, N. S. W.—The New South Wales School of Social Science announces plans for an Australian conference of students and instructors. The date of the conference has been tentatively set for February 7th.

Chicago Finance Committee

CHICAGO, Ill.—To meet the needs of Chicago's expanding program, graduates are inaugurating an "All-Together Campaign" to raise \$1000.

Leonard K. Nitz, is chairman of the Alumni Finance Committee which has 40 "All Progress No Poverty" sub-committees of 10 members each. The school areas has been divided into sections and each section is represented by a subcommittee. The purpose of the Committee is to interview alumni and friends between January 4 and 12, and explain to them the program now under way.

Miss Wilma Dougherty is secretary of the committee, assisted by Miss Dorothy Borst.

Hamilton Heads Fellowship

CHICAGO, Ill.—Edwin Hamilton, distinguished Chicago attorney, was elected president of the Henry George Fellowship for 1941 to succeed Maurice E. Welty. Other new officers of the Fellowship include Robert King and Mrs. Margaret E. Drije. Meetings of the Fellowship will continue to be held at the School headquarters, 64 W. Randolph St., the first Tuesday evening of each month.

Ski Club Attention!

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The Ski Club will go to Farnams in the Berkshires on Sunday, January 5, for a one-day trip. Meet in front of the Newsreel Theater in Grand Central Station at 6:30.

The round trip ticket costs \$2.00 and reservations should be made at least three days in advance. Phone the station Saturday to make sure the train will run.

Ski heil!

Parnassus on Skids

NEW YORK, N. Y.—A copious wooing of the Nine Sisters is expected to begin after the holidays, when an orchestra, a glee club, and a theatre group will be organized at the Headquarters School. If we but remember that Urania was the Muse of astronomy, we may include among these high-flown endeavors the new Ski-Club, whose members will possibly fly as high as any, and see more stars than most.

Persons interested in any of these activities may obtain further information from Ed Ross or Herbert von Henningesen.

Advanced Courses At Headquarters

NEW YORK, N. Y.—In addition to the usual courses based on the works of Henry George, there will be 8 courses related to economics, to teaching, and to Georgist theory. They will be:

1. Tax Policy. Based on Dr. Brown's "Economic Basis of Tax Reform."
2. "The Philosophy of Henry George" based on the book by Dr. Raymond Geiger.
3. "Democracy vs. Socialism."
4. Public Speaking: for those doing lecture work for the School.
5. Composition: for building Georgist writers.
6. Logic: for students of the structure of George's theory.
7. Principles of Assessing. A new course, dealing with land valuation methods, given with the cooperation of the New York City tax department.
8. Influence of Henry George on Economics.

There will also be classes for teachers and research workers, but no general announcement of these is made, as students are admitted to them by invitation only.

Graduate Writes for Bell

NEWARK, N. J.—Carl A. Forster, a graduate of the Henry George School, has an article entitled "A Challenge to Our Workers" in the November issue of the NEW JERSEY REPORTER. The REPORTER is the official news organ of New Jersey Bell Telephone Company employees.

Mr. Forster stresses the need for adult education and invites co-workers to form a class for the study of fundamental economics.

Schedule of Classes (Fundamental Economics) Winter Term, 1941 Boston Extension

Henry George School of Social Science

Mon., Jan. 13	Doll & Richards Gallery, 138 Newbury St., Boston
Thu., Jan. 16	Doll & Richards Gallery, 138 Newbury St., Boston
Wed., Jan. 15	Robbins Public Library, 700 Massachusetts Ave., Arlington
Mon., Jan. 13	Public Library, 351 Washington St., Brookline
Mon., Jan. 13	Phillips Brooks House (Harvard), Cambridge
Mon., Jan. 13	Public Library, Broadway & Bellingham Sq., Chelsea
Wed., Jan. 15	Dowling Bldg., Room 419, 6 Pleasant St., Malden
Thu., Jan. 16	Public Library Annex, Medford Square, Medford
Tue., Jan. 14	Public Library, 345 Walnut St., Newtonville
Tue., Jan. 14	High School Bldg., Room 115 Highland Ave., Somerville
Tue., Jan. 14	East Branch Library, 451 Mt. Auburn St., Watertown
Mon., Jan. 13	Y. M. C. A., 553 Main St., Woburn

Laurie J. Quinby

Laurie J. Quinby died in Los Angeles on November 17, after a long illness. He was 71 years old.

Mr. Quinby, a veteran Georgist, was for many years engaged in journalism and politics. He had published several books, and was much sought after as a public speaker. He wrote his own obituary, an inspired work which is published in the current issue of LAND AND FREEDOM.

Mr. Quinby's body was cremated. He is survived by his widow, Harriet Quinby; by a daughter, Minerva Quinby Ingold, and a granddaughter, Jocelyn Ingold.

New Classes in Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, Penna. — Extension Secretary Hickok announces the opening of five new classes in International Trade. The starting dates and meeting places announced are:

Tuesdays, beginning Dec. 10, at Friends' Meeting House, Unity and Walnut Streets, Frankford.

Wednesdays, beginning Dec. 11, at Frankford Y. M. C. A., 4631 Griscom Street.

Thursdays, beginning Dec. 12, at West Branch Y. M. C. A., 52nd and Sansom Streets.

Mondays, beginning Jan. 6, at Germantown Y. M. C. A., 5722 Greene Street.

Wednesdays, beginning Jan. 8, at Southwest-Belmont Y. M. C. A., 1605 Catherine Street.

Young People's Frolic

CHICAGO, Ill.—The headquarters of the Chicago Extension, Room 600, 64 Randolph St., will be the place of a Young People's Festive Physiocratic Holiday Frolic on Monday evening, December 30, beginning at 7:30 o'clock.

Bill Lundberg and Mason Gaffney, with a couple other School pals from Winnetka, are putting on the skit by Francis G. Shaw, "A Piece of Land." If you can squeeze yourself into the narrow age limits, fifteen to twenty-five (or sixteen to twenty-six, if necessary to fit you in), come!

Conference Report

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The Board of Trustees of The Henry George School are planning a convention of teachers, secretaries and friends actively interested in the school and its work to be held Wednesday through Friday, July 9th through 12th, 1941 at the school.

The purpose of this convention will be twofold. The first will be an analysis of the organization and function of the school under the following general topics:

1. On What and How the School Operates.
2. On What and How the School Teaches.
3. On What and How the School Grows.

The duties of the Board of Trustees and the directors, the extensions, methods of teaching, the manual, how to organize classes are sub-titles under these general topics. The second purpose will be an examination of the economics and ethics of George for a better understanding of the Philosophy of Freedom.

Everyone is invited to submit papers on any topic pertinent to the Philosophy of George or ways and means of increasing the enrollment of students. Suggested topics might be Money, Housing, Social Services, Competition, Co-operation, Individualism, etc.

The School is ideally suited for the convention. The auditorium on the fifth floor accommodates 250 people and will be used for general assemblies. The classrooms accommodating between twenty and thirty people will be available for seminars analyzing papers submitted. Socials and get-togethers will be arranged in the students room on the ground floor.

Make your plans now to participate actively in the convention. Prepare your outline immediately for all papers must be submitted not later than May 15, 1941 and addressed to Burt Levey, care of the School. This convention should be an annual affair and your cooperation is essential to make it the biggest and best Georgist function of the year.

Get your letters in now for the

Francis Neilson Letter Contest

\$200 IN PRIZES

This contest, originally announced in the November Freeman, will award fifteen prizes for letters by students of the Henry George School of Social Science. Extension and Correspondence students eligible. Entries must be submitted under one of four classifications:

No. 1. "Progress and Poverty." Twelve prizes—\$50.00 first, \$25.00 second, ten additional prizes of \$5.00 each. Only those who have been enrolled for the study of the elementary course at some time during the period from September 15, 1940 to February 1, 1941 may compete in this group.

No. 2. "Protection or Free Trade." One prize of \$25.00. Open to those who have taken the course in International Trade between February 1, 1940 and February 1, 1941.

No. 3. "Science of Political Economy." One prize of \$25.00. Contestants must have completed the course based on the book, but there is no restriction as to date.

No. 4. "Democracy versus Socialism." Open to those who have taken the course between Feb. 1, 1940 and Feb. 1, 1941.

Conditions

1. Entries must reach the Contest Editor, 30 E. 29th Street, New York City, on or before February 15, 1941.

2. Each entry must be accompanied by a covering letter indicating the classification under which the contestant elects to compete. Give the date and place of attendance at classes, and the instructor's name. If study was by correspondence, so state, and give dates.

3. Letters must not be over 1,000 words in length.

4. There is unlimited latitude as to subject matter; it may be on any phase of the student's experience in connection with the School.

5. The judges will consider originality of subject matter, freshness of expression, and literary treatment in making their awards. Their decision must be final.

Send all entries to

Letter Contest Editor

HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
30 East 29th Street New York City, N. Y.

Chicago Speakers' Bureau Reports

CHICAGO, Ill.—The speakers' bureau of the Chicago Extension, is getting through its wing testing stage. "America's Forgotten Line of Defense" is proving a talk of particularly popular appeal, reports Mrs. Edith Siebenmann, director of the Bureau. Previously unannounced

appointments include:

Dec. 10. Clyde G. Bassler at the Rogers Park-Edgewater Lions Club.

Dec. 10. Henry L. T. Tideman at the Rogers Park-Edgewater Civitan Club.

Dec. 17. Clyde G. Bassler at the Niles Center Rotary Club.

Jan. 28. Midlothian Junior Woman's Club.

Speakers' Bureau Report

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Miss Dorothy Sara, Secretary of the Speakers' Bureau, reports the following bookings:

Dec. 8 R. J. Manfrini at Salem Baptist Church, New Rochelle.

Dec. 8 Joseph A. Stockman at Chinese Youth Association.

Dec. 9 Lancaster M. Greene at Rotary Club, Garden City.

Dec. 10 Grace Isabel Colbron at Hamilton Community Council.

Dec. 17 David Hyder at the Current Problems Club of Benjamin Franklin High School.

Dec. 19—William H. Quasha at the Henry George Society, of the College of the City of New York.

Dec. 23 A. P. Christianson at Kiwanis Club, Yonkers.

Jan. 17 A. C. Matteson, Jr., at Brooklyn Ethical Culture Society.

Feb. 18—R. J. Manfrini at Rotary Club of Staten Island, St. George, S. I.

Auditorium News

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The student who derived the word "auditorium" from "audio" (I hear) and "taurus" (bull) never went to the Henry George School. The success of the Sunday forums in November was repeated in December, and audiences regularly taxed the capacity of the hall.

Instructors Deck the Hall

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The window display of "A World in Flames" which has attracted so much attention during the past few weeks, has given place to something more in keeping with the holiday spirit. In the Students' Room will be a Christmas tree. Credit for the decorations goes to George Hansen and Herbert von Henningsen, both instructors at the Headquarters School.

Buck Greene Rides Again

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Lancaster Greene addressed the Garden City Rotary Club on December 9. He chose as his subject "Tanks and Guns vs. Power of Ideas."

Before the talk he gave out white slips to the members and afterward invited them to use them to register for a course at the school. Of 40 men present, 10 signed up.

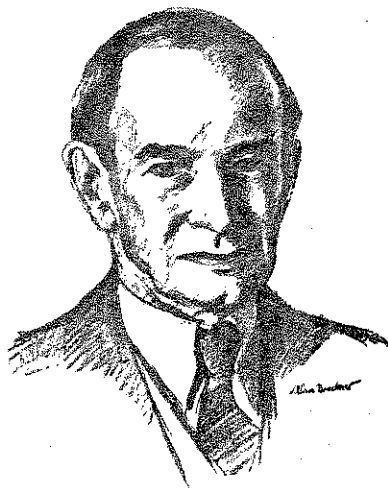
Mr. Greene recommends the use of plain white slips rather than printed forms. A printed form is likely to be thrown away or put in a pocket; a white slip, coupled with a little suspense, is retained until the "psychological moment."

Woman's Club Holds Christmas Party

CHICAGO, Ill.—Decorating the School headquarters with trees and all for the occasion the Henry George Woman's Club held its Christmas meeting on December 10 in honor of recent women graduates.

Who's Who in Georgism

Otto J. Cullman



Mr. Cullman was born in Gerach, Germany, on August 19, 1867. His father, Phillip, was a manufacturer of semi-precious stones. In protest against the militarism of his native land, young Otto came to America at 16—just before the fateful year

when he would have had to enter the military service. He made Chicago his home, worked as a grocery clerk for a number of years, and then sold spring water.

In 1893 Mr. Cullman founded the Cullman Wheel Company manufacturing bicycles in a small way. The company is today a leading manufacturer of sprockets and machine tool drives.

He joined the old Chicago Single Tax Club and took some part in the old Single Tax Party. In 1913, out of the success of his business, he financed a good part of the campaign that got local "Single Tax" adopted in Pueblo, Colorado, (only to be repealed the next year). In 1920 he launched the Merchants and Manufacturers Federal Tax League under the direction of Emil O. Jorgensen. The League gained the support of manufacturers throughout the country in support of the Ralston-Nolan Bill, and later the Keller Bill, introduced in Congress in the early 20's providing for a federal tax on land values.

Mr. Cullman married Augusta Achenback in 1903. They have a daughter, Mrs. Betty Eileen Hornbrook.

Letters to The Editor

West Coast a Stepchild?

I most decidedly don't like your making a Cinderella of the news, poking it away in the back pages and condensing it down to nothing. The news should come in the first pages. Give it space even if you have to drop an article or two. Give us the news of the School first, last and all the time.

So far I have not heard any news of the School from San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Seattle or Portland—just to mention a few. What is the good of *The Freeman* if you do not give us all the news? That is what we want to read.

Joseph L. Jeffers
Bunyip, Victoria, Australia

Editor's Note: Los Angeles news in December issue; Berkeley, in this and preceding issues. What do our readers think of Mr. Jeffers' suggestion?

Widening the Circle

Some time ago I answered a call for volunteers and found myself in the correspondence course department. What a fascinating adventure it turned out to be! I had always associated the educational work of the School with classrooms and teachers. To my amazement I discovered that the School was carrying on an equally ambitious program without benefit of classes, or of any instructor save Henry George himself.

I was gradually introduced to hundreds and hundreds of correspondence students. In meeting them I found myself learning more and more about PROGRESS AND POVERTY, from people in all walks of life, from places I had never heard of, students utterly diversified in background, humble, incredulous, but above all passionate to learn.

There is something stimulating in the fresh, vigorous approach of the

correspondence student. He cannot be led or driven. He is in it because he wants to be. From the sidewalks of New York to a mission in China, from the arctic plains of the Yukon to the tropical valleys of South America, students are delving into fundamental principles.

Doctor, lawyer, Indian Chief, rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief! The writer of that jingle had nothing on the roster of enrolled correspondence students. From every occupation and every social stratum comes new and inspiring evidence that the principles of Henry George are being absorbed in the thought of men and women. From cities and villages, from factories and offices, from the Army, from West Point, from Hollywood, from penal institutions, from schools and shops and homes come students who are all seeking truth and understanding. One can almost visualize them as one handles their papers. And because of their sameness of purpose one develops a sort of kinship with the waitress in Winnipeg, the refugee in Richmond, the barber in Bolivia. Only something basic could bring together men so far apart in place and temperament.

To those Georgists who feel discouragement the correspondence course enrollment should be a source of inspiration and comfort. Georgism is reaching out; it is growing, and as it grows it gathers momentum. No matter how remote the goal may seem, we must attain it if we continue to go forward.

—HELENA PLATKIN

New Opportunity for Study

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Students who completed the elementary course in Fundamental Economics and then had to stop because of inability to attend classes will be interested to learn of the extension of the work of the Correspondence Department. A course is now offered in International Trade, based on Henry George's PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE? and paralleling the similar course offered in classes at the Henry George School.

All students who have studied PROGRESS AND POVERTY should avail themselves of this opportunity to pursue their education. The course is of particular importance at this time, when so many problems of international relations are pressing for a solution and no one seems to have a satisfactory answer.

On the Margin

Everett Wendler, just finishing "P & P," has enrolled two friends for the new classes. One of them will give the course to his blind brother. "Ev" has also started seven other Wall Streeters in the correspondence course.

Ada Shafer and H. F. Sarman of Omaha continue their barrage of letters to the press. They have had five letters printed in three months.

One student observes that if protectionist arguments are sound, Britain need not blockade Germany. Only pour floods of goods down the Nazi throats and they must soon howl for mercy.

Once more Henry George crashes the pages of **PRINTERS' INK**. Louis Fabian Bachrach of Newton, Mass., gets in with a letter in which he recommends the study of **PROGRESS AND POVERTY**.

The Institute of Security Analysts has signed up for a series of lectures by Lank Greene. Will he be able to keep his shaggy Georgist coat from showing through the woolly white lamb's hide of the Wall Street broker? We think the Security Analysts are going to get an unofficial extension course.

An advance enrollment for the class of 1958 has been received in Chicago. The enrollee is George Murray Menninger, jr., born November 13. Registration was by proxy. Instructors George and Claire Menninger acting as sponsors.

The youngest graduate of the current term was Clyde George Bassler, jr., with a perfect record of attendance for "The Science of Political Economy." Clyde, jr., is one year old. Somehow or other, he just skipped the basic course.

Objections Overruled

The following questions and answers on Georgist doctrines are selected from Louis F. Post's "The Taxation of Land Values," and edited to bring them up-to-date:

Q. What effect would the Single Tax have on immigration? Would it cause an influx of foreigners from different nations?

A. If adopted in one country of great natural opportunities, and not in others, its tendency would not only be to cause an influx of foreigners, but also to make their coming highly desirable. Our own experience in the United States, when we had an abundance of free land and were begging the populations of the world to come to us, offers a faint suggestion of what might be expected.



BABY SNOOKS and THE LAW OF RENT

A Skit By EDWIN ROSS

Performed By Edwin Ross and Dorothy Sara at the

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES

Fall Term

HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Held At The

ENGINEERING AUDITORIUM

29 West 39th Street, New York City

MONDAY — JANUARY 13, 1941 — AT 8 P. M.

William S. O'Connor, Chairman

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Speaker: M. B. Thomson

THE SCHOOL OF TOMORROW

Speaker: Frank Chodorov

Informal Dinner Parties From the School

IN THE AUDITORIUM

The Auditorium Committee, Herbert von Henningsen, chairman, announces the following lectures and courses for the Winter Season, to be held in the Auditorium of the School at 30 East 29th Street. With the exception of the two courses given by John St. George and Morris Forkosch, these lectures are open to the public, admission free. All at 8 P.M.

SUNDAY EVENING FORUMS

Jan. 12—Tanks and Guns vs. The Power of Ideas.

Speaker: Lancaster M. Greene, Trustee, the Henry George School of Social Science.

Jan. 19—Proposals of Federal Union.

Speaker: Mather G. Eliot, Assistant Director, Federal Union.

Jan. 26—Economic Organization Under Democracy.

Speaker: Richard Schüller, Faculty, New School for Social Research.

Feb. 2—Cooperatives and Peace.

Speaker: Julius Henry Carpenter, Pres., Christian Cooperative Fellowship.

Feb. 9—Organization—Yes or No?

Speakers: Frank Chodorov, Director, Henry George School; Gilbert M. Tucker, Author.

Feb. 16—The Discoveries of Mass Psychology; Can a Whole Nation Go Mad?

Speaker: Eric B. Gutkind, Faculty, New School for Social Research.

Feb. 23—The Fallacy of Economic Determinism.

Speaker: Michael J. Bernstein, Faculty, Henry George School of Social Science.

Mar. 2—Round Table Conference: Child Welfare, Children in a Depression Decade.

Speakers: Weaver W. Pangburn, National Recreation Assoc.; Raymond G. Fuller, Editor and Free Lance Writer; Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Child Study Assoc. of America; William H. Quasha, Faculty, Henry George School of Social Science.

Mar. 9—Agarian Conflicts in Colonial New York, 1711-1775.

Speaker: Irving Mark, Instructor, Brooklyn College.

Mar. 16—Science and Society.

Speaker: Waldemar Kaempfert, Science Editor, New York Times.

Mar. 23—The Dangers of an Alliance With England.

Speaker: Nicholas Broughton, Member Board of National Council for Prevention of War.

Mar. 30—Introduction To Public Housing.

Speaker: Charles Abrams, Faculty, New School for Social Research.

TUESDAY EVENING LECTURES

Jan. 14—John F. St. George, Assessor, Tax Department, City of New York.

Through the courtesy of the Tax Department of the City of New York, The Henry George School is fortunate in being able to offer this series of seven lectures, to its graduate students only, dealing with the practical problems of assessing. It is particularly recommended to teachers and those desiring to become teachers, for information of the methods, as well as guiding principles, practised in the assessing office of the New York City Tax Department. On Tuesday evenings, at 8 P. M., beginning January 14th. Tuition fee \$2.00.

Mar. 4—Socialized Medicine.

Speaker: Dr. Samuel J. Kopetsky, President Elect, Medical Society of New York.

Mar. 11—Morals and Economics.

Speaker: Gilbert M. Tucker, Author, former editor of Country Gentleman.

Mar. 18—Influences of Density of Population on Public Expenditures and Land Values.

Speaker: Arnold Brecht, Faculty, New School for Social Research.

Mar. 25—To be announced.

FRIDAY EVENING LECTURES

Jan. 10—The Class Struggle, For What?

Speaker: M. B. Thomson, Faculty, Henry George School.

Jan. 17—The Economic War in Europe.

Speaker: Dr. George Earle Raiguel, Commentator and Lecturer on National and International Affairs.

Jan. 24—Liberty In A Dark World.

Speaker: Harry Weinberger, Attorney, Author.

Jan. 31—Henry George and His Influence on Economics.

Beginning, Tuesday, January 31st, and continuing through February 28th, the Auditorium will be utilized for this series of six lectures (course No. 12), delivered by Morris Forkosch, A. B., LL. M., A.M.

Collateral reading will be recommended, and mimeographed outlines, with the bibliography, will be furnished to students. The course will cover both theory and historical movements in economics. Lectures will be followed with discussion. Tuition \$2.00.

Mar. 7—Money, Deficits and Armaments.

Speaker: Jules Guedalia, Faculty, Henry George School.

Mar. 14—Rambling With Henry George.

Speaker: C. O. Steele, Faculty, Henry George School.

Mar. 21—The Budget and You.

Speaker: Isidore Platkin, Faculty, Henry George School.

Mar. 28 and Apr. 4—Historical Development of the Henry George School.

Speaker: O. K. Dorn, Trustee and Treasurer, Henry George School.