

The Freeman

A Monthly Critical Journal of Social and Economic Affairs

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Five Cents

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A Monthly Critical Journal of Social and Economic Affairs

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Slum Speculator, Public Foe

Five Jersey Firemen die as a wall collapses. The basic insurance rate of a city is determined by the probable number of fires in that city. The fireproof buildings pay a premium determined, in part, by the inflammable old houses on land held for speculation. Rent takes its toll in premiums and in death.

Progress Follows the Trade

There would be no world economy if men's wants were not limitless. It is the constant desire for more things that accounts for civilization's growth. It is the free exchange of labor products that advances civilization.

Reverse the process. Regiment men's wants—stop free exchange—and civilization retrogrades. The process has more than begun in Russia, Germany, Italy. Democracies are not immune.

—F. C.

Judges Study Essays

The winner of the \$100 prize essay contest conducted by this journal, which closed April 1, will be announced in the June issue. The entries are now in the hands of the judges. So many essays of the highest quality were submitted that the selection of the winner will require six weeks of consultation among the judges. The readers of The Freeman may look forward to a treat in the June issue—the winning essay.—The Editors.

A Rent Tax—Shiftable?

The tax on rent cannot be shifted from the owner of the land to the tenant. Cabbages grown on Wall Street cannot bring a better price than cabbages grown on Mrs. Wiggs' patch. Try to add the land value tax to the price of cabbages—or rooms—and you'll learn this fundamental principle of the incidence of taxation.

Malaprop's Economics

President Roosevelt declared at a recent press conference that the administration's tax objective is to end special privilege. Then he said that two people making the same profits should pay the same tax. Apparently, in the President's conception of economics, "profits" are identified with "special privilege," and are equally reprehensible.

—F. C.

Students Review Books

OMAHA, Neb.—A review of a current book by a member of the course in fundamental economics and social philosophy of the Henry George School of Social Science here supplemented each session of the course, which closed April 1. "The class appeared to enjoy the reviews as its members give them and this will probably be a permanent feature of future classes," Paul Koons of the Omaha extension reports.

The advanced course in the principles of international trade, of which Arthur W. Falvey is the instructor, concluded its sessions March 31.

Wallis Study "Sane"

CINCINNATI, O.—St. Anthony's Messenger, Catholic monthly, in a review of Louis Wallis' new book, "Burning Question," finds its statement of the case against land monopoly and for tax reform "temperate, clear and convincing." "Wallis agrees wholeheartedly that Henry George's fiscal program is the only sensible solution," the reviewer, R. N., wrote in the April issue. "The whole thing boils down to land monopoly. Tax the value of land and not its improvements and a measure of relief will gradually come to our country. This is a sane study and should be broadcast." Many other religious papers have published complimentary reviews.

LAND and FREEDOM

AN INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE
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FOUNDED IN 1901
EDITED BY

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Introductory subscription—offered only to graduates—\$1. Send your dollar and give the name of your instructor.

Open Letter to President Cardenas

By William J. Palmer

To His Excellency,
President Lazaro Cardenas:

The consul of your government stationed in Detroit, Carlos Palacios Roji, has been very kind to the writer both in explaining the position of your government in the present financial and land situation and in listening to my suggestions on the operations of economic law and what should be the present policies of democratic governments.

"The Lands of Mexico belong to the People of Mexico."

With this declaration, we heartily agree. As to how you are to assert that ownership, we may possibly disagree. The Press states that you propose to pay many millions of dollars to the various companies which have been exploiting both your lands and your people. That procedure, in my opinion, is wrong; it does not agree with our above stated agreed declaration. We could have no disagreement about payment for capital goods such as machinery, buildings and things actually produced by labor. But the companies did not produce the Land.

Land has no value in and of itself; it is the bounty of the Creator delivered up to the People of Mexico for their sustenance and security and happiness. But Land does acquire a location or social value which is 100% the product and property of the People of Mexico. Land-site-valuations are the great Common Purse provided by the Creator; and except for the necessary expense of government the fund could be collected and divided in cash among the people. It is better therefore to assert that Common ownership by collecting it instead of taxes and using it for the common obligation or support of government.

I say these things with full knowledge of the political significance of the situation. I am aware of the threats of lawsuits in foreign countries, the tying up of boats, confiscation of oil and all the smart schemes which lawyers for the companies will think of. I think we can all

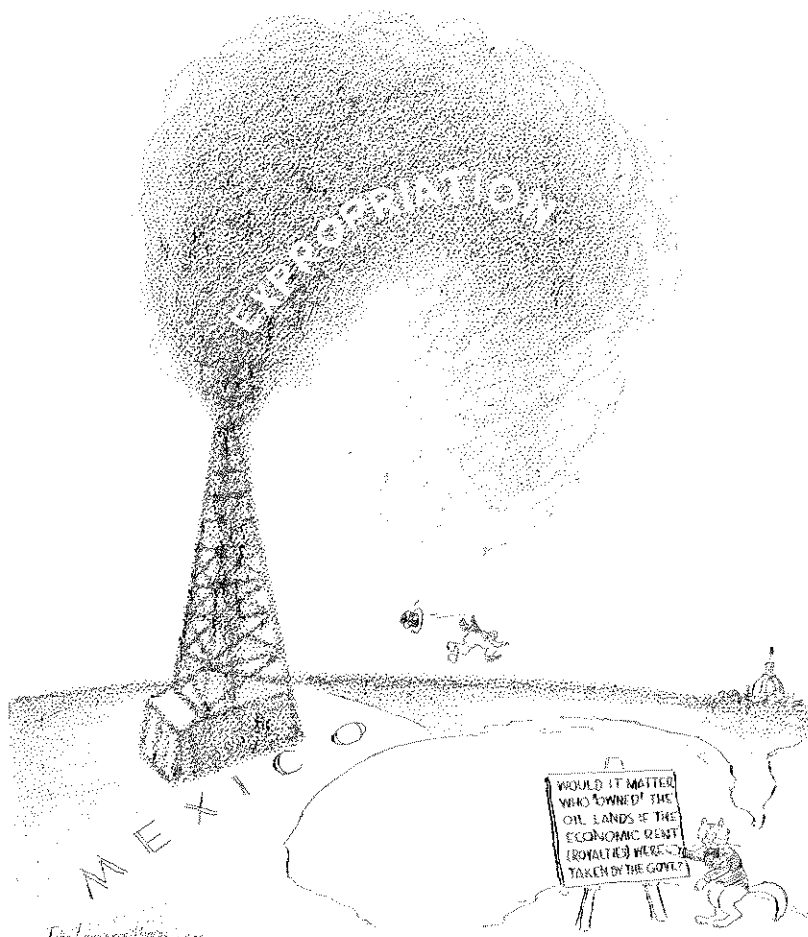
agree that much trouble and a great burden on the people of Mexico is ahead of us if you continue in this direction. The procedure along the natural economic way provided by the Creator cannot become a burden, it cannot be complained of by the companies; and it will not be complained of or publicized because it is so simple, so effective and so just and equitable.

My suggestion is that you offer to pay the companies for the present cash value of the labor-produced capital assets; or that you permit them to return and operate and charge them by taxation the full annual economic rent of the lands which they occupy.

This principle when applied to all

of the lands of Mexico will bring economic freedom to all of the people of Mexico; because it means free access to whatever land-locations which may at the time be unused or unoccupied. It will eliminate at once all of the foreign land-speculators; but since the tax is cheap to all the land-users it will increase the land-users and encourage capital investment and expansion.

I have had the privilege to study the Report of your Joint Committees regarding the Solution of the Agrarian Problem in the "La Guma" District. I am in hearty accord with every word of that report. It shows a remarkable accomplishment, "demonstrating the ability of the Mexican peasant (and he will not



long remain a peasant) to manage his own economic resources, abandoning successfully his condition of a permanent wage earner (meaning economic slave)—for that of a free man, responsible for his own acts and a **builder of his own future.**" I love those last words. I believe that your Country stands at the threshold of the opportunity to become the greatest democracy the World has ever seen; but you cannot enter that doorway if you put the burden of cost of government on the shoulders of the people of Mexico. You must place that cost under their feet on the economic rent of land locations.

That is the Economic Law, not made by Man.

Picture your vast rich Country as a great economic theater. No one ever objected, in a theater, to paying the reasonable value of the seat he wished to occupy. We generally want the best seat available. And so it is in the economic theater, unless most of the best seats are held by the speculators. Of course you will agree that this has been the great trouble and almost the only trouble in your country; great landed holdings of foreign speculators.

Land and Labor are the only two elements necessary to our economic life. As occasion requires or it appears advantageous, Labor sometimes turns from producing immediately consumable goods to producing Capital. This is only when it will assist Labor, however to produce more easily, more consumable goods. Isn't it obviously honest to agree that any burden of taxation will not add to value of the goods when one laborer attempts to exchange his product with another laborer, but it will produce an economic unbalance? And isn't it equally true that when tax-money is spent on roads and all public purposes, it produces location values on the lands? If Society does not keep those location-values, it is only natural for the land-owner to appropriate this unearned share of the wealth which must be produced by the laborer. This means ever increasing land prices or penalties charged against Labor for its access to the all-important Land.

Therefore, I would respectfully suggest that your government should add to the program recited on pages

14 and 15 of the Report in my hand, one firm resolution, which might be recited as:

X. That special studies shall be made of the problem of the Imposition, Shifting and Incidence of Taxation, with the ultimate result that Society shall keep in the Common Purse all of the values produced by Society and relieve as quickly as possible the people and their labors of all of the burden and penalty of Taxation.

This resolution and its proper answer means economic freedom for the people of Mexico; other countries in my opinion are too far afield to give

the problem their honest attention. The writer is a poor man; without any selfish motive in this proposal. If I were financially able, I would like nothing better than to come to you and assist in this study. You can verify the soundness of my proposal by reference to Dr. John Dewey and many others of whom you may well know. But, believe me, it is the most profound problem and its proper solution is the most important issue that will ever arise among any People. It is the difference between economic freedom and economic slavery.

MR. QUEZON WHACKS UP THE LOOT

By Lancaster M. Greene

The drive for social justice undertaken last Fall by President Manuel Quezon of the Philippine Commonwealth was recalled the other day, when, as The Associated Press reported, it "came home to roost." Tenant farmers on the Nueve Ejido estate of the President's wife sent Mrs. Quezon a resolution asking what they termed their share of sugar benefit payments she received.

The tenant farmers are hopelessly naive. Hoping for a "divvy" of the products of their labor from landlords who "crusade" for social justice! Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler, John L. Lewis are all for "social justice" but when have they stood against land owners. State or individual, taking a husky slice of the product of labor for the mere privilege of permitting workers to engage in production?

Sugar benefit payments, like cotton, wheat and silver "benefits," are obtained mainly from burdens laid upon consumers and go to land-owners, not land users. Unnatural? True, but our lawyers and landowners have been perfecting laws to this end for several hundred years. It took time to turn the world against chattel slavery, but how much longer

will it take to impel labor and capital to shake off the bonds of economic slavery in which absolute private ownership of land and other natural resources has shackled them, to demand freedom to produce and retain the full labor product?

Engineering's Problem

Engineers have had no difficulty in tunneling rivers, piercing mountains, in making machines that fly far above the surface of the earth and that travel below the surface of the ocean. Nothing seems impossible for the engineer. Nothing? Yes, one thing. How to get through, around, above or under a title deed in fee simple.

—F. C.

A Lesson for Trotsky

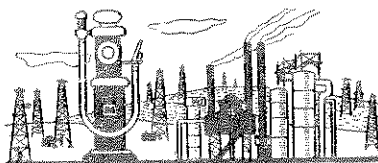
Leon Trotsky, the would-be dictator of Russia, now in exile in Mexico, has had a lesson in economics. The increased police surveillance provided by the Mexican government for his protection has increased the value of the land in the vicinity of his domicile. Good government means more rent.

—F. C.

Tip for Tax Racketeers

When the State taxes earned incomes it merely takes the result of production. When it taxes capital it takes away a means of production. To take from the carpenter the table he makes is not as serious (to him or to society) as to take from him the tools for making tables.

—F. C.



Austria - Not Fascism's Last Victim

By Harry Gunnison Brown

We hear a good deal these days about a possible conflict between the democratic countries and a fascist bloc. We are regaled with comments on the essential strength of the democracies—if they will stand together and use their strength. In all this discussion—in the so-called democratic countries—the assumption is made that these countries are much better countries for common folks to live in and that, therefore, common folks will fight eagerly and enthusiastically to maintain “free institutions” and “equal opportunities for all.”

The assumption is made—in the “democratic” countries—that democratic processes bring fairer laws and, therefore, fairer economic conditions for the masses than they can hope to enjoy when government is not democratic. Perhaps this is true.

* * *

Perhaps, in the long run and on the average, the common man stands to fare better, when different groups of interests bargain and “log-roll” for advantage and when each group appeals to his prejudice and his lack of understanding, in attempting to gain his support against rival groups. Perhaps a dictatorship, even though it cannot keep power without making large concessions to the prejudices—and even the well-being—of the masses, offers him, in the long run, a poorer prospect.

But certainly this is not obvious to the masses. Else why have they gone along with fascism in countries like Germany and Italy? And why are there fascist mutterings even in some of the so-called democratic countries? And can we really attribute the greater prosperity of the people in democratic countries—when they truly are more prosperous—to democratic institutions and fairer economic legislation rather than to favorable natural resources?

It is true that the fascist countries make their people poor, force them to live on less, by levying protective tariffs that shut out foreign goods. Their supposed aim is self

sufficiency, the theory being that if, during war, outside supplies were cut off, they could still manage somehow to feed and clothe their people.

But the democratic countries, also, levy tariffs to shut out foreign goods. They do this, apparently, with no special idea of safety against possible blockade. Indeed, the democratic countries are, in large degree, big-navy countries whose protection depends on the wealth which free trade brings and on the powerful navies that such wealth can enable them to maintain. The real reason for protective tariffs in the democratic countries is the pressure of interested producing groups, each wanting to shut off foreign competition so as to be able to charge domestic consumers higher prices for their goods.

Along with this is the bargaining between groups, through their legislative representatives, as a result of which the representative of one district votes for tariff duties on goods produced in other districts, in return for support from representatives of those other districts, for tariff duties which his own constituents desire. And with this, of course, there is the uninformed support of those who really believe that we can make ourselves richer by diminishing international specialization. Are the chances of the common man, in respect of tariffs, better in the democratic countries than in the fascist countries?

* * *

On what is the most important point of all, the appropriation by the few of geologically-produced and community-produced values, the democratic countries seem to be not a whit better, for common folks, than the fascist ones. In England the land is owned in large part by

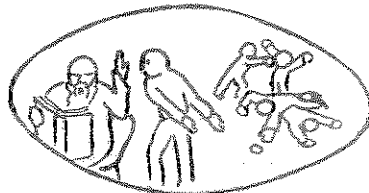
the titled aristocracy. In America we have, to be sure, no titles, but we have essentially the same land system. The fabulous community-produced location values of our great cities go into private pockets. Thus, in order that those whose work at and near New York Harbor is an important service to the rest of us, may work and live where they must work and live to render this service, they are required to pay, to the relatively few who own that part of the surface of the earth, hundreds of millions of dollars a year.

This has nothing to do with payment for the use of buildings, for the existence of which the work and saving of individuals are responsible. The payment here referred to is for ground space, which nobody made, and for location advantages made, not by individual owners, but by the whole community. Taking the United States as a whole, we may say that the majority has to pay to a relatively few, billions of dollars a year for permission to work and live on the earth, in those locations where work is reasonably effective and life reasonably sufferable.

* * *

Is this problem handled any worse in the fascist countries? Does anyone seriously believe that the position of the worker, in comparison with that of the private owners of natural resources and community-produced site values, is any worse in the fascist countries than in such “democratic” countries as England and the United States? And that therefore the workers ought gladly to lose arms and legs, be gassed and suffer the worst disfigurements, in order to assure a continuance of their splendid economic position!

Suppose, now, that the worst should happen, that the democratic countries should really have to fight to prevent fascist domination! How “patriotic” are those who own the earth in the democratic countries, those who enjoy in their own pleasant living the community-produced values which are so fabulous? Would they be willing to relinquish these values to make their peoples richer,



stronger and safer against aggression?

If and when land-value taxation takes for the community natural resource values and community-produced location values, speculative holding of good land out of use will be a thing of the past. With the good land in use instead of largely out of use, production will be greater, wages greater, the necessities of the people better supplied, the health of the people better, the possible surplus to draw on in case of war larger.

When the annual rent of land is taken or mostly taken for community use, many, if not most, other taxes, and especially the most objectionable of these, causing most hardship, can be abolished. This will further increase the well-being of the masses and it may notably increase the amount and quality of capital.

When the annual rent of land is taken for the ordinary expenses of government, other sources of revenue are less used and hence are

available for the emergency taxation of war. And who can say how much greater would be the enthusiasm of common folk to defend their institutions, if one of the chief of these institutions were the sharing by all, of the value which all have produced?

* * *

But with things as they are now, who knows whether some of the so-called democratic countries may not succumb through a division of sentiment, and because of fascist sympathies within their own borders? Who knows whether some of their people may not regard the advancing fascists as liberators? How be certain that the tortured poor, suffering from unemployment, low wages, slum life in the cities and tenancy in the country, would not look to the fascist way of life with hope rather than with dread?

It was not after but before Hitler's final coup in Austria that the marching Styrian Nazis staged the demonstration which is thus de-

scribed by the New York Times correspondent (G. E. R. Geyde):

"Blazing fanaticism was written on every face to a degree almost terrifying to the sober on-looker. One saw it in the taut facial muscles, blazing eyes, clenched fists, and rigid stamping legs of the goose-stepping Storm Troop lads, but no less in the frenzied eyes of the women and older men, humble middle-class people for the most part, hungry-looking and clinging to these strange new slogans that, shouted loud enough, were bound to bring them into the promised land of prosperity."

Twenty years before the event, ten years before, perhaps five years before, it is possible to be scornful of the suggestion that such things are to occur. But are men and women in Austria so altogether different from men and women in France, in England, and in the United States? What of the future,—if the many continue to have to pay the few for permission to work and to live on the earth?

Brown Shirts in the Making

About 400,000 New York boys, between the ages of 16 and 24, are unable to find jobs. Nearly half of the young men and women in the metropolis are suffering from lack of economic opportunity. This is revealed by a recently completed survey by the Welfare Council, under the auspices of the Greater New York Fund. It would seem from these figures that the worker "over forty" is not the only one shut out of the stream of production.

It might be pertinent to recall that the backbone of Hitler's brown-shirt movement originally consisted of boys who could not find jobs. Born during or immediately after the World War, these unfortunates became the "loafers" who were attracted to the bloody swastika because it gave them a reason for living, a purpose which the economy

of their country denied them. They never had jobs. Robbed of that manliness and independence which are the spiritual by-products of useful occupation, deprived of the opportunity to serve which is the dream of youth, apparently consigned to the dump heap of unattached and unproductive existence, any chance for redemption was welcome.

The brown-shirts were not bad boys. They were jobless boys. To them even so hideous a program as

was revived by military drills, and their drooping spirits were thrilled into a new life by songs, and march-



es and fighting and rationalized robbery. He gave them a purpose. They gave him power.

The percentage of youth unemployed in New York is 47.8.

—F. C.



Hitler advocated must have seemed a golden opportunity. He replaced their hateful rags with a meaningful uniform. He took them off the streets into meeting halls. Into their dying souls he poured plausible hope. Others called them loafers and they accepted the designation; he called them men. Their wasting strength

Garrett to Turret

"Boy of the Street" is the movie story of a boy whose reactions to life have been hardened by his slum environment. In this version the happy ending shows him joining the navy after his first venture into gunplay. This solution of a socio-economic problem seemed to be very satisfactory to the lady behind me, judging by the soul-stirring sigh I heard.

—F. C.



Beneath Urban Land Problems

By Wayne D. Heydecker
Director of State Planning
State of New York

IV

Within the last few years there has grown a general recognition of the principle that areas of common interest bounded by main arteries of traffic but free from the dangers and interruptions of through traffic should be carefully planned. Various measures have been proposed for the development of neighborhood units. Among them is the creation of a special corporation in which each property owner would own stock in proportion to the value of his holdings in the neighborhood.

Organizations of this type give promise and will probably evolve in the near future, but they should function through the established authorities, that is to say, their programs should be submitted to the official planning board of the community and when approved by it, be submitted to the governing body for official adoption just as any change in the official map or in the zoning ordinance.

In any long range view of urban land policies it will be necessary to encourage and guide this neighborhood consciousness so that the cities may profit by the awakening feeling of unity. In particular is this true of "blighted district" and "Slums." In their case only heroic measures will salvage the remaining property values and bring such areas back to economic health.

* * *

In all the problems that we have been discussing there is a hidden factor which is the impact of our present general property tax, based on the capitalized value, on both land and improvements. For a generation or more students of taxation have been discussing the probable effects of a shift in our tax base.

The experience of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and of the cities of British South Africa seems to indicate that a gradual reduction of the tax rates on buildings, accompanied

(The fourth section follows of the notable paper, "A Suggested Municipal Land Policy for the State of New York," a summary of personal views. Publication began in the February issue. It is presented here through the courtesy of William P. Capes, editor, "Proceedings of the New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials." Comment and criticism is welcomed.—The Editors.)

by a corresponding increase in the tax rate on land value, would tend to reduce speculation in land and make large scale low-rental housing developments more practicable.

Pittsburgh under its "graded tax law," so far as city taxes are concerned, has been lessening the burden on improved real estate since 1913. After twenty-four years of experience tax authorities in Pittsburgh believe that about ninety per cent of the home owners have benefited by a reduction in the taxes they would otherwise have been obliged to pay.

* * *

The Pittsburgh plan was not applied suddenly nor in a way to cause any violent disruption of property values. Instead it was applied gradually. In 1913 the tax rate on buildings was dropped to ninety per cent of that levied upon land; three years later to eighty per cent; and each succeeding three years the rate on buildings was dropped another ten per cent until it was stabilized at fifty per cent of the rate on land.

The gradual shifting of city taxes from buildings to the underlying land has had the tendency to reduce land prices. A quiet, steady

improvement of property is reported to have taken place. Both land and buildings are assessed as heretofore. According to Mayor McNair in an address given on March 5, 1936, the plan has proved a boon to business men, factory owners, and home owners alike.

It would seem that the New York State Conference of Mayors might with profit appoint a committee to investigate the results of this significant experiment in a neighboring state and on the basis of their findings determine whether or not such a shift in taxation would be beneficial to the cities of this State and if so by what permissive legislation it could be obtained.

'Wilderness to City'

Henry George School of Social
Science,
New York City.

Dear Sirs:

To me, Henry George's philosophy is like wandering through a wilderness into a marvelously new and thoroughly illumined city.

Sometimes while in the depths, I have no idea what he is trying to teach me—then I begin here and there to glimpse his meaning and it stimulates greater mental effort until finally the light breaks, revealing causes and effects so elemental that I feel ashamed of not having always known them.

But the most inspirational of all is contact with a learned, Christian character without a peer which labor and victims of land monopoly may claim as their own.

For this extraordinary privilege I have to thank Mr. Emil Knips of Fairhope, Ala.

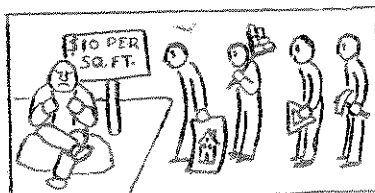
Best wishes,

Minnie G. Adams,
Alabama.

Note for Semantic Faddists

Realty is an anti-semanticism—or a darned clever word used to befuddle the public.

—F. C.



Communists Refuse Advertisement Appearing Below. - New Masses Will Not Print It. Why So?

April 7th, 1938, in note to Mr. Wallis, the advertising manager of New Masses wrote a single sentence: "We do not accept advertising contrary to our editorial policy."

"The so-called 'profit system,' denounced by socialists and by well-meaning moralists under the influence of Marx, is one which creates profit for the purpose of liquidating the double burden of ground rent and taxation prior to considering the claims of labor upon the industrial output. And if the Marxians are to carry their propaganda onward to success, the burden of proof is upon them to show that the kind of profit system which they execrate will continue in a regime of competition between units of tax-free capital unfettered by monopoly of the ground."

From BURNING QUESTION: Making Your Living in a Monopolized World, pp. 68-69.

ECONOMIC FUNDAMENTALS POSTPONED BY MARX IN "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO" AND IN "DAS KAPITAL"

The claim that "privately owned tools of production" are the force which degrades and exploits Labor is the central thesis of socialism and communism, expressed in Marx's "Communist Manifesto" and in his "Das Kapital." After writing these publications, Marx discovered (too late) that prior to the Industrial Revolution the masses of the country folk of Britain had been evicted from the soil by land monopoly, and flung into the towns.

GROUND RENT TO GROUND LANDLORDS; TAXES TO STATE

Capital has always been compelled, directly or indirectly, to liquidate ground rent and taxes before payment of wages to Labor.

LABOR FIGHTS CAPITALIST AS ENEMY No. 1

Wholly aside from and independently of socialism and communism, Labor has fought Capital for generations on the fallacious assumption that privately owned labor-saving machinery is the instrument which degrades and exploits the workingman.

(Printed without charge for the space by The Freeman as a protest against The New Masses' discrimination against a Georgist book.—The Editors.)

LABOR'S FALLACY ENDORSED BY MARX

Marx gained world-wide attention by underwriting the Labor-Capital fallacy. The number of his followers proves the fact of his influence but not the truth of his thesis about the nature of "exploitation." He not only perceived the land question too late; but he completely failed to see the connection of taxes with monopoly of the ground. His followers, accordingly, regard with disdain, as a casual and incidental matter, the taxing function of the State—the most powerful engine of oppression in human society.

NATURE OF DEMOCRACY GENERALLY MISUNDERSTOOD

The ground landlords of Britain grudgingly allowed modern parliamentary democracy to be born only on condition that the taxing-power of the State be lifted from ground values and brought to bear upon industrial capital and merchandise. Neither Marxists nor academic professors of "political science" have ever explained the origin of the modern state in terms of realistic history.

(Responsibility for the foregoing material rests upon author of the book advertised below; while publishers are answerable only for the following notice):

WAR AND IMPERIALISM

How land monopoly is the basis of British imperialism. How the necessity to pay ground rent to the British aristocracy for the use of land in city and country alike has reduced the buying power of the British masses. And how economic forces the same in substance, though different in the form of their operation, are at work in America today. This is told in simple terms in—

BURNING QUESTION

Making Your Living in a Monopolized
World

By LOUIS WALLIS

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Give the Jobless a New Frontier

By W. D. Hoffman

What is a job, whence does it come, and why is a job increasingly hard to find and to hold? This always-pressing question grows more critically urgent in America daily in spite of all our wealth and progress. The president's demand for \$250,000,000 more to meet relief needs for four and a half months emphasizes it. Since Nov. 1 the president estimates 3,000,000 more persons in the United States have lost their jobs.

What this dismal fact means to the millions of men, women and children dependent on the jobless wage-earners it is hard for those in comfortable circumstances to conceive. There is dire tragedy here—tragedy threatening the republic itself.

This is the ugly specter of our civilization. In this industrial era to be without a job threatens loss of all a man holds dear. Hopelessness and despondency follow the fruitless hunt for the chance to work. Joblessness destroys the morale of the family head; it shatters the life of dependents. Ambition, dreams and hope lapse into despair. Savings, if any, vanish swiftly, with insurance, the family home, the furniture. Loan sharks enter to pick the bones. Tortured by the fear of refusal when he goes to friends for help or to the grocer for further credit, the jobless man is driven to humiliation and shame, losing pride and courage and all self-confidence, and when final refusal comes he degenerates into lassitude and physical and mental wreckage. Not only his own life has been ruined; the physical well-being of the next generation through his destitute, undernourished children is laid on the altar of sacrifice—sacrificed to the Moloch of an outwardly affluent civilization where in one city alone the bookies are doing a business of \$200,000,000 a year in an orgy of gambling.

How affluent we are, indeed, with our bright, shiny motorcars skimming the highways, jamming the parking lots of race-track, theater

(Mr. Hoffman's article appears concurrently in *The Roman Forum*, the interesting and well-informed Georgist monthly edited by Dr. Frederick W. Roman, director of the widely-known Associated Farmers, Ltd., of California. Mr. Hoffman is a regular contributor to *The Roman Forum*, which may be obtained for \$1 a year from 214 Loma Drive, Los Angeles, Calif.—The Editors.)

and night club! With standing-room-only at the opera and the burlesque show! With money—scads of it—clinking musically at the cocktail bars, with orchids for milady, and champagne running more freely than the workman's traditional beer. Do not be deceived. Under the crust of this stratified society in which the squanderers make merry, the rumblings of the millions on the verge of starvation can be heard if we listen closely. And one day their rumblings may become a roar.

Times have changed in America—changed swiftly with the disappearing frontier that once offered jobs. Where once men were able to work for themselves, on the soil, in transport and trade, as artisans, in small manufactures and little businesses, today the overwhelming majority must earn their living by working for others. Millions of white collar men who draw salaries are in a kindred position with industrial laborers who draw wages. For them to work for themselves is impossible. Their jobs are their daily bread. All that they are is tied up in their jobs. In his notable book, "Insecurity, a Challenge to America," Abraham Epstein shows with convincing statistics that while the number of wage-earners has been increasing, the number self-employed has become almost negligible. Hence the job, for most Americans, is king. The job is a niggardly, impoverished monarch, it

is true, yielding but a pittance, yet a tyrannical and merciless overlord.

To understand what is happening it is necessary to go back to the original question—What is a job? A job, first, is an opportunity to exert labor in producing or exchanging wealth. This is the Primary Job. It involves taking of raw materials from the ground, fashioning them into desirable forms of wealth, handling of the finished product until placed with the consumer.

This Primary Job is not confined to employees alone. It is performed not only by wage-earners and salaried white collar men, but by employers engaged in supervision and management, necessary functions in production and exchange. Such a productive job is worthy of its hire even if there be no "hire." The holder of the job may be the boss himself. If one save his earned wealth and convert it into seed and tools (capital) he is a producer though he be a director of the labor of others. He is a fair earner, entitled to his part of the product. Only when the factor of monopoly enters into his capital is he able to take an excess over earnings in a free, competitive field. Thus the grocer who supplies his neighborhood with food is a worker holding a Primary Job, though he employs a clerk; likewise the trucking boss who distributes products, though he employs drivers; the shoemaker who has bought a stitching machine and engages help—and so on down the line.

This Primary Job of producing real wealth holds the key to the whole problem. On this job all mankind depends for food, shelter and clothing. Out of the ground is taken the food by labor, using seed and tools (capital). Out of the ground are taken the materials of shelter, also of clothing, by labor using capital, itself a product of previous labor. The fashioning of food, shelter and clothing into refined and desirable forms is part of this Primary Job, also the exchange and distribution of them. The thing that must not be



overlooked is that they all come out of the ground, that the Earth is the source of all wealth, the great storehouse of nature on which this Primary Job depends.

But there are other jobs besides this primary one, and it is these that confuse us. The rendering of services of myriad kinds employs many. The average citizen engages doctors, dentists, lawyers and the army of entertainers, singers, dancers, film stars, the comedians—and we pay the American court-jester tops. Eddie Cantor's new contract calls for \$16,500 a week for 30 minutes on the air. Thus we pay our clowns to divert us from realities.

There can be no quarrel with the earnings of the renderers of necessary services. But under the shadow of this nebulous line there doubtless exists a vast army engaged in wasteful, parasitic pursuits that are part and parcel of a society top-heavy with wealth on the one hand and with poverty on the other. This takes no account of the multitude whose "jobs" consist in leeching off others, high-pressuring folks to buy what they cannot pay for, engaging in polite "securities" swindling and

direct racketeering and crime. It is because the Primary Job is so hard to get and hold that we have so much of the latter.

* * *

The base of our material existence rests on this Primary Job of taking wealth from the ground, refining it and laying it down to the consumer. Of the three, taking it from the storehouse is most important, because it can be neither refined nor transported until wrested from nature. It is inescapable that the key to the job problem, then, is access to nature. The Earth's soil, its timber, oil and other minerals, its surface routes, their terminals, the falling water, the spots on the Earth's surface where men have gathered in trade and industrial centers—these all must be made available on equal terms before the producers can go to work on them. Access to the favored portions of the planet has long been denied, forcing the multitude onto poorer and poorer margins of land with attendant impoverishment through lower return for labor, and with the disappearance of the frontier altogether the locked-out army of men has been increasing.

The cost of access to nature, in city

and country, has risen steadily with our population and civilization, taking the form of the price and rent of land, in trade centers and the rural areas alike. The Primary Job of taking wealth from the ground has consequently been harder to get and to hold. Yet in the presence of idle, unused natural resources men who beg for work must go hungry, ill-housed, ill-clothed, denied a decent standard of living, eking out a precarious existence on relief, the cost of which threatens bankruptcy to the nation.

* * *

Fortunately a new frontier extends to the very heart of our cities, lying at our feet waiting for a sane readjustment of our baronial system of land tenure. Not only the frontier of idle, unused or inefficiently-used ground, it is the frontier of **all ground** now yielding vast access fees (a social heritage) to the few who have done nothing to create such return.

To open up this new frontier is a matter of collecting the social product—the ground charge—by government. The frontier will be available in proportion as we make it unprofitable to monopolize nature.

Abolition, Modern Issue

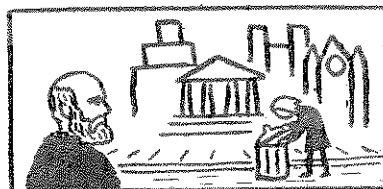
By Henry Ware Allen

One of the Representatives in Congress, Bruce Barton of New York, the advertising man, is seeking to abolish a "bad" law a week. But when is a law a "good" law? When a "bad" law? For whom? For all?

Perhaps the best service Americans render their country at present is to use all possible influence toward eradication of all that is contrary to democratic ideals from our local, state and national governments. It is of course the same thing to say that we should eliminate all measures and repeal all laws which are un-democratic and which tend toward state socialism, communism, fascism or any other form of autocracy. Pope was wrong when he uttered the famous lines, "for forms of government let fools contest; that which is best administered is best." According to that idea Italy would have to be graded far higher than the United States, notwith-

standing the tyranny, the imperialism and the lack of liberty which prevails there.

According to Buckle and according to Henry George all that we have to do is to eliminate from our laws all that is demonstrably bad, all that violates the principles of democracy. To be specific all laws and all measures which provide benefits to any one industry at the expense of all others must be repealed and the ponderous program of "social security" which in reality is an enormous force for socialistic insecurity must be scrapped. The acid test to be applied to any measure is that it must not interfere with equal rights for all and that it must ensure free trade with all the world and special privileges to none.



Bought, Paid for, Delivered

Just a farm, in Colorado. For five months the lawyers have been tracing the ownership of the land, and they went way back to the time of the big Mexican land grant. Where the Mexicans got the right to grant the land nobody will say.

Anyhow, Mrs. Simms now has a farm, of 240,000 acres, covering 375 square miles. More land than in some of our Eastern States, larger than some European countries. It contains rivers, lakes, mountains (with mineral deposits), herds of buffalo, deer, elk.

In time, maybe long after Mrs. Simms passes on, there will be a town or a city on part of the farm. And Mrs. Simms' heirs will own it, all of it. And the land will therefore become more valuable, and these heirs will not farm, they will collect rent. Which will make the poor people living on this farm poor indeed.

Mrs. Simms did not buy a farm. She bought a vested right in the future earnings of workers.

—F. C.

Exposed! The Wrecking Boomer

By J. Charles Laue

Philip H. Cornick, consultant on suburban development of the Institute of Public Administration, in a monumental report of 346 pages to the New York State Planning Council, "Problems Created by Premature Subdivision of Urban Lands in Selected Metropolitan Districts" (Division of State Planning, Albany, New York, \$1, paperbound; authorized reprint, Institute of Public Administration, 302 East 35th Street, New York, \$1, paper, \$1.50 cloth), reveals that the real estate tax dilemma confronting New York City and other cities in the State is traceable to the enormous expenditures for streets, sewers and other costs of municipal government.

He relates spectacular instances of early subdivision booms and their consequences from diaries written in the boomer's heyday (1828-1851).

As the result of the 1836 land boom and the subdivision of farms, the expenditures entailed for street improvements in the City of New York—which in 1830 stood at \$200,000 or about 40% of the sums appropriated for all other expenses of government—by 1836 had increased to \$805,000 or 80% of the costs of government. In the following year, after the boom's collapse the expenditures increased to \$1,140,000 or a figure in excess of 90%. Sixteen years passed, characterized by a phenomenal increase in population, before New York could afford a similar subsidy to the land developers. The rate of growth in population was such that the lapse of a relatively brief period of time was alone sufficient to effect a cure of the blight.

The speculative fever spread to the inland cities. In Auburn, N. Y., hardly any scheme was too visionary to enlist adherents willing to embark their fortunes in it.

The most important and widespread of these intervening booms came between the end of the Civil War and the depression of 1873. Edward Dana Durand in describing the activities of the notorious Tweed

REGIONAL PLANNING'S STRATEGIC VALUE

For once, in Philip H. Cornick's study of "Problems Created by Premature Subdivision of Urban Lands in Selected Metropolitan Districts," we have a work in regional planning that can be endorsed without qualification. Mr. Cornick fits these problems into the setting of the larger problem, that of general land speculation, the problem from which they are derived and to which they are subsidiary, noting clearly:

"The study itself presented evidence which indicates that the terrain explored represents only one relatively minor sector along the extended front on which the campaign against disruptive speculation in lands must be waged."

In presenting proposals for a measure of control over the more obvious types of land speculation in the metropolitan fringes, proposals which, he suggests, may have wider uses, he warns:

"There is little basis in past experience on the other hand, for the belief that the police power alone can prevent the occurrence of blight at the numerous overlapping margins of economic land use which exist in urban areas. The problems presented are too varied and too intricate to permit the wise, and at the same time comprehensive, exercise of that power. It is in those areas, furthermore, where blight assumes its most stubborn forms.

"The sum of all the speculative increases in land prices which take place in the extensive areas of the state which lie below the level of urban use, is as a drop in the bucket

when compared to those which occur within the relatively small urban areas themselves. The latter assume such proportions as to warrant the assertion that they are among the major causes of the credit inflations which engender booms. While, therefore, the strategy outlined in this volume may be adequate for carrying certain positions in the campaign against the minor aspect of land speculation, it can hardly be expected to win the war."

These paragraphs ought to be printed in great primer letters and tacked above the desks of all students of land use planning, who have, to use the homely phrase, too often failed to see the forest for the trees. But Mr. Cornick also has a few sentences for those of us who have been insisting for decades on the basic importance of the social appropriation of rent in a program of social reconstruction, and have failed to see the trees for the forest:

"The land of our fathers is also the land of our children. Upon us, as temporary trustees, devolves the duty of managing wisely and conserving well this basic heritage of the race."

In the accompanying review, J. Charles Laue discusses this aspect of Mr. Cornick's work, on which the New York Division of State Planning, the New York State Planning Council and the Institute of Public Administration, and all the officials and agencies who cooperated with them, deserve the warmest congratulations.

—W. L.

Ring emphasizes the great number of new streets which were opened between 1868 and 1871, and the great volume of debt incurred for opening, widening and improving streets. The increase during the boom the author estimated at \$23,000,000.

In 1872, the American Union consisted of 26 states and two organ-

ized territories. Of this number 19 states and one territory had adopted the policy of borrowing either for the construction of canals, railroads, or turnpikes, or for the establishment of banks designed to provide easy credit for the promoters and speculators. By 1842, seven states and one territory found their receivers inade-

quate to the support of their debts, and suspended payments for considerable periods. When the states amended their constitution to prohibit the loaning of state credit to private corporations, such as railroads, the legislatures then authorized subordinate units to do what the states were prohibited from doing.

H. C. Adams, in a trenchant and still timely comment of the state of municipal indebtedness a half a century ago, said:

"In new and rapidly developing communities there is always an opportunity for men who have secured an interest in the soil of a particular locality to make large sums of money if only the tide of immigration may be lured to come their way. A good pavement on a street, a fine school house, a public park, an imposing court-house that indicates what business men call 'enterprise,' will be apt to prove more persuasive than the boast of a 'slow town'. Land agents must be furnished with fitting topics of eloquence. It cannot be denied that many of our smaller cities and towns can trace the origin of their debt to the agitation of speculators in real estate."

Here is a problem of such magnitude as to deserve the most earnest consideration by the Constitutional Convention now sitting in the State of New York. That body should set an example for the other states, which have similar problems, to follow.

The complete repeal of all legislation authorizing urban improvements in towns might well be considered. It would mark a distinct step forward in the control of premature division in the areas of the state where it is most needed.

* * *

The intricate task of making the village debt limit as inductive and as well safeguarded as that of the cities must be accomplished as one of the essential elements in the control of premature subdivision. If a municipal finance commission were to be established along the lines recommended by the Commission for the Revision of the Tax Laws, that body would constitute a suitable agency for the exercise of the necessary controls.

The types of municipal improvements needed as "fitting topics of eloquence" by the subdivision have increased. The aggregate costs per

LANDLESS EVERYWHERE. BUT LOTS OF LOTS

The extent of the vacant lot problem today is shown by Philip H. Cornick in a painstaking analysis of the available data in "Problems Created by Premature Subdivision." Remembering that there is no space here for mention of the careful qualifications of his material which he scrupulously presents, these results may be summarized to indicate its scope:

Buffalo

In the seven administrative districts of Buffalo outside those in the heart of the city there are 92.6 per cent of the city's 15,581 vacant parcels of land. On its still vacant lots Buffalo has room to provide places of work and residence for an increase over its population of 1930 (573,076) of 94,109; this is more than half the present population of the twenty-five towns of the surrounding county and is a third more than the total population of the four towns adjacent to the city. Of 25 towns in Erie County, excluding the central city of Buffalo, 73.7 per cent of the taxable parcels consist of vacant lands; 19 out of every 20 of these pieces of vacant land are concentrated within eight Buffalo suburbs and almost 12 out of every 20 lots lie within the four towns immediately adjacent to Buffalo. Erie County as a whole has in the areas already subdivided enough sites to meet all the needs of 518,500 additional population, 68 per cent more than its total population at the last census (1930).

Rochester

In the sixteen districts of the central area of Rochester there are only 935 vacant lots but the eight outlying districts contain 13,726; the total, 14,661, could accommodate 76,677 new inhabitants, more than the entire population of the five suburban towns of the county—50,028. In those five suburban towns there are

27,615 vacant parcels, providing for a population increase of 83,330. In Monroe County, of which Rochester is the central city, there is now accommodation for an increased population of 188,085—the city's 1930 population was 328,132.

Syracuse

Syracuse's 12 central and intermediate wards contain 2,201 parcels of vacant land and the 7 outlying wards contain 9,576, 81.3 per cent of the city's total—enough to take care of an added population of 68,776—32.8 per cent of its 1930 population of 209,326.

Westchester

In Westchester County, adjacent to New York City's borough of the Bronx, of 222,802 parcels of land, 90,678 are improved and 132,124 vacant; enough vacant land is available for 760,000 added population and careful estimates of trends of growth indicate almost one half of the vacant parcels will still be vacant in 1950.

New York City

In New York City, 91 per cent of the population of the Boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx live within narrow strips extending about half a mile on either side of the existing subway and elevated lines, strips whose area is less than 40 per cent of the areas of these four boroughs. The city has 175,000 vacant lots, 148,000 of them in the outlying areas, enough to accommodate an added population of 1,591,000, which is well in excess of its population growth between 1920 and 1930 and greatly in excess of any previous decade. In 1934 the city could have accommodated on the vacant lots within it the combined populations of Westchester County on its north, Nassau and Suffolk Counties on the east and half of Hudson County, N. J., on the west.

—W. L.

lot of a full complement of the street improvements deemed essential to urban utilization have been multiplied many times over. The curative effects of time alone, in the face

of these conditions, are no longer adequate. Active intervention on the part of the governments themselves has become a requisite, if the blight is to be mitigated.

A Brainworker Back on the Land

By Abraham Segal

I have lived for the past four years in this isolated rural community here in the North Carolina Blue Ridge. There are no mills and factories nearby, and outside of the town store keeper, clerks, etc., the people support themselves mainly by cultivating the land or running or working in small sawmills.

Since the closing down of the village tannery some eight years ago, there had been little cash money until the advent of the W. P. A. The farmers have largely depended and still do on their crops and on trading small surpluses. They do exactly as Henry George said: "The man who cultivates the soil for himself receives his wages in its produce." "And they who do the work of production, put in as they take out, they receive in subsistence and wages but the produce of their labor."

Before coming here, these statements, to me, were merely theoretical generalizations; now they are experienced facts. City-bred, I knew nothing about land and its cultivation and cared little. I had only the vaguest notions of how vegetables grew and what they looked like outside of grocery stores and tin cans.

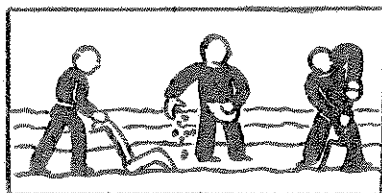
This ignorance of mine was a constant source of amazement to the natives and I was frequently asked "what kind of rations do you eat up north?" Soon after coming here, I went to a neighbor to buy some vegetables. She was busy and told me to go to the garden and help myself. I hesitated, rubbing the toe of my shoe in the dirt, like an embarrassed small boy, then admitted I didn't know what they looked like in the garden! But I soon learned. I had to or starve.

That summer I studied gardens and watched the women folk can fruits and vegetables. I asked many questions about gardening for it dawned on me that it was the answer to "what do I eat?" I waited impatiently for the coming of spring.

(Friends of Mr. Segal, who follow the Marxist philosophy, asked him: "Why are the 'capitalists' interested in Henry George?" As far as those who are really "capitalists" in Marx's confused sense, the land monopolists and their lesser spawn, the members of capitalistic combinations, their interest has always been clear: to combat him. As for the real capitalists, the owners of plants, machines, stocks, and for the enterprisers and other managerial labor, we ask in reply: Why shouldn't they, as well as all labor, be interested in establishing progressive capitalism? The real question is, why aren't more of them interested? Mr. Segal, a student of the Henry George School and not yet an adherent of George, discusses, from his observation and experience, the Marxist contention that capital which is unavailable generally is necessary for a man to make a living. He does not discuss, he it noted, George's point that capital is nevertheless necessary today as an element in modern competitive production.—The Editors.)

My first garden was not a howling success for illness delayed my planting and the land was sterile, washed-out clay. I made a few mistakes, like using red clay that packed like concrete, for seed boxes; for to me dirt was dirt without any distinction as to kind. Then I buried lima beans six inches deep and my few chickens—dignified with Bible names, which was regarded as sacrilegious by the pious—thought that I was planting for their amusement. Yet the garden was not a total failure.

The second season I had more experience and a better piece of ground—so I raised more than enough for myself and distributed lavishly plants and produce in refutation of the contention that "I couldn't learn to garden from a book."



Having rented more land than I could cultivate, I followed the local practice of bartering my spare rented land for ploughing and shares of the potato and corn crop; this eliminated much physical work on my part. I furnished one bushel of seed potatoes and one-half-sack of fertilizer. From this investment I received five bushels of potatoes and eleven bushels of corn which I used to pay the rent for cabin, land and wood. Yet my business friends term me an "intellectual" without the cliff-like forehead!

In addition I raised enough cabbages, beans, peas, tomatoes, spinach, peppers, to fill 100 quarts and had all the fresh vegetables I wanted to eat.

The third season I was again handicapped by illness and a poor piece of ground. However, I still had my processed stuff from the previous year, for a long stay in the hospital provided food and shelter. And that is carrying me through now until crops mature again.

This season I hope to be a banner one. From my neighbor, I rent a very comfortable cabin and a small, fertile piece of ground about 40 x 40 feet. He is supplying the fertilizer and plowing—for \$24 a year rent. As he detests gardening and is not very successful at it, we are exchanging my head work and planning for his labor.

My seed potatoes and vegetable seeds will cost me about \$1.50. His investment for a larger garden to feed his family of eight will cost him, exclusive of labor time about \$15. He has no work outside of occasional carpenter work. I confidently expect to harvest enough fresh vegetables to eat during the season and to fill 150 quarts, besides storing away in the ground, for winter, root crops like beets, carrots, cabbages, potatoes, sweet potatoes, turnips. My investment for jar rings, caps, sugar, salt, spices and wood for cooking will average about \$4 to \$5; possibly less.

From his garden, my neighbor will have enough vegetables for his family to fill 500 quarts and sell the surplus in the community market at the county seat. Last fall, I showed my neighbor how to grow turnips successfully on a large scale and this winter his wife tells me that she sold on the market to the townspeople and mill workers about \$15 worth of turnip greens and turnips. His investment for turnip seed was 45 cents; the fertilizer came from his own stable and he owns a horse for motive power. With good management he ought to be able to sell his surplus vegetables for about \$150.

It is my opinion based on observation and questioning that there are two major classes of farmers here. The first type just barely get along due to inadequate management. The second class do much better than just barely raise enough for their families and stock. There are no large scale farms or dairy herds or poultry flocks. County taxes are low, about \$1.29 per \$100.

Many farmers own and pay taxes on land that for various reasons they cannot or will not use and improve for themselves. A good share of the land has been allowed to grow up in brush and to erode. But there is a scarcity of fertile land which could be rented. As Henry George said "were land treated as public property it would be used and improved as there was a need for it." I have observed a number of cases of farmers who actually rent land from others for they do not care to spend time and energy improving their waste land.

Wages for casual labor like ploughing, cutting wood, rough carpentering average \$1.00 to \$1.50 for an eight-hour day.

With good management one could make a very comfortable living here and not even work. If I had the energy and a small capital investment, say \$50, which I hope to accumulate very gradually, I could raise my living standards. I would have a small flock of poultry, about 25, properly sheltered and fed. I would have a small strawberry bed and small fruits for my own use and sell the surplus.

Living standards are low. There are no modern conveniences like electric lights, running water, bathtubs. Many houses are unpainted and simply furnished with few pictures or radios. The people have early been conditioned by long isolation and lack of educational and cultural opportunities and contacts. When on one hot day, I mentioned to a neighbor that I missed a shower bath arrangement she murmured, "I don't for I never had one." This is the prevailing attitude of the ma-

jority.

As an incentive, the county is offering a reward of \$25 to a county household which improves its kitchen, with a good ceiling, linoleum, conveniently arranged closets and tidiness. I am going after that prize for I want it to buy a typewriter. If I don't get it, I shall let my "housewifely" instinct for tidiness deteriorate and let my house stay dirty!

See: "Progress and Poverty," p. 33, p. 79, p. 401, p. 457.

Steel Tells 'All'

United States Steel Corporation reports that between 1928 and 1936 it paid dividends amounting to \$405,000,000. This amount was 13.7% of its income, less wages, purchases, taxes, depreciation, interest on bonds and mortgages.

How much of this amount paid out in dividends reflected the privilege of monopoly as represented by the ownership of mines and other lands? To what extent did the payment of this tribute to monopoly reduce the purchasing power of those who use steel? To what extent did this reduced purchasing power affect the wages of the steel workers?

The report does not say.

—F. C.

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Living Tier on Tier

On ships, where the value of the "land" (that is, the hull and the deck) is high because of the labor and materials involved, economy is effected by minimizing the space devoted to beds. They are placed one above the other, and are called bunks. From this experience our P. W. A. low-cost housing planners have learned a lesson. Bunks have been substituted for airy bed-rooms in a Williamsburg (New York) housing project. But here the value of land is not due to cost of production; it is due to land speculation.

—F. C.

Tramps Without Jobs

Dr. Ogden Phillips, economist, advised the United States Maritime Commission that the tramp ship "has continually lost ground as a factor in world trade and world shipping."

The tramp is a ship that starts out with a cargo, delivers it and, when possible, picks up another, sails on. It is an individualist, free-lance worker. It is a delivery wagon, without definite route, serving customers wherever and wherever it finds them.

It has ceased to be a factor in shipping, not because it hasn't done its work well, but because it cannot find customers. A delivery service (whether free-lance, or part of a great fleet, or subsidized by government) must have cargoes. All ships, including tramps, are lacking in jobs merely because cargoes are scarce. And cargoes are scarce because trade restrictions between nations have interfered with business. Tariffs between our States would curtail the trucking business; tariffs between nations have ruined the shipping business.

—F. C.

Canadian Attempts at Tax Reform

By C. E. Cartwright

It is sometimes claimed that social land value taxation was a failure in the City of Vancouver. But there can be little doubt that if the rate on land values had been raised to balance the loss of revenue from exemption of improvements in 1907 and 1910—which is essential to a correct municipal application of Henry George's theory—it would have been an unqualified success. If this had been done it would not have been necessary to resort to taxation of 50 percent of the value of improvements as was done in 1913.

If the land rent tax had been raised as improvements were exempted the industrial progress stimulated by the exemption of improvements would not have been accompanied by the speculative land booms which caused many square miles of surrounding territory to be subdivided into building lots. The building lots laid out would not have greatly exceeded those required for buildings. And the city would have extended compactly, instead of being spread over several times too large an area.

This dispersion of the city made necessary the construction of many more miles of streets, drains, sewers, and other public services than would otherwise have been undertaken; and caused the city to borrow millions of dollars for public works that would not have been needed otherwise.

Then, when it was found that revenues were inadequate, the Provincial Authorities would not permit the city to increase the land value tax, and practically forced the city to tax 50 percent of the improvements once more.

Of course, raising the land value tax in 1913 would not have prevented the over-expansion of the city. By that time it was already too late to curb the developers. But it would have been the best thing to do under the circumstances. The building operations would not

(Whether the partial, inadequate, haphazard and unscientific application of the principle of land value taxation in certain Canadian localities has resulted in more damage to the local fiscal structure than benefit is a moot question. Since in none of them was there a serious effort to socialize urban rent, it is idle to point to them, as writers on public finance once were wont to do, to prove that the social benefits expected from the public appropriation of economic rent do not always accrue. At the same time, certain expedient fiscal benefits can be discerned in these localities as a result of their tax innovations; but these benefits are transitory so long as the principles involved are only partially and inadequately applied. The following article discusses the fiscal situation in some of these localities.—The Editors.)

have been brought practically to a stop and there would not have been so much land to revert to the city for non-payment of taxes.

That this is the case is shown by the experience in Point Grey, a municipality adjoining the city which had exempted all improvements from taxation. This municipality continued to exempt all improvements from taxation and continued building operations at a very rapid rate. It constructed the necessary public works without impairing its financial condition, and became the finest residential section of the city of Vancouver, to which it has since become annexed.

Practically the same thing happened in the city of Victoria. The failure to raise the land value tax caused a real estate boom. The city got into debt in the same way, and made the same mistake of again taxing 50 percent of the improvements.

The city of North Vancouver also was scattered over far too large an area as the result of real estate

speculation. In attempting to extend public services to an inefficiently developed area it incurred debts on which it was unable to pay interest. In this case only a small portion of the improvements were again taxed; but the surplus land subdivided is even greater in proportion to the requirements than in the case of Vancouver, and recovery is necessarily slow.

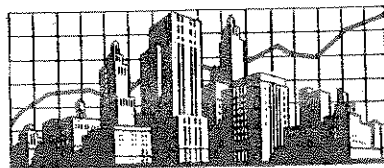
The municipality of West Vancouver is in the best financial condition of any British Columbia municipality. It exempts all improvements from taxation, raising practically all its revenue from land value taxation. Its revenue is sufficient for the current expenditures and for substantial annual amortization payments on its comparatively small public debt.

This municipality has never taxed improvements. The rate of taxation on land values has not been increased since the municipality was first organized. Its success, therefore, is to be attributed to the fact that the rate on land values was fixed high enough at the outset to discourage land speculation. The exemption of improvements clearly encouraged home building so that the municipality has developed into a fine residential suburb to the city of Vancouver.

The city of New Westminster is another example of the importance of fixing the land value tax high enough when improvements are exempted. In this case it should apparently have been somewhat higher; but it was high enough to prevent much land speculation and the city has come through the depression without again taxing improvements. It is said to have the highest proportion of residents owning their own homes of any city in Canada. And the commerce of the city is now growing with great rapidity.

We would make the following general notes:

No municipality in which the land tax was fixed high enough to discourage land speculation has reverted to taxation of improvements. In every case in which improvements



again have been taxed it has been in opposition to the wishes of the people.

When the land value tax has been placed high enough to prevent much land speculation the amount of land which has reverted to the city or municipality for non-payment of taxes is less than when a lower rate was fixed.

We believe that if the cities which apply, in a limited way, the land value tax principle would adopt a policy of

leasing these tax-sale parcels competitively on condition of improvement, instead of endeavoring to sell them at prices that will not undersell the real estate agents, they would convert them into valuable assets instead of maintaining them as liabilities.

While Georgist principles of taxation are the best possible policy for cities and municipalities the benefits accruing are comparatively small compared to what they would be if the policy were applied also to the

surrounding country, for this would relieve the competition of laborers for employment and raise all wages. And, of course, the benefits are not comparable with those which would result if the policy were applied nationally.

See: "Progress and Poverty," pp. 448-451. "Teachers Manual (P. & P.)," L. IX, Q. 17, 19. See also: Brown, H. G., "The Economic Basis of Tax Reform," (Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 11 Park Place, New York, \$2.00), pp. 264-265; Geiger, G. R., "The Philosophy of Henry George," (Schalkenbach Foundation, \$2.50), pp. 398-406.

Parks for Everybody's Tots

By Bessie Beach Truehart

When a group property owners call upon their City Council to levy a special assessment against them, that is news. That news recently broke in Portland, Oregon. Officials of the American Society of Planning cite the incident as a laudable example of civic enterprise and public spirit.

A group of leading citizens and home owners in a beautiful Portland subdivision asked that a fifteen-acre tract adjoining their property be acquired and made into a park and playground. City officials objected that the municipality was financially unable to buy the land. Then the group learned that a rival concern was planning to turn it into a new residential subdivision, with less stringent building restrictions than their own, thus jeopardizing the value of their property.

The homeowners magnanimously offered to buy the tract for the city. The Council accepted and raised each participating lot-holder's tax bill by \$8.60. Now these lot-holders are being praised to the skies for their love of little children which caused them to dig down in their jeans to provide a beautiful playground for them. John Masfield's line, "—who give a child a treat, makes joy-bells ring in Heaven's street," is being sung in their honor.

Little is being said about the proximity of the park's increasing the value of each lot-holder's property

by far more than his contribution to its cost; of the city's investment in park landscaping, equipment, and up-keep returning, truly like bread upon the waters, to enhance the price of each lot far in excess of that \$8.60.

* * *

Let us commend this Portland action, however, as indeed a shining example, not necessarily of disinterested philanthropy, but of unusual civic common sense. Since the holders of adjacent lots profit most by this addition to the municipal park system, through the enhanced value of their land, why should they not pay the initial cost? Why should they not go further and stand the cost of equipment and maintenance? Why, for that matter, should not all urban lot-holders, in whose property civic improvements register as increased land value, pay for those improvements in land-value taxes or assessments?

Let us concede that the voluntary assumption of this assessment in Portland was dictated by the lot-holders' desire for the welfare of the children of their section, as credited them by their fellow citizens. If their love of little children reaches beyond their own subdivision, will they not desire to extend play space, healthful conditions, and opportuni-

ties for better living to all children? Social appropriation of rent will gain them as powerful allies when they learn that adequate play space can be obtained only through that economic arrangement.

Society Note—Strictly

Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr. had dinner with Mr. and Mrs. Velbinger, in the modest three-room apartment of the latter couple. Mr. Velbinger is a tinsmith in the employ of the Standard Oil Company. One wonders whether the guests, as they enjoyed the after-dinner coffee in the sitting room, considered the reason why the home of their hosts occupied so little space.

—F. C.

In Reading, Pennsylvania, an evicted family of twelve moved into the corridor of the City Hall. The father proudly insisted that they would remain until the state relief agency provided other shelter. A product of our civilization is the pride of charity.

—F. C.

They That Suffer

The Federal Public Health Service reports that one-fifth of the nation never visit the dentist. The largest number—16.3 per cent, to be exact—are unskilled workers, and their families. Apparently the poor are blessed with good teeth. Or fortitude.

—F. C.



Why States Go Totalitarian

By Harry Gunnison Brown

Comrade Stalin, speaking this Winter in a packed Moscow theatre, thus contrasted Soviet Communism with capitalism:

"Elections in other countries are conducted as clashes of class against class. There is pressure by the sharks of capitalism! We have no pressure here by the haves or have nots. None can put pressure on the people to manipulate the elections. That is why our elections are the only free democratic elections in the world."

Soviet Demagoguery

But nominations in Russia had been taking place, beginning in October, with the voting by means of a show of hands in the presence of Communist officials. And all over the Soviet Union rival candidates had withdrawn their names in favor of those supported by the Communist party, so that in only two constituencies in the whole of Russia was there more than one candidate. Not only this, but at the last moment it was decided that the promised secret ballot need not be secret, and that every voter might prove his loyalty to Bolshevism and to Stalin by signing his name on his ballot. President Kalinin was re-elected, according to a mid-January communiqué.

Such veritable mockery of democracy suggests consideration of the contrast between Communism and that system of qualified individualism which our socialists call Capitalism but which I prefer to call the Price System.

Communism—any form of authoritative socialism— involves central planning. Government determines, in large part, what things shall be produced and how much of each. In the price system, each person produces as much as he wants to of whatever he wants to. In this system, it is through the lure of prices that men are induced to make the goods the people desire. Prices are offered for goods, for labor, for the use of capital. Those who produce goods produce what they think they

can sell profitably. Those who work choose the fields in which they shall work, within the limits of their abilities and training, deciding on the basis, largely, of comparative wages. And it is price offers, likewise, that determine what kinds of capital shall be constructed and how and by whom the capital shall be used. Consumers are protected by this very condition of voluntary choice what to produce. For, if prices of any goods are too high, the production of such goods becomes so profitable that more labor and capital is drawn into such lines and competition forces the prices down.

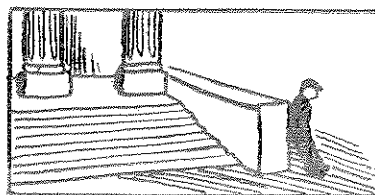
The Price System

The price system, then, is a system of voluntary choice as to what to buy, what to produce, what kind of work to do, in what lines to invest capital, whether to save or not to save and how much to save. True, there are elements in our system, of government compulsion; but such compulsion is, in large part, for the purpose of seeing that the essential ideals of the price system—voluntary choice, fair competition, etc.—are maintained.

To this end, misrepresentation and other methods of unfair competition are forbidden.

To this end, conspiracy to establish monopolistic control in normally competitive industries is prohibited.

To essentially this end, rates and prices are regulated, in those industries—like electric light and power and telephones—where the waste of competitive duplication of plant is so great as to commend monopoly; but rates and prices are regulated, in such industries, only for the purpose of making them approximate the competitive level, and returns in competitive industries are taken as the norm.



To this end, the monetary system is controlled—or should be—so that the transactions of our economic life may be carried on in terms of a really stable standard of value.

To this end, those who prepare food and drugs for a market in which the buyer cannot know of the conditions under which they are prepared, are held to certain standards of purity.

Freedom of Choice

Whether in spite of or primarily because of these elements of government control and planning, the price system leaves to the individual large freedom of choice as to his purchases, his work, his acquisition of capital and how his capital shall be used.

In a communistic society—or a truly socialistic society—there cannot be this freedom. For the essence of communistic philosophy—and likewise of socialistic philosophy, however they may differ otherwise—is a conviction that income from property is unearned, regardless of whether the property is land, produced by geological forces, or capital made possible by the work and the saving of the owner.

But how, in a communistic state, are men to be prevented from enjoying income on their capital? If a fisherman builds a boat and uses it for fishing, a part of the fish he catches can truly be said to be income from capital. If a farmer plants an orchard, though a part of the fruit, after the orchard begins to yield, is a return to his labor, another part is as certainly income on his capital in fruit trees. And so with factories, steamships and other capital owned by voluntary groups of persons known as private corporations. If, now, all of the income which their capital yields is regularly taken away from those who have capital, is it not likely that most persons will not bother to save? And without saving there can be no capital.

Who Shall Save?

Capital, indeed, adds greatly to the effectiveness of labor and, therefore,

to the output of goods. But why save if the additional output produced by the capital which one's saving makes possible, is all to be taken from the saver for the benefit of the whole public? Will men, in truth, save as eagerly for others as for themselves? **And will they save as eagerly for the benefit of other people's children as for their own children? Would you?**

Isn't it fairly clear, then, that a social philosophy which repudiates private enjoyment of any income from capital, must envisage having the state take over the function of constructing capital? And that it must envisage having the state determine how much is to be saved and **compel** the saving? This means, practically, that the state must own all capital and see that it is kept in repair. It means, also, obviously, that the state must direct the use of capital. As a result, the nation which accepts communistic ideals inevitably accepts state control of industry. **The state becomes the universal employer outside of whose control no economic life is possible.**

Compulsory Saving

I think it is important that we come to understand why a government based on a communistic ideology must be dictatorial in its relations with its citizens. It would seem absolutely certain that, at any rate in regard to saving and the construction of capital, there can be no alternative. Since individuals cannot be confidently relied on to save when they are not permitted to enjoy the fruits of saving, they must be **compelled** to save.

Such compulsory saving does not necessarily mean that citizens will be consciously aware of the compulsion. The government does not say to the individual: "You must save (say) twenty-five per cent of what you receive as wages." It merely sees to it that the citizen receives less wages to spend. It ballyhoos a "five year plan," devoting, perhaps, a fifth or a third of the nation's annual labor to the construction of capital.

Obviously, the labor that is devoted to the construction of capital equipment for the use of future years cannot possibly be devoted to making shoes and shirts, to raising potatoes, cabbages and wheat, to picking apples and cherries and to baking

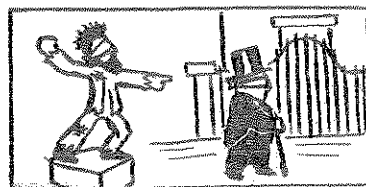
bread. The more of the labor of the people is devoted to constructing capital for the service of the future, the less labor can be devoted to the service of the present and the less the people can have to enjoy this year and next.

But in a communistic state, the individual has no choice in the matter. Government decides for him and allows him, as wages, only what its central planning committee sees fit to allow. If this isn't compulsion, what does the word mean? **Do you believe that a nation can be organized for compulsion in this respect, with the government owning, operating, and increasing or decreasing at its pleasure, all productive capital, yet maintain in its individuals, spontaneity, initiative, and a spirit of free inquiry and uninhibited criticism?**

Capital Is Needed

But suppose the central planning committee, because those in power were trying to get the favor of a short-sighted populace, should decide to devote nearly all the nation's labor to the provision of food, clothing and entertainment, and almost none to constructing new equipment or even to replacing worn-out equipment. It would be only a matter of time—say a decade or two—before the nation was so short of the tools of production that it could not produce enough to keep its people alive, and many of them would have to die from lack of clothes and food.

But what, in such a communistic society, could any individual do about it? How could he protect his own children against the threatening years of starvation and despair? The nation could not let him own productive capital, even though he saved and constructed it himself, lest he receive private income from it. And the little that he, individually, could accumulate, divided among all workers, could accomplish nothing microscopically measurable toward improving the general standard of living or that of his own children.



In a free society, there will always be some, even though only a minority, who save. In our own society this voluntary saving has given us orchards and buildings, factories and machines, steamships and locomotives, so that the labor of all of us has been more productive. In a free society of the type we have been used to, there always will be saving. For whatever any individual may do, we can count on the great law of the constancy of averages.

But in a communistically organized society, everything depends on which way the government jumps. A small majority one way—or the word of a dictator—and saving is made compulsory on all; a majority the other way, and capital depreciates without being replaced. In either case the individual is nothing and can do nothing. The state—with its compulsion—is everything.

Our Unfree System

Is our present system, then, an ideal system? No. The trouble with our "free" society is, partly, that it has not been really free. Men have not been free to use the earth without paying tribute to private individuals for permission to live upon it and to work upon it and for permission to enjoy community-produced situation advantages. Nor have our "leaders" been consistent with the principles they profess when they defend the individualism of the price system. For what they claim in defending the system is, not only that it operates through the lure of price, but also that under its aegis men are rewarded according to their contributions.

The efficient worker, they say, receives and should receive a proportionately larger income as a reward for and inducement to efficiency. But, in order to relieve of taxation the recipient of the community-produced situation rent of land, the efficient worker must have a large part of the earnings of his efficiency taken away from him by an income tax.

The ordinary wage earner, too, so defenders of our system say, ought to receive an income measured by the productiveness of his labor. But lest landowners should have to give up to the community more than a fraction of the community-produced site value of land, wage earners must, through tobacco taxes, sales

taxes and the like, have a large slice of their daily wages taken from them.

Finally, say conservative defenders of our economic system, thrift, without which we could have no capital, adds greatly to the annual output of industry and is entitled to its proportionate reward. But these same conservatives, though many of them are themselves owners of capital, are so greatly interested in land ownership and land speculation and so interested in "relieving" landowners from taxes on the community-produced rent of their land, that they will rather consent to taxes even on the earnings of their own and others' thrift, as well as on the wages of labor, than consent to higher taxes on land rent.

Conservative Hypocrisy

Very well, then. Let conservatives who are interested in defending priv-

ilege, who want to maintain a property and a tax system under which a majority must pay to the few, billions of dollars every year for permission to work and to live on the earth and to enjoy community-produced advantages—let those conservatives continue to defend such a property and tax system. But at least we may call their bluff regarding individual initiative and freedom and the deserved rewards of industry and thrift.

Whatever their protestations, they don't want freedom; not if it means freedom to use land now held for speculation. Whatever their protestations, they don't want to give its full reward to efficient labor; not if this means public appropriation of the community-produced rent of land. Whatever their protestations, they don't even want thrift and capital construction to get their full and nat-

ural reward—not if this means that owners of valuable sites and natural resources are thereby prevented from collecting tribute for values due to nature and society.

The jig is up, gentlemen of the conservative persuasion. We won't let you "get by" any longer with the pretense that you are chiefly concerned with rewarding industry and efficiency and thrift. You're not, and we know you're not. Under the skin you're brothers of the communists whom you affect to denounce. You don't really want the system of individualism, which you ostensibly defend, to operate consistently on the basis of the principles you appeal to in defending it. And so your influence is in the direction of making it a failure and of driving the masses to disavow and reject it. If, instead, we get some form of communism, whose fault will it be? What do you think?

George in Esperanto

Melbourne, Australia—An International Language Group met at the headquarters of the Henry George League of Victoria on January 18 for the first session of a course which combines the study of Esperanto with the study of the fundamental economics of Henry George. Bengough's Primer was used, being especially adaptable for this purpose. Great satisfaction was expressed by the students with this novel method of teaching Esperanto and the Georgist philosophy at the same time. No time limit has been set to the course.

Omaha Library Launched

OMAHA, Neb.—W. F. Baxter, dean of the Georgist movement in Omaha, was honored recently at the formal dedication of the new Henry George Library of Omaha, which took place at the country estate of Paul K. Harlan. A memorial letter, signed by each of the sixty-seven guests at the fete, was presented to Mr. Baxter.

The library was launched with a gift of books on the social philosophy of Henry George, together with a file of Land and Freedom, international organ of the Georgist movement, presented by Mr. Harlan. Donations are invited.

18 Indianapolis Graduates

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—George J. Lindeman, instructor of the Henry George School of Social Science here, presented certificates to eighteen students at commencement exercises held in the Odd Fellows Hall recently. O. B. Hanger and E. D. Ross, Indianapolis attorneys, addressed the gathering. Many friends of the graduates attended.

Who's Who in Georgism

Frederic Cyrus Leubuscher

Frederic Cyrus Leubuscher, noted New York lawyer, has been a follower of Henry George since 1884 and was a close associate of George in the latter's campaigns for land reform. He is the joint author, with the late Louis F. Post, of "An Account of the George-Hewitt Campaign of 1886," an important document in the history of the Georgist movement.

In 1887 he was a candidate for Judge of the Court of General Sessions in New York, running ahead of his ticket. He served as president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, founded by Henry George, for five years.

Throughout his life he has taken an active part in Georgist activities and aided the late Robert Schaikenbach in providing for the establishment of the Foundation which bears the latter's name. He encouraged the late Oscar H. Geiger to establish the Henry George School when Mr. Geiger first broached the proposal to him and was its first president.

Born in New York City in 1858, and will be 80 years of age on September 1st, he passed his early childhood near Brattleboro, Vt., while his father was at the front. He was educated in the New York public schools and at Columbia University and the Columbia Law School.

He has been a member of the board of trustees of the Henry George School since its organization in 1932.



Comment on The Freeman

Dr. E. E. Bowen, Towaco, N. J.: "The Freeman is very good, especially the last two numbers—much better than the first numbers would lead one to expect."

Mrs. Bessie Beach Truehart, Del Rio, Texas: "... The best medium I know of. More power to The Freeman!"

Dr. Frederick W. Roman, director, Associated Forums, Ltd., Los Angeles, Calif.: "Quite a number around here are subscribing for The Freeman. In fact we have taken subscriptions for it in three of our Forums. You are doing a splendid work."

George H. Moyland, Chicago, Ill.: "Sincere best wishes to The Freeman for the fine work it is doing."

C. H. Ingersoll Broadcasts

NEW YORK—Charles H. Ingersoll, president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club and popular radio commentator, is now being heard on twelve broadcasts weekly. His current schedule: Mon: 2:30P WCNW; Tue: 11:45A WWRL; 10:45PWFAS-White Plains. Wed: 3:45P WCNW; Thur: 8:15A WLTH; Fri: 9:45A WFEN-Phila; WDAS-Phila; 2:45 WSNJ-Bridgeton; 7:45P WTNJ-Trenton; Sat: 3:15P WOV; 11:15P WWRL. Sun: 8:15P WRUL (Director, Public Service Forum). All about 1,500 k.c. except WELL, 1,100.

NEWS OF THE CRUSADE AGAINST ECONOMIC ILLITERACY

Edited by Madeleine Swarte

Lippmann Calls for Taxation of Unearned Incomes To Replace New Deal's Indiscriminate Levy

NEW YORK—Special taxation of unearned incomes, rather than indiscriminate taxation of earned and unearned incomes, was advocated by Walter Lippmann, noted writer on political and social subjects, in his column, "Today and Tomorrow," in The New York Herald Tribune March 29. Mr. Lippmann's column is syndicated to newspapers throughout the country which have millions of readers.

"There is a reason, of course, why the capital gains tax has always been popular here whereas in England, for example, it has never been," Mr. Lippmann wrote. "The reason is that in this rapidly growing country, fortunes have been made easily, often by the mere increase in the capital value of real estate, mines, patents, franchises, or the securities which are based on them.

George's Teachings

"In these fortunes there is a large unearned increment; men have gotten rich not by producing wealth but by owning property that increased in value because the country was growing.

"It has always seemed obvious to Americans that fortunes of this kind ought to be taxed especially, and the greatest of American liberal reformers, Henry George, made this conviction articulate. The capital gains tax reflects that feeling, and no one who has absorbed the teachings of Henry George will ever be content to argue for the repeal of the capital gains tax without substituting

for it taxes on the unearned increment of natural resources, patents and privileged monopolies.

George's Object

"The trouble with the capital gains tax, however, is that it strikes indiscriminately at gains due to prudent investment and enterprise as well as at unearned increment. That is precisely what Henry George, and all truly liberal reformers, sought to avoid; their object was to tax unearned increment and to free enterprise.

"What Congress ought to do, and what the New Deal ought to do, is to begin an inquiry into new taxes carefully directed toward the recapture of unearned increment with a view to substituting them for the generalized capital gains tax."

Appraisal of George

NEW YORK—Miss Dorothy Thompson, foreign correspondent who was expelled from Nazi Germany and became one of the leading newspaper columnists and lecturers of this country, confirmed in a letter to Mrs. Anna George de Mille, president of the board of the Henry George School of Social Science, that she had said recently:

"Henry George was a great man. He is the only economist I ever read with whom I could find no fault. He was the only economic philosopher of capitalism. If the capitalists had paid any attention to him they would not be in the mess they are today."

New British Headquarters

LONDON, Eng.—After March 28 the new address of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, its monthly journal, Land and Liberty, the Henry George Foundation, the International Union and the Henry George School of Social Science, British Section, will be 34 Knightbridge Street, St. Paul's, E.C. 4, at the corner of Peter's Hill, off Victoria Street. It is about midway between Blackfriars and Mansion House Underground Stations and about a minute's walk from St. Paul's and the main bus routes running east and west.

Geneva Class Sought

GENEVA, N. Y.—Frank Chodorov, director of the Henry George School of Social Science, and John Lawrence Monroe, field director, will speak on the school and the course here some time late in April. Their purpose is to create interest in the work the School is doing and organize an extension class among the old friends of the movement here.

622 N. Y. Students

NEW YORK—The spring term of the Henry George School of Social Science started the week of April 4 with twenty-eight classes in the basic course in fundamental economics and social philosophy in the New York area, twelve classes at national headquarters with an enrollment of 302, and sixteen extension classes in different parts of the city in which 320 registered. There are also three extension classes in the principles of international trade. Four classes in the advanced course in fundamental economics and four classes in the principles of international trade started at national headquarters the week of April 18.

Middletown Gets School

MIDDLETOWN, N. Y.—The Board of Education has granted permission to the Middletown Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science to conduct classes in fundamental economics and social philosophy in the high school building.

4,000 Mail Enrollments

NEW YORK—Total enrollments in the correspondence division of the Henry George School of Social Science have reached the 4,000 mark, with about sixty new students registering every week. About half this number send in their lessons regularly. There are 500 graduates and this number will increase by an average of twenty weekly, judging from past experience. It takes about six months to complete the course.

Fourteen examiners are kept busy checking lesson papers and before these are returned to the students they are carefully graded by Gaston Haxo, director of the correspondence department. Various lists are circularized for students but the most gratifying returns, running as high as 10 percent, come from recommended names. An intensive drive for new students is being planned for the fall.

The School has record of at least six local extension classes that have been started without any outside cooperation or assistance by correspondence graduates and from all indications this course should be a prolific source of study groups in isolated and outlying districts in every part of the country.

New Toronto Class

TORONTO, Ont.—A. I. MacKay of this city is one of the graduates of the correspondence division of the Henry George School of Social Science, who has organized an extension class to study "Progress and Poverty." Mr. MacKay has already conducted several sessions and writes: "I find that my own understanding of Henry George is improved through class instruction."

McNair Out for Governor

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Former Mayor William N. McNair announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for Governor March 14. Mr. McNair, who is popular with voters of all parties because he refuses to engage in mud-slinging and insists on confining campaigning to economic issues, announced that his campaign would be based on a pledge to remedy the depression. "I'll abolish all State taxes," he said. "I'll collect ground rents instead of taxes. That would open up the mills and put everybody to work."

17 Hamilton Graduates

HAMILTON, Ontario—Ernest J. Farmer of Toronto presented certificates to seventeen students who completed the basic course of the Henry George School of Social Science at the final session in the Hamilton Conservatory of Music April 7. Florence Macdonald, Louisa Macdonald, Arch. McColl and Herbert Owens, all of Toronto, also took part in exercises. Robert Wayne, extension student here, looks forward to an enlargement of the next season.

Anonymous Donor Offers to Match Up to \$100,000 Every Gift to School for Next Five Years

NEW YORK—An anonymous donor has offered to match up to \$20,000 every dollar contributed to the Henry George School of Social Science for its removal to a building providing adequate space for national headquarters and the central New York classes. Mac V. Edds, member of the faculty of the School, announced at its commencement exercises March 28.

Mr. Edds said, "And this is not for one year—it is for five years." The School therefore has dangling before it one hundred thousand dollars, from one friend, if the ten thousand graduates, to say nothing of old-timers, will as a group equal this amount. With this amount of money, a total of forty thousand dollars a year, the School can not only maintain a headquarters building with a total capacity of five thousand

students per week, but can also increase the number of extension classes throughout the country, and also greatly expand the work of the correspondence course.

Mr. Edds' talk was warmly received, and at the conclusion of the exercises secretaries handed out pledge slips. However, as the School's plans for a headquarters building proceed to the point where a definite location has been decided upon, a general appeal to match the hundred-thousand-five-year-offer will be mailed to all friends and graduates of the School.

Now that the financial underpinning for a rapid and wide expansion of the School movement is practically assured, the hope and ultimate aim of this experiment in adult education seems to be a probability for the not too distant future.

Lincoln Crowell Tribute

BOSTON, Mass.—Tribute to Lincoln Crowell, late Georgist leader of southern Massachusetts, who was connected with the State Conservation Department, was paid by Mark J. J. Leonard, president of the Henry George Fellowship chapter here. Only a short time before his sudden death, he finished teaching a Henry George School class last February. He had organized a class at the CCC camp at the Cape as one of his last acts.

Van Veen on Poverty

NEW YORK—Morris Van Veen, veteran Georgist, spoke before the Hamilton Community Council, of which Franklin Harris is president, at the Hamilton Grange Public Library March 22 on "How to Abolish Poverty," a open forum followed.

Sheldon in Pulpit

ROCKVILLE CENTER, L. I.—Preston King Sheldon, member of the Henry George Fellowship, occupied the pulpit of Rabbi Nathan N. Rosen, at Temple B'nai Shalom here recently, speaking on "Toward a Better World."

New Chicago Classes

CHICAGO, Ill.—A new class of the Henry George School of Social Science in fundamental economics has been opened at the South Side Hebrew Congregation. Myron Goldenberg, Georgist leader here, is the instructor. There are twenty students. Mr. Goldenberg made arrangements for another class at the Harris M. Dick Hebrew School, 3,905 West Congress Street. Other classes are being arranged.

Winsted Course Ends

WINSTED, Conn.—The extension class of the Henry George School of Social Science here, of which Joseph R. Carroll of Norfolk, Georgist veteran, is the instructor, closed March 21 after a very successful semester. A group of the students became so interested they held meetings for discussion to supplement their classroom work.

New Hudson Classes

HUDSON, N. Y.—Willis A. Snyder, instructor of the Henry George School of Social Science here, started a class in fundamental economics at the Potts Memorial Hospital, Livingston, N. Y., March 25, and a class in the principles of international trade here.

Queens Village Fete

QUEENS VILLAGE, L. I.—The two basic classes of the Henry George School of Social Science at the Community Center of P. S. 9, of which Dr. S. A. Schneidman of Bellaire and David S. Hiffer of St. Albans were the instructors, and Dr. Schneidman's class in the Hillside-Hollis Hebrew Center held commencement exercises May 3, in the Queens Restaurant.

160 British Students

LONDON, Eng.—Five classes in which 160 students have enrolled are being carried on by the Henry George School of Economics, British section of the Henry George School of Social Science. Leon MacLaren announced. In addition, fifty students attend an advanced course in international trade and sixty in social philosophy. It is the Schools second semester, and it is now planning to establish a correspondence course. National headquarters in New York has provided samples of its materials.

Holds Card Party

CHICAGO, Ill.—The Chicago Chapter of the Henry George Fellowship held a very successful card party at the Steuben Club for members and friends. The proceeds went into its maintenance fund.

Schneidman in Queens

RICHMOND HILL, L. I.—Many who heard Dr. S. A. Schneidman, veterinarian and faculty member of the Henry George School of Social Science, speak before the Friends Society of the Union Congregational Church April 24 on "How Secure Is My Future," have enrolled for the fundamental economics course at national headquarters of the School.

Dr. Schneidman's recent address on "Youth Can Stop the Recession," before the Young People's Society of the Queens Baptist Church resulted in a substantial registration in the Queens extension classes.

New Greenfield Class

GREENFIELD, Mass.—John E. Bond, whose latest class of the Henry George School of Social Science has just ended, started a class in international trade for the members who wish to continue their studies in the social philosophy of Henry George.

Burger at Bellaire

BELLAIRE, L. I.—Benjamin W. Burger, New York attorney and Georgist, addressed the Bellaire Democratic Club April 23 on the problem of taxation and other key problems of the day.

Manfrini at Riverdale

NEW YORK—R. Joseph Manfrini, investment broker, spoke before the Senior Society of the Riverdale Presbyterian Church recently, using as his text Henry George's Edinburgh address.

Williams at Headquarters

NEW YORK—Percy R. Williams of Pittsburgh, Pa., secretary of the Henry George Foundation of America and chief assessor of the City of Pittsburgh, visited national headquarters of the Henry George School of Social Science early in April. He came to New York to study the methods used by the Department of Taxation here in relation to the methods employed by his department.

New Geiger Book

YELLOW SPRINGS, O.—Dr. George Raymond Geiger, assistant professor of philosophy at Antioch College here, is the author of a new book concerned with the ethics of social reform, "Towards An Objective Ethics." The book has been declared by scholars to be an outstanding contribution to social ethics and a further development of some of the ethical problems Professor Geiger presented in brilliant outline in his earlier works.

Dr. Geiger is now preparing a manual to be used in connection with a new advanced course to be given by the Henry George School of Social Science, using his "Philosophy of Henry George" as a textbook. He is the son of the late Oscar H. Geiger, founder of the School, and is the author of "The Theory of the Land Question."

700 Hear Noted Speakers at Commencement of New York's Winter Term Classes

NEW YORK—More than 700 persons attended the winter term commencement exercises of the Henry George School of Social Science at the Engineering Societies' Auditorium here March 28 at which 600 men and women who completed courses in the metropolitan classes of the School were honored.

Among the speakers were Harry Weinberger, noted New York lawyer and fighter for civil liberties; Norman C. B. Powles, retired director of the School and successor of the late founder, Oscar H. Geiger; Mrs. Emily E. F. Skeel, veteran Georgist leader and delegate to international congresses of the movement; Dr. William J. Schieffelin, leader in New York civic and community affairs; and Col. Victor A. Rube of Chicago, well known lecturer.

As representatives of their classes, David Hyder, Paul Peach, G. Gustav Steiner, A. C. Matteson and W. B. Thomson, graduates of the School, gave short

addresses on their reactions to the courses.

Following the exercises, a reception was held at which there was also dancing and refreshments.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull was expected to be a speaker but he was obliged to decline because of the pressure of work resulting from unexpected foreign developments. In a letter to Lancaster M. Greene, trustee, he said:

"Because of my great interest in your splendid institution of learning and the work it is doing in the field of education, it would give me great pleasure to take part in your commencement exercises this year. The opportunity thus afforded me of meeting the members of the faculty, alumni, students and friends who will be gathered on that occasion and discussing with them some aspects of our commercial relations with other nations appeals to me strongly."

Hartford Fetes 52

HARTFORD, Conn.—At the commencement exercises and dinner of the Hartford Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science, Anna George de Milha, daughter of Henry George and president of the board of trustees of the School, urged the graduates to accept wholeheartedly their responsibility for spreading a knowledge of the principles of the philosophy of Henry George. Fifty-two graduates and their friends from Winsted, Waterbury, Norfolk and Springfield attended. Mac Edds of New Jersey, member of the School faculty, was another principal speaker.

Nathan Hillman, attorney, president of the Hartford Chapter of the Henry George Fellowship and national president of the Federated Chapters of the Fellowship was toastmaster. Robert E. Strahan, Rebecca Itzkovitch, Mrs. Patrick McAvay, Saul Weber, Rev. Harry E. Oleott and George Farrell spoke briefly for the students and Mrs. Augusta L. Byron, Mrs. Winifred D. Chamberlain, Mrs. Nathan Hillman and Samuel Laferty gave short talks for the instructors.

Plans were announced at the dinner for seven classes in the basic course and one in international trade. These classes are already under way.

75 Enrol in Jamaica

JAMAICA, L. I.—A record attendance of seventy-five was established on April 4 at the opening session of the Jamaica Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science at the Central Queens Y. M. C. A. The course is being given by Dr. S. A. Schneidman of Bellaire, a member of the faculty of the Henry George School, under the auspices of the Y. H. W. Reifsnyder, Y. M. C. A. director of cultural activities, said the opening response was so great that two classes will have to be formed.

75 Boston Graduates

BOSTON, Mass.—Seventy-five members of the six Boston classes of the Henry George School of Social Science which just ended the winter term received their certificates at the commencement dinner April 6. Several of the students gave their impressions of the course and addresses were made by John S. Codman and Francis G. Goodale, veteran Georgists, members of the faculty of the Boston Extension.

President Mark J. J. Leonardi of the Boston Chapter of the Henry George Fellowship spoke on the relation of the Fellowship to the School and urged all the graduates to join their local chapters and take an active part in their administration.

Mr. Codman announced the opening of six new classes in the basic course April 18. A class in principles of international this year.

East Bay Commencement

OAKLAND, Calif.—The largest gathering in the history of the East Bay Chapter of the Henry George Fellowship took part in the winter term commencement of the Henry George School of Social Science March 28 at Sherwood's Lake Merritt Restaurant, by the shore of Lake Merritt, Oakland. Some ninety persons were present.

Joseph S. Thompson, prominent San Francisco manufacturer, former director of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, former president of the Musical Association of San Francisco, gave an address on the Georgian way to business prosperity. Students and class leaders also spoke. Miss Jean Denning Smith gave a program of songs. C. H. Rogers was chairman of the entertainment committee. C. K. Sutcliffe is president of the chapter.

140 Cleveland Graduates

CLEVELAND, Ohio—Allan J. Wilson, former professor at the University of Kansas, holds the record this term for the largest number of students graduated and classes taught in the winter term of the Cleveland Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science. At the dinner marking its close, held at Mills Restaurant March 28, Mr. Wilson sat at the head of a long table with his fifty-eight graduates from four classes.

The principal speakers were David Gibson, Ohio publisher, Peter Witt, close associate of the late Tom Johnson, and Marvin C. Harrison, attorney. They united in lauding the work of the School and pleaded for its continued growth. Recalling that it was fifty-nine years ago that he first read "Progress and Poverty," Mr. Witt said that in that fifty-nine years nothing equalled what has been done in the last four years by the classes of the Henry George School.

Mr. Harrison spoke of the work of the School and of the twelve classes that were scheduled to start April 18. Cash contributions and pledges totaling \$182 were received. Henry P. Boynton, advertising executive, was toastmaster.

Class representatives who spoke for the students were J. A. McLaughlin, Henry J. Kondrat, E. E. Stewart, W. W. Godard, F. A. Weith, Dr. E. B. Spencer, L. E. Frueh, Wm. P. Waldeisen, Walter Kolkauer and E. R. Learner. Mr. Learner has since moved to Buffalo, where he will organize a class.

Certificates were awarded to 140 graduates from the eight neighborhood classes and three downtown classes.

Eckert Address Ready

NEW YORK—An opportunity for friends of the Henry George School of Social Science to tell their friends about its work is presented by Representative Charles R. Eckert's address, "Poverty, Unemployment and the Bounty of Nature." Copies, in franked envelopes, may be obtained at \$2.43 per 1,000 from the Representative's office, House Office Building, Washington, D. C. Checks should be made out to the United States Public Printer.

Chodorov at Arden

ARDEN, Del.—Frank Chodorov, director of the Henry George School of Social Science, gave an address on the economic causes of war at the community hall of this enclave April 2. Following the talk, Ed Ross volunteered to organize an extension of the School here. About fifty persons attended.

Bigelow Pushes Issue

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Representative Herbert S. Bigelow of Ohio, a leading liberal member of Congress, obtained thirty-two votes in the House committee on taxation March 8 for an amendment to the corporation tax bill which would distinguish between taxes levied on improvements and taxes on land values for Federal tax deduction purposes. The amendment was voted down, 45 to 32.

75 Cincinnati Graduates

CINCINNATI, O.—Former Mayor William N. McNair of Pittsburgh counselled seventy-five graduates of the winter term of the Cincinnati Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science "not to keep quiet about the natural laws of living together." Speaking at the commencement exercises at the University Y. M. C. A. March 31, Mr. McNair denounced the ignorance of those who sit in high places while the country is going to ruin and told the graduates, "It's your job to tell 'em."

Other speakers were the Rev. Louis G. Hoeck, John Lawrence Monroe, field director of the Henry George School and Henry B. Flarsheim, Cincinnati manufacturer. Joseph H. Moffat, Sidney Hargraves, E. C. Schlie, Frank A. Averbeck and H. W. Vaile, class representatives, were spokesmen for the graduates. The invocation was offered by Rabbi Michael Aaronson. Ed. F. Alexander was toastmaster. The oldest Georgist present, Joseph Farabaugh, 84, came from Carleton, Pa., to attend the exercises. The sum of \$105.50 in cash and pledges was raised upon the announcement by Mr. Flarsheim that a group of friends of the School would match the contributions made by the students.

Graduates Win Contest

NEW YORK—Two graduates of the Henry George School of Social Science, Mrs. Maurice Welty of Chicago and Paul Peach of New York, were among the winners of a letter contest on the reciprocal trade agreements program sponsored by the N. B. C.-WJZ radio program, "Paths to Prosperity."

Civil Service Credit

NEW YORK—The Municipal Civil Service Commission will grant extra service rating credits to all civil service employees who pass the sixteen weeks course in fundamental economics and social philosophy conducted by the Henry George School of Social Science and attend not less than thirteen of the sixteen sessions.

J. L. Monroe Back

NEW YORK—John Lawrence Monroe, field director of the Henry George School of Social Science, is back in New York for a brief visit after eleven months in the field. He covered over 25,523 miles of highway east of Chicago and worked in sixty-three cities. As soon as Mr. Monroe's itinerary for the next few months is drawn up he will be on his way again.

Schieffelin at Tuskegee

NEW YORK—Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, noted New York civic leader and chairman of the board of trustees of Tuskegee Institute, just returned from a visit to Tuskegee, reports that the entire faculty showed a deep interest in the Henry George School of Social Science. The president of the college is reading "Progress and Poverty" and a number of the students are taking the correspondence course.

Wins Georgist Campaign

GLASGOW, Scotland—R. R. Stokes, whose principal plank was "the gradual abolition of the private monopoly of natural resources through the taxation of land values," was returned to Parliament at the recent by-election at Ipswich by a majority of 3,161.

In his election address and his speeches from the beginning to the end of his campaign, says Land and Liberty, official organ of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values of London, in the March issue, he stated a simple and clear cut economic policy, based upon fundamental principles capable of being put into speedy operation and offering immediate hope of amelioration to the ordinary man and woman. He held firmly to the essential fact that no matter how complex and intricate our industrial system may appear, it resolves itself in the end into the transformation of natural resources so as to satisfy man's desires and emphasized among other things that the holding of land out of use inevitably means the keeping of men out of employment. These were the issues upon which the election was fought and won.

The British section of the Henry George School of Social Science is organizing classes in his constituency.

New Winsted Class

WINSTED, Conn.—Miss Alta Hall of Norfolk, a recent graduate of the Henry George School of Social Science in the class of which Joseph R. Carroll was the instructor, has organized a class of her own which held its opening session on April 6 at the Y.M.C.A. with the assistance of Mr. Carroll. Miss Hall hopes to persuade several of her students to organize additional classes here.

Masons Hear Steele

NEW YORK—C. O. Steele, faculty member of the Henry George School of Social Science, spoke on the philosophy of Henry George and its bearing on the problems of today before 150 members of the Empire City Lodge 206, F. & A.M., in Masonic Hall, 46 West 24th Street, April 4. Mr. Steele also spoke March 21 at the Prospect Park YMCA in Brooklyn.

Lakemba Holds Rally

LAKEMBA, N.S.W.—Alumni of the Lakemba Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science met the incoming students at a rally held March 8 at the Blue Tea Room, Sydney. Lakemba students organized to insure the success of the evening.

Rikers Island Students

NEW YORK—Ten sets of correspondence lessons in fundamental economics and social philosophy were sent to the Penitentiary on Rikers Island on April 2 by the Henry George School of Social Science at the request of Leo Klauber, director of education. Mr. Klauber heard about the course from Clinton Prison at Dannemora, where a number of students receive the lessons regularly.

Fiske Warren Tribute

NEW YORK—On behalf of the many friends of Fiske Warren, Georgist leader, Emily E. F. Skeel of New York paid tribute to his memory in the following statement:

"In the recent death of Fiske Warren in Boston, international Georgism has lost an able and devoted adherent, founder of, or co-worker in, a number of successful, widely-scattered enclaves, including one in Europe. To them his care, his foresight and his generalship were of untold value—not to mention his never ending generosity of what he possessed and, even more, of what he was.

"His modesty prevented his receiving the recognition due him for his labors in this, his own selected field of Georgist activity. But to those who knew even a little of his self-denying life and his manifold interests, he will remain an exemplar of a very noble spirit. With a rich nature, compounded of inconsequent and even contradictory qualities, in his fundamental loyalties to kin, to friends, and to the public good he never swerved. In all matters relating to courage, to truth and to high-mindedness, the needle of his compass was fixed and unchangeable."

Francis G. Goodale of Boston, an intimate friend, is preparing a biographical article for a later issue of *The Freeman*. An authoritative sketch appears in *Land and Freedom's* March-April issue. *Land and Liberty* for March also presents an interesting account of his career.

N. Y. Faculty Meets

NEW YORK—A dinner meeting of the New York faculty of the Henry George School of Social Science was scheduled to be held at the Lucerne Hotel, 79th Street and Amsterdam Avenue, near the School, on Friday evening, April 29, to discuss class room problems. Dinner will be served at 6.30.

Recent Gifts to the Library of the Henry George School

Stephen Bell, donor, "Rationalization of German Industry," National Industrial Conference Board, 1931.

Stephen Bell, donor, "German Commerce Yearbook, 1928," edited by Dr. Hellmut Kuhnert, B. Westermann Co., Inc.

Stephen Bell, donor, "Foreign Trade, Principles and Practices" by Grover G. Huebner and Roland L. Kramer, D. Appleton & Co., 1930.

Stephen Bell, donor, "American Foreign Trade" by William F. Noty and Richard S. Harvey, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1921.

Stephen Bell, donor, "An Economic Survey of Australia," American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1931.

Stephen Bell, donor, "Japan's Economic Position" by John E. Orchard, Whitelsey House, 1930.

Stephen Bell, donor, "The German Reichsbank and Economic Germany," by Salomon Flink, Harper & Bros., 1930.

Editors, *The Freeman*, donors, "Burning Question: Making Your Living in a Monopolized World," by Louis Wallis; Willett, Clark & Co., Chicago and New York, 1937.

The Author, donor, "Safeguard Productive Capital," by Louis Wallis; Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., Garden City, New York, 1935.

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The book, by the author of the well-received "Philosophy of Henry George," should appeal to any one who has the slightest interest in and acquaintance with economic or social philosophy. 224 pages, with index, cloth bound, attractively printed. A permanent book, with a valuable contribution to economic thought.

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