

# The Freeman

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# The Rape of Democracy

The betrayal of Czechoslovakia is indicative of the immorality of monopolists and privileged groups in all countries. Our own landlords will act likewise when their privileges are threatened.

The Chamberlain government and the Daladier government agreed—while their respective parliaments were not in session—to the partition of a country which is not theirs.

\* \* \*

With whom was this agreement made? With a madman to whom the monopolists of Germany have entrusted their vested rights because, being mad, he is capable of that inhumanity which best serves their selfish ends.

Why was this atrocious agreement made? Because Chamberlain and Daladier are themselves tools of monopolists who fear the effect of war on their privileges. Increasing war taxes may be levied on their rent-income to such an extent that there may be nothing left, and they may have to go to work. Worse than that is the hideous spectre of revolt. Arms in the hands of their long-robbled nationals may be turned from the new enemy without—to the ancient enemy within.

\* \* \*

Those who own the earth and charge others for the privilege of living and working on it have one code. Greed. It is their international language. It is blazoned across their universal flag in letters of blood. In spite of their veneer of gentility, the niceties which their fawning victims enjoy vicariously, they are rotten at heart, their moral fibre is decayed, their sense of real decency

completely gone. They live on rent, for rent. To get more and more is their primary passion.

The gangsterism of landlordism is demonstrated in the present European situation. Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier have torn away the mask of refinement. The machinations of the monopolists were somewhat undercover in the rape of Spain. In Czechoslovakia the job was done unashamedly.

\* \* \*

This is no plea for war. We who know that only through democratic institutions can economic freedom and human happiness be attained, realize that war may bring about a slavery under bureaucracy far worse than the present slavery under landlordism. We know too well how the masters entrench themselves behind the smoke screen of war hysteria; how to dislodge them afterward is to fight the battle for liberty all over again. Whether war brings on Fascism or Communism is immaterial; in either case humanity is crushed, civilization is set back.

\* \* \*

But, the solution of these international problems is not in conflict—it is in freeing mankind, in letting people alone to work out their happiness. If Chamberlain and Daladier want a real solution of the European problem all they have to do is to break down their tariff walls. Let the people of Germany buy butter and bread and the raw materials they so sorely need. Flood Germany with the things the German people want, and Hitlerism won't have a leg to stand on. His "self-sufficiency" economy would melt before his astonished eyes. With what would

Germany pay for these things? With what Frenchmen and Englishmen want. Germans would go to work making these things, instead of making instruments of war.

But, suppose Germany insisted on maintaining tariffs even after France and England had removed theirs, it may be argued. She could not. For the only way to liquidate international bills is with goods. Germany could not sell unless she bought. Hitler could not resist the clamor of his industrialists, his workers, for an opportunity to get to these markets, and the only way to do so would be to break down his own tariff walls. The way to defeat Hitler is to do business with the German people.

The free exchange of goods between peoples is followed by a free exchange of ideas. Cultural values are the inevitable by-product of trade. Isolationism breeds a distrust of other peoples; commerce brings mutual understanding. The crazy ideology of fascism would dissolve into thin air if brought into direct contact with the ideals of democracy.

\* \* \*

But no. The monopolists whom Chamberlain and Daladier serve do not want a solution of the problem that may put ideas into the heads of their people. Seeing that free trade between countries is a good thing, the people might ask for free trade among themselves—free from monopolists, free from tax-gatherers.

To avoid this danger to their privileges they calmly offer to their more arrogant fellow-gangster part of a country which they are morally and legally bound to protect from aggression. But they know no law save privilege, they recognize no code of morals which serves not their selfish interests.

\* \* \*

Americans, beware! Beware the landed aristocracy!

# Solving the Colonial Riddle

By F. A. W. Lucas, K. C.

The demand for colonies is today in the forefront of world questions. On the one hand, we have France, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal, with huge colonial possessions, each wishing to maintain the status quo. On the other, there are Italy, Germany and Japan, possessing little colonial territory and making it quite plain, even to the extent of war or threats of war, that they insist on getting colonies. In this connection the term "colonies," of course, does not include any of the self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth, each of which is juridically an independent nation.

The countries which have colonies, the "Haves," are in an invidious position when called upon to reply to the claims of the "Have-nots." It does not lie in the mouths of the Haves to say that it is in the interests of the inhabitants of their colonies, that they should continue to administer them, because their administration is better than would be that of the Have-nots. The Have-nots are unlikely to accept that as true.

Of very few colonies can it be said that they are administered in the interests of the original inhabitants or even of the newcomers who have settled there. The number of nationals of the possessing country, who settle in its colonies, is relatively insignificant and the actual amount of trade with them is really not important. The persons to whom colonies are a source of income are chiefly those who can profit from the colonies' natural resources and from the work of their peoples.

The main reason advanced to support the claim for colonies is overpopulation. In all the Have and Have-not countries there is an artificially created overpopulation, because in each of them land monopoly prevents the mass of the people from getting access to land.

The reason given by the Japanese for their attack, first on Manchuria and now on North China, is the over-

The author of this article has long been an advocate of the socialization of rent in Johannesburg, Transvaal, where he has run for office on this platform. The volcanic colonial question, which is again disturbing the world political arena, is so basically treated in this article that we are grateful for the permission granted by The Christian Science Monitor to reprint it.

population of their country and the poverty of their people. It is claimed that Japan must have foreign outlets for its people. Actually, the density of population in Japan is little more than half that of Belgium and only half that of England.

The "Japan Year Book 1936" shows that one half of the arable land in Japan is owned by 1,000,000 people, that is, about 1½ per cent of the total population, while some 33,000,000 get their living on rented agricultural land; and, of these, 20,000,000 are compelled to try to exist on approximately one acre per household. Not only must they pay a higher rent for that small area but they are also heavily taxed. It is this that causes the poverty and all the so-called overcrowding or overpopulation of Japan. The cure for those evils and the lack of markets for the Japanese people lies in their remedying that situation.

The position in Italy is closely comparable to that of Japan. Overpopulation in Italy was given as the main reason for the attack by that country on Abyssinia. The Fascist "Annuario Statistico," for the year 1935, published the official Roman statistics concerning the distribution of the soil of Italy. It showed that 2,478,412 Italians possess altogether 15,480,452 hectares of cultivated land; 12,490 Italians, or ½ of 1 per cent of those owners possess 7,049,-

682 hectares, or 47 per cent of all the cultivated land of Italy, and almost as much as the remaining 2,465,922 Italian agrarian producers put together.

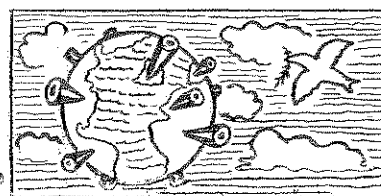
The figures in respect of Germany are quite similar.

In Great Britain, the monopolization of land in the hands of a few is notorious. Twenty-five land owners in Scotland claim to own one third of the whole of Scotland. It was said recently that in one glen, from among the inhabitants of which Wolfe, in the middle of the eighteenth century, raised a whole regiment of fighting men for Quebec, there is now only one family, that of a gamekeeper.

Because of these conditions, there is overcrowding which is purely artificial and wholly unnecessary. They have brought about a state of affairs in which an extension of exploitation of the masses of the people is no longer easily possible in the home land, and the exploiters in each of these European countries and Japan must look abroad for some other people to use for profit.

For the European countries, Africa is the continent where the inhabitants are least able to protect themselves. The greed of each exploiter makes him envy the possessions of the others, and the jealousy inspired by the possession of such opportunities as are presented to them in African colonies makes for strife between them. While these territories are allowed to be held as colonies, a possible cause for disputes between the great Western European nations remains. Especially is this so wherever narrow national rivalry is added to the aggressive commercialism of the individual exploiters.

Do not the facts here set out indicate that there is no need for colonies for any of the European countries or Japan? Each country has ample natural resources to supply its own needs directly from its own soil or by exchanging its products for those of other countries. They do not really need foreign land and the



amount of benefit their entire peoples would get in trade, through the mere fact of their owning colonies, is negligible. In every one of those countries, as well as in the Have countries, the home market could be developed enormously, if the people were set free to work for themselves without having to pay heavy rents to their land monopolists.

No one of the Have or Have-not countries has yet shown any sign of willingness to tackle its own internal problem of land monopolization, but each seems willing to risk plunging the world into another war rather than to do so.

The problem, of course, is complicated by claims of national prestige. This can only be settled by the Haves giving up their position of superiority as colonial powers and abandoning any claim to possess colonies. Any advantages which it may be claimed accrue to the inhabitants of colonial territories through their connection with the possessing country can be given to them by a united control, similar to that already exercised by the League of Nations over several portions of other countries. The Haves and Have-nots could, from the point of view of prestige, join in helping the present colonial territories to be run in the genuine interest of their inhabitants.

The selfishness which is represented in exploitation and land monopoly, with its resultant trade tariff barriers, will not be surrendered without a great moral struggle. The remedy—apart from the breaking of the power of the internal land monopoly—seems to require a definite decision on the part of the Haves to give up any possessive claims over their colonies, and their agreement that these territories will be administered, as far as possible, by their own inhabitants in their own interest. Where they are unable to carry on that administration unaided, assistance should be given jointly by a committee of nations required to act entirely and without reservation in the interests of the inhabitants of the former colonies. There would have to be complete free trade in those territories.

In so far as the Have countries are honest in their claims to be holding their colonies in the interest of the local inhabitants, they could raise no

logical objection to such a scheme and any opposition to it would reveal the fact that exploitation was the true purpose for which they have held such territories. The Have-nots would, if such a proposal were adopted, cease in the eyes of the world to have any cause for complaint or any ground for claiming colonies. They would have as free a right to trade in the present colonial territories as any of the former Haves. There would be no difference in national prestige based upon the possession of colonies. A beginning would be made in the direction of realizing that the inhabitants of colonies are human beings with rights to freedom and independence as such.

Any one of the Have countries could take the course outlined above without having to wait for any or all of the others to fall into line.

A solution short of that would leave open all the causes of possible conflict and war which at present disturb the world. We cannot hope for peace or justice as long as the Haves and Have-nots are struggling with each other for their own aggrandizement. Justice, and justice alone, will solve this problem and, in solving it, as between the Haves and Have-nots, we shall bring hope and real freedom and capacity to progress to the unhappy and oppressed peoples of the world.

### Campaign of Henry George, Jr.

A lively story of the successful campaign for election to the House of Representatives by Henry George, Jr., in 1910, is told by Joseph H. Newman, an active member of the committee, in *Land and Freedom*, August—September issue. Other articles and news items, to say nothing of the charming style of Joseph Dana Miller, Editor since 1901, make this bi-monthly well worth reading. Regular subscription price, \$2 per annum; introductory subscription for graduates of the School, One Dollar. Address, 150 Nassau Street, New York.



## 50,000,000 FRENCHMEN CAN BE WRONG

Premier Daladier—of the Radical Socialist Party—told his Frenchmen that they must work more than forty hours a week. His reason? To make bullets and things for the coming war.

Mr. Daladier does not say to his Frenchmen: "Work more in order that you may have more." This would arouse a storm of ridicule. For, even a "common front" Frenchman knows that under our economy the rewards of labor are not in proportion to its industry.

But, when he waves high the glorious tri-color and points to the enemy at the city gates—a trick used by plutocrats successfully for centuries—all the radicals who fought so valiantly for the forty-hour week will at least consider the surrender of this citadel of the Common Front.

True, the socialists have not all capitulated. They are confused. They find themselves unable to abandon their favorite argument that the decline in production is all the fault of the capitalists for spending their money abroad instead of spending it for better equipment and better technical education of workers. They cannot give up the exploded Marxist—and "capitalist"—theory that wages come out of capital, not production. But the obvious fact is that in the short-hour week not enough is being produced to keep men alive—and to provide against the threatening Germans.

Poor Frenchmen! If they would only heed the economic teachings of their own physiocrats instead of mouthing the empty shibboleths of a German pundit they would have an answer for Daladier. For those thinkers of the court of Louis XVI knew that wages come from production, that production begins on the land—and that the robbery of the laborers by the "two hundred families" (we have only sixty in the United States) is due to the private collection of rent.

How many Frenchmen have heard of the "produit net"—and "l'impôt unique"? Very few. That's why Daladier can befuddle them.

TERESA McCARTHY.

# Purges Have Their Proper Place

By Frank Chodorov

Franklin D. Roosevelt, as an American citizen, performs a desirable duty in calling to the attention of voters the political ideas of candidates which, to him, seem detrimental to the common welfare. One good way for voters to judge the qualifications for office of these candidates is to weigh the expressed opinions of men acquainted with them and their political ideas. Opponents stress what they consider weaknesses, proponents point to virtues; the citizens are the jury. The jury may decide wrongly; in the next election they correct the error. That's the way of democracy.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, as President, threatens democracy if in advocating the election or rejection of certain candidates he uses, no matter how slightly, the power of his office to persuade voters toward his will or judgment. And with the tremendous power that he now wields, because of the many job-giving and money-lending agencies at his command, and because of widespread poverty which he can temporarily and in a few cases assuage, there is no way in which he can perform his duty as a citizen without employing the weapon of tyranny.

By implication alone, by the hungry inference of the voters, the President's advocacy of or opposition to a candidate is an unconscious use of power. The use of coercion in the election of public officials is a greater danger to our form of government than even the election of bad officials. For, with free suffrage we can turn out the bad officials; but coercion, whether wielded by thugs, plutocrats or politicians, is a denial of free suffrage.

All this Mr. Roosevelt, a good American, must be aware of. As a democrat he must be averse to the principle of the "purge." But, Mr. Roosevelt is something more than a democrat—he is a Planner. And in any politically planned scheme of things an essential for its functioning is complete conformance. Which means, the elimination of any dissi-

dent opinions, the purging of opposition.

The assumption of the planning to which the world is being conditioned (by both politicians and professors) is that some of us are gifted with greater knowledge and vision—to say nothing of integrity—than the rest of us, and should therefore be vested with the power necessary for our guidance. This is a throw-back to Plato's oligarchy of wise men. It is a sort of divine right of Planners.

The difference between Planners and tyrants is that the latter avowedly run things for themselves and their friends. The Planners are altruists. But the methods of both follow the same outlines. The excuse that the Planners use for their existence is that other political schemes have not succeeded in securing the "life abundant" for the masses. That these other schemes have always been characterized by some sort of planning for the good of the people, that never have the people been left alone to work out their happiness, does not occur to them. All other plans—from Pericles to Wilhelm—have failed, they say, because the plans were faulty. Theirs only is the Perfect Plan.

Economic planning necessitates not only control of production and distribution, but also of desire, since production starts only when human wants manifest themselves, and distribution is merely the object of production. Labor is exerted toward the making of things only because laborers desire those things, and the direction toward which labor will be exerted (in an uncontrolled economy) is determined by the demand. Therefore, in order to effectively control production it is necessary to curb, either by propaganda or coercion, the appetites of man.

Now, all desires arise in the mind. You want tooth paste because you have acquired the idea that cleaning your teeth is beneficial to your health. The idea gives birth to desire, to demand. Or, you worship according to a given ritual because the idea of spiritual salvation, attained by way of that ritual, is satisfying, and your idea finds expression in the demand for a church building or a religious order or an organization. Mental concepts precede the expression of will, or desire. Nothing appears in our economic or social order that human mind has not conceived in thought.

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Therefore, in order to effectively plan our economic or social order it is necessary for the planners to shape or control thought before it is expressed in desire.

New desires, whether for things or for intellectual gratifications, make for what we term progress. They stimulate production, call for new services, give birth to invention, and aid in the pursuit of happiness. But to the Planner every new desire presents a new problem. To keep adding details to a blue print is eventually to make it unintelligible, useless. Besides, if group desires arise the possibility of group action to seek gratification is a danger; minority groups may become majorities. Not only the plan, but the political control so essential to planning is threatened by every group of people whose thought area is not predetermined by the Planner. Therefore, such groups must be discouraged, prevented, purged.

Civilization cannot be planned. It is too big for any human being, any parliament of mortals. There are no minds so great as to be able to envisage the manifold desires of which man is capable, let alone to work out the means of production and distribution for the gratification of those desires. A list of the occupations that have developed in our highly complicated civilization, occupations which owe their origin to the fathomless wants of man, and which seem to multiply with every new satisfaction, would take a lifetime to compile; and then it would be incomplete, because every generation seeks new satisfactions and devises new means of gratification.

How have we been able, even with interfering political schemes, even with legalized robbery, to get something out of life? Merely by the exchange of goods and services for goods and services. Under any system of planning it is only by this natural exchanging of labor products that man will live. The more exchanges the better will he live; and the "life abundant" will come only when these exchanges are free—free of tax-gatherers, rent-collectors and planners.

But that is not the way of the Plan. Its paternalistic heart throbs with the assurance that it knows best what is good for all the people. It therefore attempts to record on its monster blue print every desire of man, every means of gratification. When this job becomes too colossal, when the finite mind runs smack into infinity, it merely attempts to cut down the opposition to its own size.

That is why we have purges. That is why we must accept the principle of complete conformance if we accept the principle of Planning, in politics or in economics. If we decide that it is for the public good that butter should be had only on Wednesdays, then he who seeks to gratify his desires for butter on Friday destroys the efficacy of the Plan. He must be liquidated. If we decide that the "broad principles of the New Deal" is the Plan by which we should live and work and play, then anyone who advocates a different Plan, or no Plan at all, is a disturbing element in our body politic.

The purge is properly a part of planning.

pay-for-itself plan—that indigent students can provide for their tuition and their "keep" by production. They and their followers have proven the theory. The college derives its entire income from student-produced wealth.

Those 400 acres have been converted into a truck garden of 60 acres, an orchard of 70 acres, a corn field, a wood lot—in other words, turned productive by the labor of the students. A cannery (built by student hands) produces a high grade product from the college farms and orchards which retails over the entire country. The corn field supplies the material for high grade brooms made on the campus. A light weight tile has been developed, being used on the roofs of their own buildings as well as "exported."

These are merely examples of direct production from the land. Other accomplishments include the Madison Rural Sanitarium where students learn and carry on the profession of nursing; the school chemistry laboratory which has developed many new and valuable food products, particularly those from the soy bean; the saw mill, where all lumber for the school buildings is produced; the laundry and the cafeteria. All of the capital needed in these various enterprises was produced by student labor, as the school had no original endowment. Continued production can only be by student labor.

Why can this labor continue to be so productive? Because the land remains free. The element of rent of course entered the picture with the original purchase of the farm land, but as productivity increased the rising rent merely accrued to the benefit of the college. Had these students been compelled to run the double gauntlet of privately collected rent and taxes levied on their productivity, the enterprise would undoubtedly have suffered all the vicissitudes to which any tax-and-rent-ridden enterprise is exposed.

Now consider. If untrained students (at least as they matriculate) can become self-sustaining on 400 acres of worn-out farm land, what could skilled labor, aided by abundant capital, produce on the good land now being held for a price? What is the cause of unemployment?

## DEMONSTRATES THE OBVIOUS

By R. M. Connor.

The Nashville Agricultural Normal Institute at Madison, Tennessee, is an interesting demonstration of the obvious—that labor needs only access to land to sustain itself, and that the capital necessary for production is in itself the product of labor. The story of this "self-supporting college" appeared in a recent issue of *Readers Digest*.

When this institution was founded 34 years ago its total stock con-

sisted of some run-down farm buildings and 400 acres of worn-out farm land. Eleven students, four instructors and the founder, Dr. E. A. Sutherland, started out to prove that higher education can be had on a



# "Keeping Those Buzzards out"

By Frederic Cyrus Leubuscher

Stuart Chase, the well-known writer, has an article entitled "Resettlement Farmer" in the September Cosmopolitan. While inspecting and discussing the Grand Coulee project a resettlement farmer said to him: "Another thing I liked was that the engineer said that the only people who couldn't make a living in the district were land speculators. The Government has already passed laws keeping those buzzards out." Mr. Chase does not pursue the subject.

As it will be of interest to Georgists to learn what plan, other than the collection by the government of the entire economic rent, can succeed in "keeping those buzzards out," it would be profitable to study the following act approved by the President May 27, 1937. (For brevity, only the relevant parts of the act are stated.)

(Public—No. 117—75th Congress)  
(Chapter 269—1st Session)  
(S. 2172)

## AN ACT

To prevent speculation in lands in the Columbia Basin prospectively irrigable by reason of the construction of the Grand Coulee Dam project and to aid actual settlers in securing such lands at the fair appraised value thereof as arid land, and for other purposes.

\* \* \* That no part of the funds heretofore or hereafter appropriated or allotted \* \* \* shall be expended in the construction of any irrigation feature of said project, \* \* \* until after the following provisions have been complied with:

(a) The privately owned lands proposed to be irrigated under said project \* \* \* shall have been impartially appraised \* \* \* for the determination of their value at the date of appraisal without reference to the proposed construction of the said irrigation works and without increment on account of the prospect of the construction of the said project.

(b) A contract or contracts shall have been made with an irrigation or reclamation district or districts organized under State law \* \* \*; Provided, That every such contract with any district shall further require that all irrigable land held in private ownership by any one owner in excess of forty irrigable acres \* \* \* shall be designated as excess land and as such shall not be entitled to receive

Dear Mr. Leubuscher: I read your article for the Freeman over with great interest and have sent it on to the northwest with the idea that your valuable comments may be useful in plugging the possible gaps in the new law. Sincerely, Stuart Chase.

water from said project. \* \* \* The Secretary of the Interior may require each landowner, as a condition precedent to receiving water from the said irrigation works, to execute a valid recordable contract wherein he shall agree to dispose of excess holdings then or thereafter owned by him in the manner provided in this Act and in the contract between his district and the United States, and wherein the said landowner also shall confer upon the Secretary of the Interior an irrevocable power of attorney to make any such sale on his behalf. For the purpose of determining excess lands \* \* \* husband and wife shall be considered separate persons and each may hold not to exceed forty irrigable acres as non-excess lands or husband and wife together may hold eighty irrigable acres of community property as such non-excess lands: \* \* \* Provided further, That \* \* \* every such contract with any district shall also provide, with respect to all irrigable lands whether initially excess or nonexcess, that whenever any land is sold at a price in excess of the sum of the appraised value of the arid land, the appraised value of improvements made thereon after the date of the original appraisal, and the amount of irrigation construction costs actually paid for that land, then, before the new owner shall be entitled to receive water from the project, a proportionate part of the said excess or incremented value shall be paid to the United States as follows: If such payment is made to the United States more than fifty months after such sale at an excessive price has been made, then as a prerequisite to the right to receive water all of the incremented value shall be paid to the United States to apply on construction installments to come due on such land in inverse order of their accrual; \* \* \* and so on for earlier payment allowing an additional reduction of 1 per centum for each month, so that in the event that such payment is made to the United States

within one month after the date of such sale, then the percentage of the incremented value required to be paid to the United States for application to construction costs as a prerequisite to the right to receive water shall be 50 per centum thereof: \* \* \* And provided further, That the foregoing four provisos shall not apply to any lands in the State of Washington which have already been developed and are now being cultivated with the aid of water from sources other than the said Grand Coulee project and for which additional water may be desired.

This is practically an increment tax. While it will give the land speculator pause it will not eliminate him. After the settler and his wife have had their eighty acres irrigated and thereby produced good crops, their success will attract other settlers, for, as Mr. Chase says: "The big idea is to irrigate a section of farm land as big as the State of Connecticut." When ten thousand families have had their eighty acres irrigated, there will be a community of say fifty thousand on 800,000 acres of cultivated land, with ten thousand dwelling houses and other structures. As none of these lands will be subject to the increment tax, each farmer becomes a potential land speculator. If the eighty acres, including irrigation ditches, buildings, etc., cost him \$5,000 and he sells for \$10,000, the only tax he will have to pay is an income tax on his \$5,000 profit. With half of it exempt as a married man and probably the greater part of the balance for children under eighteen, his income tax would be negligible.

Besides that, the increment tax does not apply to town centers or villages that would be necessary in a community of fifty thousand souls. "Those buzzards" would have free play there. Note particularly the last quoted sentence of the Act which excludes from the increment tax all lands that are already being irrigated by the State of Washington but desire further irrigation from Grand Coulee. The writer does not know how many acres these comprise; but it is fair to assume that, together with the newly settled land, there will be upwards of a million acres that will not be affected by this law.



But, it may be argued, these resettled farmers who were unsuccessful on their former farms through no fault of theirs, will be so glad to have good homes without the menace of drought, that they will not easily become the prey of land speculation. It may also be claimed that the main purpose of the law was to encourage the improvement of "excess lands" by forfeiting the greater part of the profit made in their sale. The scheme as to "excess lands" is this: these arid lands will have little market value were it not for the prospect of being irrigated. Therefore, refuse irrigation until the government receives the greater part of the profit in the event of a sale. Thus land speculation is eliminated. That this increment tax

would have that tendency at the beginning is undoubtedly true. But after a real settler on these "excess lands" has received irrigation, the law is no longer effective. It would pay a man who does not desire to make a living by farming to take up "excess lands" for a nominal sum and receive irrigation. Then he begins his real vocation of land speculator.

The objection to this law is that it nowhere eliminates the fundamental wrong. The economic rent which is created by the presence and activities of the community and therefore belongs to it, will still be collected and retained by the land-owners. It is encouraging, however, that the federal government is beginning to realize, albeit in a dim way, that

land is in a different class from things produced by capital and labor. There are some men in the present administration who know the real solution, but by the administration are deterred from applying it except in this feeble way. Possibly also the constitution would not allow the federal government to collect the economic rent, as such. The United States Supreme Court, however, has decided that an excise tax for a privilege is constitutional. There is nothing to prevent Congress from levying an excise tax for the privilege of owning land. If such a tax were at a rate which, together with the local tax, would aggregate the entire economic rent, there would be no further trouble in "keeping those buzzards out."

# As Expected: WPA In Politics

By David Hyder

"I hope very much that people on relief will not contribute any money for the purpose of aiding any political party."

Thus, piously, the president met the definite entrance of the WPA into the political arena. For WPA workers are being enrolled in the Workers Alliance (ten cents to a half dollar a month), which, according to President David Lasser, has a membership of one million unemployed. About 400,000, it is claimed, are workers on government projects.

The immediate occasion for Mr. Roosevelt's plea was the announcement that this organization would raise a \$50,000 campaign fund for the fall elections. This step was over-due; it was long expected by students of political affairs. Whenever a group acquires vested interest in government largesse the tendency is for this group to solidify its force so as to perpetuate this interest. The fact that politicians have attempted to sway the WPA vote for their own advantage is pertinent only in that the workers thus learned of their power sooner than if they had been left to realize it by the urge of self-interest. When Harry Hopkins,

their super-boss, said how he would vote if he were voting in a given election he gave an instructive hint. When deputy administrator Aubrey Williams told relief clients to "keep their friends in power" the invitation to enter politics was more than implied. The use of government jobs by minor politicians as bribes for WPA and other "relief" votes must have suggested to the recipients the promise of permanent employment in an unemployment world which their rights of suffrage contained.

But these merely hastened the evil day. Any group faced with starvation "outside" will eventually hit upon the political method of keeping well-fed "inside." Their action in formally organizing and raising funds for political enterprises is reprehensible, but not more so than the political machinations of other groups seeking advantages from government—such as the powerful Manufacturers Association, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the American Legion. "Relief" jobs are grants from society. So are the emoluments given to the tariff protected industries, and the hand-outs to the legionnaires. When it shall be made a criminal act for lobbies to appeal to legislators for favors, when candidates for office shall be prohibited at pain of im-

prisonment from soliciting or accepting contributions to their campaign funds, then and then only would the act of raising a fund for political purposes be unethical.

Men do not sell their right to vote until they are deprived of an opportunity to work. When denied that opportunity any demagogue can own not only their consciences but also their bodies. Will the right to vote satisfy an empty stomach? Who cares who is elected when the wife and children get food? What good is "good government" to the wretch who has tramped the streets for months looking for work, whose self-respect has dwindled with every new hole in his clothes? The WPA men know what dire poverty is. They have not forgotten. They will fight the monster with every means at their command—and the best means they know of is the power of their combined vote.

Work-relief, according to our political "economists" is an established and permanent factor in our civilization. In a world so filled with plenty that government is worried about its very abundance, we have and shall continue to have, a class of workers forced to engage in non-productive, make-work projects—virtually dole receivers. The incongruity of the



situation is not nearly as disturbing as the complacency with which officials and "intellectuals" accept it. Their smug ignorance is appalling.

It is reasonable to expect that this permanent group within our social order shall remain politically impotent? Hardly. No matter what political party is in power, the employed will be ready to protect their jobs with their votes. Aiding them will

be the merchants and professional men whose living is also largely affected by the dole system. The vortex will absorb many economic elements not ordinarily included in the "unemployed" class, and who knows but what an Association of Unemployed will not some day have their own candidate for President of the United States. Their membership is constantly on the increase.

## "MINIMUM WAGE" DISCHARGES 300

By Francis Q. Crowder

The Rhea Manufacturing Company has a closed shop contract with the International Garment Workers Union. This company made a one dollar dress line. The employees working on this line were paid 32½ cents per hour. The Union demanded 35 cents per hour for these workers. The company could not pay the increased wage and continue selling these dresses at one dollar. The union agreed to the inevitable discontinuance of the line, and as a result about 300 employees lost their jobs.

Here we have a practical demonstration of the effect of the attempt to raise wages beyond the marginal determinant. There is a demand for one dollar dresses. To satisfy this demand other workers must agree to accept wages commensurate with the buying power of this demand. Thus, it is seen that the wages of the workers are not determined by the company (the capitalist), but by the purchasing power of the buyer—in this case the marginal buyer of dresses.

When the union, by use of its monopolistic position, attempts to raise wages beyond the marginal determinant, the buyers disappear—that is, they would disappear if the union had a complete monopoly of labor so that these buyers could not have their desires satisfied by other workers, as they probably did. As a matter of fact, what in reality happened is that the three hundred workers who lost their jobs were replaced by non-union workers in some other factory; for where there is a desire for things there will be workers willing to satisfy that desire. The attempt of the union in this

case to establish a minimum wage merely resulted in a replacement of employed by previously unemployed workers. If the attempt had been successful, as it might be when the government establishes and enforces a minimum wage law, then there would have been a net loss of three hundred jobs; no replacements.

Wages cannot be regulated by law. Professor Harry Gunnison Brown has treated that subject so well and so thoroughly in *The Freeman* that our only excuse for bringing in this story is that it is an excellent "case." Besides, so long as wage-laws are on our statute books, so long as our politicians and our professors keep talking in terms of capital-pays-wages, insistence in pointing out this economic error is never out of place.

Even the law recognized, inadvertently, the economic fact that workers are paid by buyers, not by employers, in the decision rendered by Judge A. C. Hoppmann in a Wisconsin circuit court. (A test case of one discharged employee was taken to court by the union.) Said the judge: "Such action did not constitute a discharge by the plaintiff company but, on the contrary, a voluntary and deliberate leaving of her employ without cause."

## He Likes It

Editor of The Freeman: I have been taking the Freeman since last December, and I haven't read anything so interesting and instructive since Henry George published *The Standard* away back in the '80's of the last century. Louis F. Post published the *Public* in Chicago, and I was a regular reader of that for some time, but I find your paper better than it in many respects.

—MATHEW COWDEN, IOWA.

## CAN RENT BE UNOBTRUSIVE?

By Lancaster M. Greene

John Thomas Smith died without a will, all but totally obscure, leaving land and buildings assessed at \$2,158,000, with gross rents for the next eighteen months estimated at \$217,133, plus investments "not in excess" of \$950,000, largely in tax-exempt bonds.

Since Mr. Smith lived modestly over his candy store, which his father had started, it is surmised that the \$950,000 represented rents not used for current desires and saved as a further bulwark against poverty. Could he have saved this sum from his modest candy store beside the Ninth Avenue Elevated at Greenwich Street. He kept the store almost unchanged from his father's day, largely out of sentiment.

Mr. Smith's attorney said: "He ate well, but not extravagantly. He traveled extensively, both abroad and in this country. He liked to go to the theater and to baseball games, and other sporting events. He got a great deal of pleasure out of life."

His tenants had as many desires as Mr. Smith, but many were forced to repress desires and forgo pleasures, in order to satisfy his claim to exclusive rights to the land on which they lived or worked.

An editor said that "in his own way he enriched his city." How? By sitting on land?

Population, and services and inventions of others bid up ground rents with no exertion on the part of Mr. Smith.

An obit was entitled, "The Unobtrusive Mr. Smith!"

## Letter Writing Georgists

The following letter from George C. Winne, Newark, N. J., tells its own story: "The editor of the *Letters to the Editor* column of the New York Times told me that he received one day twenty letters (including one from me) from Georgists in answer to an anti-letter which the paper had printed the day before. Only one of these letters was published." One out of twenty in a newspaper with a half-million circulation is a good average.

# Getting Milk From Half-Starved Cows

## (A Statesman's Recipe)

By Harry Gannison Brown

Once more—alas when will it end!—we are treated to a proposal for the alleged aid of the politically much-cultivated homeowner, a proposal which would make the acquisition of unencumbered homes definitely harder than now. An Associated Press dispatch states that Senator Sheppard (Dem.), Texas, urged a Senate subcommittee to recommend his constitutional amendment exempting homesteads from taxation up to \$5,000 in valuation. The amendment, if enacted, would prohibit political subdivisions to tax homes up to \$5,000 except to pay outstanding bonded indebtedness.

Of course we are treated to the usual misleading ballyhoo. Senator Sheppard stated—what is probably true—that more than two-thirds of Texas families are landless and homeless. And then he further stated that "to correct this situation" exemption laws have been passed not only in Texas but in eleven other states. The Senator is quoted as saying that removal of taxation from small homesteads would "halt and reverse the deadly nation-wide drift of our people into migratory tenancy." Senator Neely (Dem.), West Virginia, chairman of the Senate subcommittee, is reported as remarking that the Sheppard amendment is "very appealing." And in the same news item a Mr. Frank Putnam of Houston, Texas, is referred to as "leader of a national movement for homestead exemption."

Without at all questioning the sincerity of Senator Sheppard, or of others in public life who may support his view, we can nevertheless truly say that the senator has hit upon a proposal which, if adopted in the only way it is likely to be adopted under present conditions of pressure politics, would make home ownership for the poor harder to achieve than it has ever been before in our entire history. True, the scheme might relieve of taxes those who are already prosperous enough to own

their homes. But these, in Texas at least, are, by Senator Sheppard's own statement, not more than a third of the families. And unless the expenses of our states and local governments are to be drastically cut, the money now raised by taxing homesteads **MUST BE RAISED IN SOME OTHER WAY.** Then HOW shall it be raised? If present trends are followed, it will be raised by increased sales taxes and other taxes falling heavily on the poor. Those, therefore, whom Senator Sheppard would, presumably, rescue from the unhappy condition of tenancy will be more hopelessly in that condition than previously.

Down in Senator Sheppard's state there was an old farmer who had more cows than he was able to provide with good pasture. One herd he put into a field where the grass and clover were pretty good. But another herd he put into a field where the pickings were indeed very poor. The cows of the first herd gave a good supply of milk; those of the second were somewhat disappointing. But the farmer, Sam Barsambus, had an inspiration. He wanted to "encourage" the giving of more milk by the cows of his second herd. So he rewarded the cows of the first herd, which were giving plentiful supplies of milk, by running his mowing machine over the field occupied by the second herd, cutting off what few clumps of high grass and clover he could find there and giving this as extra feed to the cows in the first herd. This policy, Sam thought, would make the cows in the second herd realize that virtue was duly rewarded and would cause them to give more milk. Senator Sheppard may not know Sam, but "he sure is like him!"

But suppose the taxes now levied on homesteads are made up for—as

they are hardly likely to be in these days of cigarette, gasoline and sales taxes—by higher taxes on other kinds of property, such as stores and factories and apartment houses! We must have stores and factories, of course, and city people of small incomes, who cannot afford homesteads, must often live in apartment houses as tenants. What if the resulting added burden on these types of capital discourages the building of them and makes store and tenement rentals higher than they now are? Would such higher rentals for rooms and tenements and apartments help those who must live in them, to save and buy themselves tax-exempt homesteads? And if rentals for store space are higher, who, in Senator Sheppard's thought, will finally pay these rentals? Will it be only a few rich business men, and never either the small and struggling merchant or the general mass of consumers?

Such a proposal as this of Senator Sheppard certainly does not go to the roots of the evil which he is ostensibly seeking to cure. At best it could be only a surface remedy, even if it did not make the evil distinctly worse.

That the senator's scheme might tend in some degree to increase the number of persons holding formal title to the homes they occupy, we need not deny. Suppose Smith owns three houses and, since only one is his "homestead," has to pay taxes on the other two, in which Jones and Wilkins are tenants; but these two will also become tax-exempt if they are purchased by Jones and Wilkins respectively. Jones and Wilkins, however, are too poor to buy homes and really pay for them, and the added sales taxes and other taxes likely to be levied under Senator Sheppard's plan, to make up for the abolition of the tax on homesteads, certainly won't help these tenants to save the money to pay for Smith's houses. But Jones and Wilkins may become titular owners nevertheless. Instead of keeping them as tenants,



Smith may well realize the advantage to himself of further tax exemption—on three houses instead of one—and may seek this advantage by formally selling one home to Jones and one to Wilkins, accepting mortgages for the full or almost the full value of the homes, mortgages which Jones and Wilkins can probably never pay off and which, indeed, they may never even try to pay off. Thus, such a measure might indeed promote home ownership in some cases, so far as formal title is concerned, while leaving the so-called owners in a position really as hopeless as now or—in view of the levy of new taxes—definitely more hopeless than now, no longer tenants in the formal sense but so heavily and hopelessly mortgaged as to be tenants in practical effect. And, surely, the more tenants are persuaded to assume such pretended ownership and the more homesteads are thereby relieved of taxes, THE MORE MUST OTHER TAXES BE RAISED.

How can the senator's proposed reform accomplish any other purpose unless (1) it enables those it would help to earn larger wages, or (2) definitely and clearly reduces the TOTAL burden of taxation on them, or (3) makes homes really cheaper to buy?

Those who have read Henry George's great book with real understanding—alas, how few among our legislators have ever read it at all!—know that land-value taxation, by making speculatively held vacant land available for use, does tend to increase the productive efficiency of labor and to raise real wages; they know that such taxation, by making possible the repeal of taxes that now rest heavily on wage earners, would clearly and without question further reduce the tax burden on those whose need is greatest; and they know that such taxation of land values would greatly lower the sale price of land and make its acquisition by would-be home owners far easier than under our present system.

But who expects our political "leaders" to be anything but followers? Who expects them to offend the owners of great community-produced land values, the owners of valuable city sites and extensive plantations? Who expects them to offer any but quack remedies for the

ills of the poor so long as the recipients of vast community-produced land incomes are able to make "tax relief for land" a popular slogan?

No. Real leadership is to be expected from almost none of those in our "best" political circles. Rather must we expect plausible but fallacious reasons for doing things that will harm and for not doing what would help. Thus, in one crisis after another, our statesmen, urged to do something for the evils of poverty, inequality and tenancy, hasten to endorse, with great fanfare of publicity, measures which increase these evils and which tend to destroy the very democracy which these statesmen claim to serve.

## EDUCATION OF A BUSINESS MAN

By Laurie J. Quinby

William Fales Baxter, whose recent passing was indeed a loss to the Georgist movement, became interested in the single tax in a most unusual way. At the time of the incident related below he was secretary of Thomas Kilpatrick & Co., an Omaha department store.

A devoted friend had been telling him about the theories of Henry George. He was always tolerant, unconvinced. One day his friend said: "It is a proven fact that as ground-rent rises, wages, interest and the profits of business decline."

Mr. Baxter's quick come-back was, "Now any business man knows that statement to be untrue. Take my business. You will admit that what is true of this would be a fair example of all business. And you will admit, I think, that land values in this location have at least quadrupled during the last ten years. I can assure you that our payroll, in proportion to our business, as well as our profits have enormously increased during that decade."

That statement seemed to be a squelcher, but his friend was engaged in spreading the idea of cost-finding systems, as well as preaching Henry George. The friend said:

"I believe your company owns this building and the land on which it rests?"

Sometimes, doubtless, with blundering sincerity and sometimes with a weather eye on the political support to be gained from a substantial group of voters, our prominent political "leaders" again and again have urged measures which, unprejudiced analysis shows, are but heavy burdens on the masses and on the poor. And because those so burdened are themselves uncomprehending and, often, the victims of misleading catch phrases and slogans (like "broadening the tax base," "tax relief for real estate" and "encouragement of home ownership"), it is by their own prejudices and their own votes that they are laid under tribute to the owners of the earth.

"Yes."

"Do you maintain a cost-finding system, and do you charge against your merchandising business a rental for the premises you occupy?"

"Yes," said Mr. Baxter.

"Well, then, during the past ten years, while rents in this locality have advanced, as you say, four times, how many times have you revised the 'rent item' cost in your cost-finding system?"

Mr. Baxter caught his breath. They had not revised it.

"Well, then," said his friend, "when you have time, will you study over that question, bring your rent item up to date, then tell me if your payroll and your dividends, in proportion to the volume of your business, as merchants, have really advanced, as you say?" He promised.

Several days later, as his friend entered the store, Mr. Baxter met him with a smile. "I am having lots of fun with my partners," said he. "I am proving to them that we are losing money."

"So you found," said his friend, "that you have been profiting not as merchants, but as landlords?"

"Yes," he answered, "and I am certain that thousands of other business men are being deceived by the same fact."

From that time on, Mr. Baxter became an ardent student and champion of Henry George.

# Still the Riddle of the Sphinx

By Francis Q. Crowder

The most important news of the month was not exactly news. The National Resources Committee issued an 80,000 word document in which it proved factually that the average family income of one-third of the nation was only \$471, in 1935-36. The professors have the statistics they worship. Everybody who had eyes to see needed no other evidence that the country contains very many poor people, that most of us are on the edge of starvation, that too many of us are over the edge.

Yet the tables are valuable. Believe it or not, there are many people who claim there is no problem of poverty. Many there are who see no relation between the sores on our social organism and the diseases of poverty of which those are but symptoms.

More than thirty-three out of every hundred American families live—if they can—on \$471 a year. On the other hand, one per cent of our families, whose annual incomes range from \$10,000 up to the millions, have an aggregate income of 13 per cent of the national income. The contrast tells the social story of America.

"The 29,400,300 families (trying to live on \$471 per annum) in the population during 1935-36 were by far the most important group of income-spending units, including nearly 91 per cent of the total body of consumers."

Quite true. It is the poor who do most of the consuming, merely because they have the most mouths to feed, the most backs to clothe. Therefore, they pay the bulk of taxes. Taxes! It must be remembered that these income figures are gross, that the burden of government is deducted from these incomes before the necessities of life can be had. Even the cost of compiling these figures was paid for by taxes on bread, clothing, milk.

"The distribution of these 29 million families by income level is as follows: 14 per cent of all families received less than \$500 during the

year studied; 42 per cent received less than \$1,000, 65 per cent less than \$1,500, and 87 per cent less than \$2,500."

This means that at least 42 per cent of our people were living—considering living costs as of 1935-36—on mere subsistence rations. That a good portion of these were in that year (and there is no reason that there has been any improvement since) unable to enjoy any of the relaxations that differentiate man from beast, and that as a consequence the tendency to immorality, crime and degeneracy among them was prevalent. Also that 87 per cent of our American families are in constant fear of poverty.

"Above the \$2,500 level there were about 10 percent with incomes up to \$5,000, about 2 per cent receiving between \$5,000 and \$10,000, and only 1 per cent with incomes of \$10,000 or more.

"When the incomes of all families are added together the aggregate is approximately \$48,000,000,000. The

shares of this total income going to the various income groups are as follows:

"The 42 per cent of families with incomes under \$1,000 received less than 16 per cent of the aggregate, while the 3 per cent with incomes of \$5,000 or more received 21 per cent of the total. The incomes of the top 1 per cent accounted for a little more than 13 per cent of the aggregate.

"In addition to the 116,000,000 consumers living in family groups in 1935-36, there were 10,000,000 men and women lodging in rooming houses and hotels, living as lodgers or servants in private homes or maintaining independent living quarters as one-person families.

"These single individuals constituted nearly 8 per cent of the total population and received 19 per cent of the total consumer income."

The social consequences of this last item are: (1) The tendency of young folks to avoid marriage or having children; (2) prostitution; (3)

## 1935-36 Distribution of Incomes

The following table, from the report issued by the National Resources Committee, shows the distribution of families and single individuals and of aggregate income received by income level in 1935-36:

Income Level.	Number.	Families and Single Individuals		Aggregate Income	
		P.C. at Each Level.	Cumulative P.C.	Amount (in thousands).	P.C. Cumulative
Under \$250	2,123,534	5.38	5.38	\$294,138	0.50
250-500	4,587,377	11.63	17.01	1,767,363	2.98
\$500-\$700	5,771,960	14.63	31.64	3,615,653	6.10
\$750-\$1,000	5,876,078	14.90	46.54	5,129,506	8.65
\$1,000-\$1,250	4,990,995	12.65	59.19	5,589,111	9.42
\$1,250-\$1,500	3,743,428	9.49	68.68	5,109,112	8.62
\$1,500-\$1,750	2,889,904	7.32	76.00	4,660,793	7.87
\$1,750-\$2,000	2,296,022	5.82	81.82	4,214,203	7.11
\$2,000-\$2,250	1,704,535	4.32	86.14	3,602,861	6.08
\$2,250-\$2,500	1,254,076	3.18	89.32	2,968,932	5.01
\$2,500-\$3,000	1,475,474	3.74	93.06	4,004,774	6.76
\$3,000-\$3,500	851,919	2.16	95.22	2,735,487	4.62
\$3,500-\$4,000	502,159	1.27	96.49	1,863,384	3.14
\$4,000-\$4,500	286,053	.72	97.21	1,202,826	2.03
\$4,500-\$5,000	178,138	.45	97.66	841,766	1.42
\$5,000-\$7,500	380,266	.96	98.62	2,244,406	3.79
\$7,500-\$10,000	215,642	.55	99.17	1,847,820	3.12
\$10,000-\$15,000	152,682	.39	99.56	1,746,925	2.95
\$15,000-\$20,000	67,923	.17	99.73	1,174,574	1.98
\$20,000-\$25,000	39,825	.10	99.83	889,114	1.50
\$25,000-\$30,000	25,583	.06	99.89	720,268	1.22
\$30,000-\$40,000	17,959	.05	99.94	641,272	1.08
\$40,000-\$50,000	8,346	.02	99.96	390,311	.66
\$50,000-\$100,000	13,041	.03	99.99	908,485	1.53
\$100,000-\$250,000	4,144	.01	100.00	539,006	.91
\$250,000-\$500,000	916	*	---	264,498	.45
\$500,000-\$1,000,000	240	*	---	134,803	.23
\$1,000,000 and over	87	*	---	157,237	.27
All levels	39,458,300	100.00	---	\$59,258,628	100.00

\* Less than 0.005 per cent.

the gradual disintegration of the family as a social unit.

"Sixty-one per cent received incomes of less than \$1,000 and accounted for 29 per cent of the total income of the group. Ninety-five per cent received less than \$2,500 and a little more than 1 per cent received \$5,000 or more."

The report is quite replete with data that reveals much more of social significance. *The Freeman*

shall have occasion to refer to and comment on various sets of figures—as, for instance, the comparison between "negro" and "white" incomes. But the disparity in incomes so strikingly told in these paragraphs, and in the tables reprinted herewith, simply proves that the "riddle of the Sphinx" with which George grappled in 1879 has not yet been solved. In fact, it is becoming more and more complex.

## NEEDED: A NEW FRONTIER

By Emily E. F. Skeel

I have just finished reading the account, popularized for a Sunday newspaper supplement, of the centennial celebration of the settlement of Marietta, Ohio. The various pageants and meetings held this summer throughout "the North Western Territory" must have been in many cases interesting and sometimes inspired.

Yet, for the sake of clear and straight thinking, certain factors should be kept in mind, lest we join, unwittingly, in the grand whoop-la of enthusiasm. Taking into account the origin and the outcome of that first striking trek of our people, the eye of the single taxpayer must necessarily perceive two points, for the most part ignored.

First: at the meeting in Philadelphia, during the Christmas holidays, of the American Historical Association with many other learned societies, a professor of one of the western state universities, himself a splendid specimen of humanity, described the deals that went on behind closed doors before the Ordinance of 1787 could be put through. It appears that one group of easterners, of whom the most zealous individual was a clergyman, withheld their votes and consents to the plans, in the hope of obtaining at certain low prices hundreds of thousands of acres of the new land for speculative purposes. And they won some concessions for such a program. So much for the beginnings.

When this speaker of the evening had finished, I made my way to him as a stranger, to congratulate him on the great interest and value of his address, adding: "I take a special

delight in your speech, because I am convinced that you must be a single taxpayer." From his great height he looked down at me and said smilingly, "I have voted for single tax whenever it was possible."

Second: The recent above mentioned write up of the past century of that region says nothing about the injustices and dishonesties practiced by both the Federal and local governments toward the red man in our national "appropriation" of the great West, but instead calls the roll of prominent names associated with that movement, and draws to the end of the enthusiastic account with the following:

"Today a physically full-grown and completed nation looks back a century and a half, marvels at what it sees, and learns to know itself anew."

Then, as if conscious that he might have laid himself open to attack, the writer admits that the frontier was a blessing "for our economic system," as it "absorbed surplus labor and kept everybody reasonably happy; it welcomed the victims of every depression down to the latest and gave them...whereby to earn a livelihood."

Claiming that we are still "an expanding nation full of zip and ambition, with millions out of work which can't flow west into new land" (the emphasis is mine, to call attention to this superb specimen of an Irish bull), he sums up:

"What this country needs, by all thoughtful accounts, is a good, quick, handy substitute for a frontier."

Page the ALL-PROVIDER for a "handy"-sized, fertile and unpossessed continent to be delivered at once to the U. S. A.

## PADDY'S MARKET: THE PERFECT CRIME

By R. Joseph Manfrini

For many years a certain section of Ninth avenue, in the neighborhood of Forty-second street, has been known as Paddy's Market, sometimes also designated the outer fringe of Hell's Kitchen. It was the meeting place for all sorts of peddlers, mostly those who sell fruits and vegetables. They had always been a noisy yet happy lot. Recently their gay demeanor was, to say the least, dampened when an order was dispatched from the department of markets of the city of New York instructing them to move along. That meant no more free rent.

After much litigation in the courts, the peddlers, grinning broadly, agreed that the city can have its way. A reporter of the New York Times pointed out that they still have an "ace-in-the-hole," a weapon with which they might fight for their meager margin of profit. This weapon consists of a huge empty lot which they are being allowed to use for a "nominal" consideration.

Now the plot thickens: From this point we look into the future for the denouement. What assurance have these peddlers that the privilege of using the empty lot will not be revoked as soon as they have made it, by their concerted effort, a recognized market place? What is the motive behind this seemingly altruistic gesture of the owner of the empty lot? How long before the "nominal" rent will absorb their hoped-for profit?

Gentlemen of the peddling profession, you may have had an "ace-in-the-hole," but the landlord has beaten you to the draw. You wait and see.

## Georgists, Lay Off!

From Washington, via the Herald-Tribune Bureau, comes a story of volunteer tax experts trying to advise Uncle Sam to solve his budgetary problems. We quote: "Single-taxers, followers of Henry George, are perhaps the most prolific correspondents." Well, you can't blame a fellow for trying.



# Red-Baiters are Red-Breeders

By W. D. Hoffman

Here the free spirit of mankind at  
length  
Throws its last fetters off; and who  
shall place  
A limit to the giant's unchained  
strength,  
Or curb his swiftness in the forward  
race?

—Bryant.

The dominant note of the Dies Committee Investigation to date has been one of repression and fear. One would gain from the voluminous testimony taken in Washington that American institutions are being threatened by the written and spoken word.

No evidence has been adduced of overt acts against the government, though if the committee finally turns its guns on Fascism and Nazism it may find something in that direction in the regimentation and drilling of groups bent on destroying democratic institutions.

The testimony on Communism has been confined entirely to attacks on expressions of opinion and the activities of a negligible group who at least have adopted the American way of legal action under democratic processes through a lawful political party.

Communism like Fascism has shown no tolerance of free opinion. Inimical to democratic processes as they both are, it is a strange commentary on Americanism if it is to adopt the alien idea of repression, as advocated by the witnesses of the Dies Committee.

That attitude is the chief threat to Americanism today. It would overthrow the constitution, its guarantees of free speech, and adopt the alien philosophy of repression in its place.

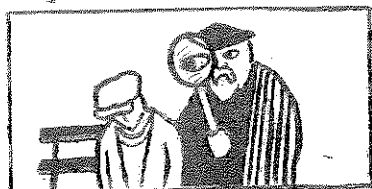
That is the most active force in behalf of Un-Americanism in the United States. To this group the Bill of Rights of the forefathers means nothing. They have been sold completely on the European idea of the muzzle. Given a free hand, they

would pass laws nullifying free speech and free press, all in the name of what they misname Americanism.

Significant in the evidence was that offered by the lady from Los Angeles representing the "Better American Federation." To those who dwell in that part of the country the activities of this organization are notorious. It was instituted by reactionary business groups to maintain Los Angeles as "the open shop town," its first platform boldly announcing its primary purpose to war on organized labor. Of recent years it has been working hand in glove with police clubbers under Captain "Red" Hains, breaking up meetings, beating prisoners, spying on civic betterment groups, compiling a "red list" that includes practically everyone in the environs of Los Angeles who opposes political corruption and organized vice. Its specialty is the making of "reports" on college professors, lecturers, reformers and progressives generally, such reports insinuating Communistic leanings to those upholding the best traditions of American citizenship.

In actuality such groups as this are doing more to implant Communism in America than any other forces. They are doing their best to label every worthwhile defence of our institutions as Communistic, thus making that word synonymous with civic righteousness and all liberalism. Under the mask of "Better Americanism" they are speeding the wrecking of Americanism and the institution of the alien doctrine of suppression and compulsion in its stead.

The witch-burnings of Salem, the accusations and spying neighbor against neighbor in that dark period are brought forcibly to mind in the testimony before the Dies Committee.



A charge is made against an enemy or a group; it is heralded by radio and the printed page throughout the country, with no refutation and no presentation of the facts. Anyone may charge anyone else with being a Communist, if he so much as raises his voice against the wholesale exploitation of our time. Fortunately, however, such tactics over-reach themselves, at least among people who think. A Hearst's desperate attempt to label the president of the United States as a Communist proved a boomerang, so the efforts of the radical-baiters in Washington will prove unavailing.

There is little menace of Communism in these United States except as the witch-burning plunderbund breeds Communism by its own Fascist activities. The American way is not the way of Moscow, Rome or Berlin. It is the way of the free discussion and free examination under a democracy. Only he who is afraid of the truth fears to hear. To bring a fallacy into the full light of day is to expose and destroy it. With Voltaire we may disagree with all that a man says but give our lives for his right to say it. In darkness error marches. Hence no real American will suppress even the Big Business propaganda of the Dies Committee. But he will insist that those attacked be given their day in court. That is the safeguard of our democracy.

## Landlords Get All

The crop control plan AAA is running into many difficulties. Of particularly significant interest is the controversy between many tenants and their landlords over compensation for diverted acres. A number of farmers have complained that their landlords are proposing to charge them cash rental for diverted acres, in addition to the split in the benefit checks between owner and tenant. In other words that part of the government bounty which the tenant receives will eventually go to rent, and his net wages will be what it was without the bounty.

# Privilege Fights With Lies

By Noah D. Alper  
Secretary, Tax Relief Association  
of California

In September, 1933, Judge Jackson H. Ralston, of Palo Alto, California, appeared before the Annual Convention of the California State Federation of Labor in Monterey and asked if this organization would support a movement to free labor and industry from the burden of unjust taxation. The result is the present Amendment offered the electorate in California.

The principal purposes of this amendment are:

1. It repeals the Sales Tax and the Use Tax, which together account for some \$92,000,000 in revenue. It repeals the Motor Vehicle License Tax which collects some \$10,000,000. It abolishes over a period of nine years all taxes on Improvements and Tangible Personal Property which today produce about \$135,000,000 in revenue.

2. It carries prohibitions which, except for police and regulatory purposes, prevent the use of tangible production values as the measure for licensing, excise, sales or other possible forms of taxation.

3. The Amendment retains existing Income, Inheritance, Gasoline, Corporation taxes, and permits severance taxes.

4. Land value taxation is retained. The bulk of some \$250,000,000 in taxes will in ten years be shifted from sales and produced property to land values.

The total bill of the people of California, including federal, state and local government, is some \$750,000,000. Neither the federal nor the state government recovers one cent by land value taxation, although their expenditures create or maintain in California vast land value benefiting a comparative few, many being absentee land holders. The local governments of California collect about \$130,000,000 in land value taxes.

Thus it can be seen that California, an empire in resources and population, collects less than 20% of its total government costs from ground rent. It permits some 80% of this publicly made value to be privately appropriated by interests who have

Now, at last, a fundamental issue is engaging the press and the people of California. The Ralston Tax Relief Amendment, providing for gradual application of land-value taxation over a period of ten years, has now been accorded a place on the November ballot. A like measure was denied the ballot two years ago on a technicality.

no more to do with making it than the other Californians. Accompanying this private "communism" of the publicly created wealth are the cries of ever-hungry politicians and bureaucrats for more confiscation of the private wealth of the people.

The tactics and character of the opposition to this Amendment can be indicated by two direct quotations.

The San Francisco Examiner, July 29, said editorially: "Divested of its cumbrous, pseudo-intellectual theorizing, the single tax proposal is simply to penalize the home owner.

"To double or triple his taxes, make him the sole financial beast of burden; to eliminate other taxes, no matter how equitable or sensible or easy to pay, and squeeze the home owner to the point that he will surrender his property."

The California Real Estate Boards and their "front," the California Association Against "Single Tax," have featured a line of propaganda in almost all the papers of the State which reads: "This vicious proposal is an exorbitant land tax—a tax on your home, your rent, your farm, your business."

The truth of the contentions of the opposition hinges on the answer to two questions. 1. Where are the land VALUES of California and who holds them? 2. Can a tax levied on the value of land be shifted?

Basic data for the use of the proponents of the Ralston Amendment was compiled by Prof. Alfred S. Niles of Stanford University. Taking the

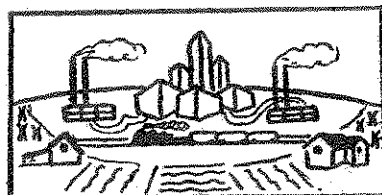
data issued by the State (or Counties) for 1936 and 1937, the following facts are revealed:

Three counties, Los Angeles (36%), San Francisco (11%) and Alameda (5.7%), of a total of 58, have more than half the total California land values. Cities have 60 per cent of the total, rural areas 40 per cent. The city areas of Los Angeles and San Francisco counties have as much land assessments as all of rural California.

To arrive at any exact idea of how much farm land value there is in rural California is almost impossible. However the basis for good judgment exists. Great discrimination in favor of city and town property assessments of land exist because in cities only location value is considered, while in farms fertility, leveling, ditching, etc., are classed as land values. Prof John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin is of the opinion that perhaps as much as 50 per cent of what is called farmers' land value should be classed as improvements. Under the Ralston Amendment the farmers will demand exemption of such values from their land assessment, for with varying rates and exemptions as between land values and improvement values it will pay them well to do so.

Considering the mineral, timber, oil, gas, water-power and water rights, right-of-ways, airport and pleasure resort areas, zones for subdivision developing near large cities, one can see that bare, unimproved farm land location and natural fertility values are but a small part of the rural values of California.

Prof. Niles' study of San Francisco illustrates the tendency of land values to largely concentrate in downtown retail and wholesale areas of any city or town. One-fourth of San Francisco's land values are in what is officially known as the Central Traffic District, an area of less than one-third of a square mile (210 acres). The land in this district is worth more than that in any ONE of 51 Counties of the State. Included in the Central Traffic District are five triangular blocks, average size 1.4 acres, the land being assessed at over \$2,100,000 in each block. These seven acres have more land value than any one of 23 coun-



ties in the state, but not a single building is assessed for as much as the land on which it stands.

Less than half of California's voters hold any title to land whatever. Of those who do hold land few hold any of great value. Most of them hold what might be termed "sleeping room only" or "hard work" land. Therefore, under land value taxation, these people would either receive no direct tax bill, or one of little consequence compared to the consumer taxes which this Amendment would remove.

The bulk of land values are concentrated in downtown, industrial and natural resource areas and have long been "owned" by a few estates, corporations and rich individuals. One would be safe in saying that, absentee land holders considered, less than ten per cent of the people of California control ninety per cent of its land values. While the question of revenue for government is ordinarily considered a public question, a comparative few, knowing that the value of their special privileges absolutely depend upon it, have ganged up on the people and business men and they have said: In tax matters, "WE ARE THE STATE."

The universal acceptance of the fact that a tax on land values cannot be shifted would seem to make any argument superfluous. Prof. Harry G. Brown summarizes the matter in his book "The Economic Basis of Tax Reform" (p. 57) when he says: "One thing at least can be asserted with positiveness, viz., that a tax on the rental value of all land, however used, can neither be shifted from one land-owner to others, nor from land-owners as a class to any other class."

Prof. William H. Kiekhofer, of the University of Wisconsin, whose text book, "Economic Principles, Problems and Policies" is used by the University of California, says: "A tax on the income of land, known as its Economic Rent, on the value of land obtained by the capitalization of its Economic Rent, cannot be shifted."

The large land holders can shift taxes on improvements, because of known economic laws, in prices, and that is why they oppose tax exemption on improvements. But taxes levied on land values they must pay out of their land rent income, which is not in any way increased by the tax. If they could shift these land value taxes why expend so much money to defeat the Ralston proposal?

In the practical working out of

the Campaign in California the forces of reaction and opposition to increased land value taxation, such as the California State Chamber of Commerce and local affiliates, the Real Estate Board, and the political hirelings, especially the California State Board of Equalization, admit that a tax on land values cannot be shifted. They constantly harp on what they term "confiscation" of land by the Amendment. They ignore the certain confiscation of wages and salaries, the earned incomes, by the tax structures they themselves set up and maintain.

In a memorandum by the Research Department of the California State Chamber of Commerce, dated April 1, 1938, there is the following: "... the effect of exemption of improvements and personal property, as an average over the state as a whole, would be to impose land value taxes equal to nearly three-fourths of the indicated rental value of land. Attempted addition of a state ad valorem tax to raise \$100,000,000 annually, would bring the average levy up to nearly 100% of average land rents, actual and potential. ... In other words, the best available evidence supports the conclusion that this measure is an attempt forcibly to graft onto existing structures of local governments the 'Single Tax' plan of confiscating land rents."

The proponents estimate that some 60% of the total annual rental the people create may be recovered for the use of the people by the success of the Ralston Amendment.

Throughout opposition literature will be found frequent references to the destruction of the market or selling price of land, which, while used as an identical term as "land value" is in fact but a part of land value.

The California State Chamber of Commerce, principal source of "misinformation" on what they call "Single Tax," in a printed piece of literature issued some time ago, said: "The proposed single tax would increase the total tax load on property and SHIFT A LARGER SHARE of the tax burden from. ... Public Utilities — Office Buildings — Expensive Residences ... To ... Small

Homes, or Flats-Farms—Unimproved Lands."

It goes on to say: "The present taxable value of public utility property is about ONE-TENTH in land and NINE TENTHS in improvements and tangible personal property. For a skyscraper business property, about one fifth or less of the total taxable value is in LAND and four-fifths or more is in the building and office equipment."

"In residence property, land is one-fourth (or less) of the total, for new and expensive homes. On older and less expensive types of homes, the ratio of LAND to total value increases. It may be a third, or a half, or even more. On farms, LAND comprises from one-half to four-fifths or more of the total value."

Of course the falsity of this propaganda is evident to one slightly conversant with the basic principles involved. The "tax shift" is NOT from ANY ONE KIND of "land AND improvements" combined in a UNIT as the California State Chamber of Commerce declares. The basic shift is SPECIFICALLY from ALL improvements and tangible personal property to land VALUES. On this basis the tax shift is absorbed by land VALUES wherever they may be. One acre in downtown Los Angeles owned by one estate or corporation may absorb as much land value tax as 10,000 acres of residential land, owned by 50,000 holders.

The California State Chamber of Commerce and the California Real Estate Boards seek to deliberately mislead the people into opposing this tax reform so essential to the preservation of Democracy and American ideals. They carefully refrain from saying, and they know it is true, that the taxes on improvements and tangible personal property used in utilities, office buildings, stores, apartments and houses for income purposes are NOW shifted to other property holders or non-property holders; to farmers, home owners, renters, and consumers as "hidden taxes" in higher prices and rents. They discreetly fail to indicate or discuss WHERE THE TAX BURDEN FALLS TODAY under the tax system they have created, and in defense of which they are willing to risk their honor.

In this connection it is so odd that what is termed "Spreading the Tax Base" is so well known to the economists and people, while the economic truths conveyed to the mind by the term "shifting" or "incidence of taxation," taught in the same



chapters as a rule in our college textbooks on economics, is not known. There is real humor and tragedy in the thought of how the "Tax Base Spread" rolls up into price and "soaks" the consumer.

With land value taxation as a base, the burden falls where the land values are; in downtown retail and wholesale and industrial districts, in large holdings of land of less value, and not in farms (family sized) and in residential areas which have little total value, and the area of which is divided among many holders. And since land value taxes cannot be shifted to non land value holders, but must be paid out of income the land now gives the holder, the holders of the bulk of the land values must contribute much more to the cost of government under this Amendment.

The California experience indicates that the real estate and land value monopolists will fight "single tax," no-tax, or any suggestion of land rent collection at the "drop of a hat." Whether it be home rule in taxation, step by step, or taking land rent all at once, they are against it. They

recognize the danger of the idea securing a foot-hold. They have seen gasoline taxes, income taxes, inheritance taxes grow from small beginnings to sizeable proportions. They fear that once the principle of land VALUE taxation is truly established the people will see its advantage to themselves.

Regardless of the correctness of the collection of the full land rent, practical considerations require a "step by step" process of abolition of taxes, and the substitution therefor of the public collection of the rental value of land. Nowhere has the "all at once" program ever had even a chance to start or succeed. On the other hand "steps" have been made. The failure to "keep stepping" does not indicate the failure of the policy.

Today a new environment exists. That the movement will produce the needed man power, thanks to the Henry George School of Social Science and other developments, there is no doubt. That it will continue "stepping" wherever started, though the first steps were taken long ago, there is also no doubt.

## Oh, To Be Fifty In California

To enjoy in slippered comfort the noble efforts of one's children—or neighbors' children—as they provide the aromatic cigar which tops a good dinner, also provided for by the brawn and sinew of youth.

Immoral? Bosh! Fact is, removing one's self from the productive field is a highly honorable deed. A job has been created. What more can a young fellow ask for? At fifty, one owes it to the huskies coming up in the world to lay down his tools, remove himself from competition, give another fellow a chance.

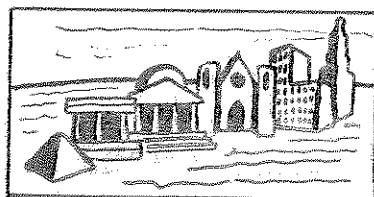
For which opportunity to work, of course, no decent boy would begrudge us oldsters the comforts of life we so richly deserve. It's a quid pro quo. They pay us for the opportunity we give them to work. Fair enough.

Nobody really pays. It all comes out of taxes. It's the government that actually hands out that thirty

dollars to every man over fifty every Thursday afternoon. Good government!

It comes out of taxes? Well, everybody pays taxes. The fellow over fifty pays his share too, doesn't he? There's a tax on everything the old fellows buy—it all goes into the common pot of government. Who's hurt?

And remember, that thirty dollars each Thursday is spent for things these young bucks make. That creates more jobs. That's what's called the "velocity of money" theory. More money spent, more jobs, more wages. That's prosperity. Swell!



'Tain't any different from what those liberals in Washington are doing, is it? What's the WPA for, anyhow? The government provides work that's not needed so that the wages they pay can be spent for other things, and that makes jobs. That's exactly what this thirty-every-Thursday does. Or, take the AAA. They pay the farmer for not working, regardless of his age. There's more humanity in this California plan. And more sense, too, because now there's more money to buy the things the farmers produce.

Oh, baloney about the state going bankrupt. California's rich. Look at the great fruit industry, the wonderful farms, oil wells, mines, the moving picture business. And the sunshine—there's millions in that sunshine. Nobody knows how much wealth there is in this glorious neck of the woods. And, what's money, anyhow? Just chips with the government stamp. Well, what's stopping the government from stamping more chips? Just the hoggish bankers who're trying to corner all the chips for themselves.

The idea is perfect. It's the answer to the country's prayer. If the rest of the Union follows the California trail the depression will be over soon and forever. Only one thing—they should increase the amount to fifty dollars, and include everybody over forty. Yes, fifty-every-Friday would be better. That would increase the amount of money in circulation, and by reducing the age limit to forty more jobs would be open. After all, this country is so rich nobody should be asked to work more than twenty years—from age twenty to age forty.

Oh, it's all so swell. In fact, the millenium. —F. C.

### The Realtor Knows

"Until the nation as a whole recognizes that land is a public utility instead of a speculative commodity, not much prospect exists either of obtaining adequate housing for the population or for reconstructing cities to make them fit for human living."

This is what Robert H. Armstrong, realtor member of the National Resources Committee, told the delegates to the National Association of Real Estate Boards convention at Pittsburg.



# III HENRY GEORGE UNORTHODOX AMERICAN

By Albert Jay Nock



## The Prophet

### VII

Thus intellectually he was out with every organized force in the whole area of discontent; out with the Socialists, out with the professional Irish, the professional laborites, professional progressivism, liberalism, and mugwumpery. His sympathies and affections however were always with the rank and file of revolt against the existing economic order; his heart was with all the disaffected, though his mind might not be entirely with them. This being so, the two years following his first visit to England fastened upon him the stigma of a mere proletarian class-leader whose principles and intentions were purely predatory. As Abram S. Hewitt most unscrupulously put it, his purpose was no more than "to array working men against millionaires."

Then at the end of these two years there happened the one thing needful to copper-rivet this reputation and make it permanent. When the labor unions of New York City decided to enter the mayoralty campaign of 1886, they looked to George as the best vote-getter in sight, and gave him their nomination. With this, whatever credit he may have had in America as an economist and philosopher vanished forever, leaving him only the uncertain and momentary prestige of a political demagog, an agitator, and a crank.

George had misgivings, not of defeat but of discredit in his role of candidate, but they came too late. The course he had chosen years before led straight to the quicksand of practical politics, and now his feet were in it. He temporized with the nomination, demanding a petition signed by thirty thousand citizens pledged to vote for him, which was immediately forthcoming—and there he was!

The campaign was uncommonly bitter. The other candidates were Hewitt and Theodore Roosevelt, and

This instalment completes the portrait of Henry George by Albert Jay Nock. So much is revealed of the character and mind of the great thinker in this essay, as well as of the momentous times in which his life was spent, that the publishers have decided to reprint it in pamphlet form. Orders are now being accepted at 5c per copy.

their methods bore hard on George in ways that Hewitt, at any rate, must somewhat have gagged at, for he was a man of breeding—still, he lent himself to them. It was easy to vilify George, because the allegation that he was a sheer proletarian leader was true enough, as far as this campaign went; he was, officially and by nomination, a labor candidate. Some among his supporters, of course, understood his ideas and purposes and believed in them, but these were relatively few; the majority were mere Adullamites. Hewitt won the election nominally—in all reasonable likelihood he was counted in—but George's vote was so large that "The New York Times" saw in it "an event demanding the most serious attention and study"; while "The St. James Gazette," of London, in a strong grandmotherly vein, advised "all respectable Americans to forget the trumpery of party fights and political differentism, and face the new danger threatening the commonwealth."

As far as George was concerned, there was no need of this warning, for his day in politics was done. This one campaign was the end of him.

He was no longer a man to be feared or even reckoned with. To those on the inside of practical politics, he was henceforth hopelessly in the discard as the worst of all liabilities, a defeated candidate. To America at large, he was only another in the innumerable array of bogus prophets and busted spellbinders. Then, too, the temper of the times changed. Disaffection broke up into sects, and popular attention was soon added by a kaleidoscopic succession of men and issues cleverly manipulated on the public stage—Cleveland and "reform," Hanna and the full dinner-pail, Peffer and populism, McKinley and imperialism, Bryan and free silver, Roosevelt and progressivism, foreign embarrassments, jingoism, the Spanish War, Mrs. Mary Ellen Lease, Mrs. Eddy, Carry Nation, Jerry Simpson, La Follette and the Wisconsin idea, organized charity, "foundations" for this-or-that, the rise of the higher learning, woman's suffrage, the Anti-Saloon League, "commission government" for cities, the initiative and referendum—was ever such a welter of nostrums and nostrum-peddlers turned loose anywhere on earth in the same length of time? No wonder that Mr. Jefferson, mournfully surveying America's prospects, said, "What a Bedlamite is man!" Before a year was over, George had dropped into a historical place amidst all this ruck, from which he has never emerged, as just one more exploded demagog. He ran for a state office in 1887, but got little more than half the votes in New York City, his stronghold, that he had got in the mayoralty campaign only a year before.

The last ten years of his life were devoted largely to a weekly paper, "The Standard," in which he continued to press his economic doctrine, but it amounted to very little. He revisited England, where he found his former popularity still holding good. He also made a trip around





the world, and was received magnificently in his former home, California, and in the British colonies. His main work during this period, however, was writing his "Science of Political Economy," which his death interrupted; fortunately not until it was so nearly finished that the rest of his design for it could be easily filled in.

In this period, too, his circumstances, for the first time in his life, were fairly easy. He had received some small gifts and legacies, and latterly a couple of well-to-do friends saw to it that he should finish his work without anxiety. It is an interesting fact that George stands alone in American history as a writer whose books sold by the million, and as an orator whose speech attracted thousands, yet who never made a dollar out of either.

His death had a setting of great drama or of great pathos, according to the view that one chooses to take of it. The municipal monstrosity called the Greater New York was put together in the late 'nineties, and some of George's friends and associates, still incorrigibly politically minded, urged on him the forlorn hope of running as an independent candidate for the mayoralty in 1897. Seth Low, then president of Columbia University, and Robert van Wyck, who was the impregnable Tammany's candidate, were in the field—the outcome was clear—yet George acceded. It is incredible that he could have had the faintest hope of winning; most probably he thought it would be one more chance, almost certainly his last, to bear testimony before the people of his adopted city with the living voice.

He had had a touch of aphasia in 1890, revealing a weakness of the blood vessels in his brain, and his condition now was such that every physician he consulted told him he could not possibly stand the strain of a campaign; and so it proved. He opened his campaign at a rapid pace, speaking at one or more meetings every night, nearly always with all his old clearness and force. Three weeks before election he spoke at four meetings in one evening, and went to bed at the Union Square Hotel, much exhausted. Early next morning his wife awoke to find him in an adjoining room, standing in the attitude of an orator, his hand on the back of a chair, his head erect and his eyes open. He repeated the one word "yes" many times, with varying inflections, but on becoming silent he never spoke again. Mrs.

George put her arm about him, led him back to his bed with some difficulty, and there he died.

### VIII

"Progress and Poverty" is the first and only thorough, complete, scientific inquiry ever made into the fundamental cause of industrial depressions and involuntary poverty. The ablest minds of the century attacked and condemned it—Professor Huxley, the Duke of Argyll, Goldwin Smith, Leo XIII, Frederic Harrison, John Bright, Joseph Chamberlain. Nevertheless, in a preface to the definite edition, George said what very few authors of a technical work have ever been able to say, that he had not met with a single criticism or objection that was not fully anticipated and answered in the book itself. For years he debated its basic positions with any one who cared to try, and was never worsted.

Yet, curiously, though there have been a number of industrial depressions since George's death in 1897, some of them very severe, the book has been so completely obscured by the reputation which George's propagandist enterprises fastened on him, that one would not know it had been written. In the whole course of the recent repression, for instance, no utterance of any man at all prominent in our public life, with one exception, would show that he had ever heard of it. The president of Columbia University resurrected George in a commencement address two years ago, and praised him warmly, but from what he said he seems not to have read him.

It is interesting, too, now that successive depressions are bearing harder and harder on the capitalist, precisely as George predicted, to observe that George and his associate anti-monopolists of forty years ago are turning out to be the best friends that the capitalist ever had. Standing staunchly for the rights of capital, as against collectivist proposals to confiscate interest as well as rent, George formulated a defense of those rights that is irrefragable. All those who have tried to bite that file have merely broken their teeth. There is a certain irony in the fact that the

class which has now begun to suffer acutely from the recurring prostrations of industry and the ever-growing cost of stateism, is the very one which assailed George most furiously as an "apostle of anarchy and revolution." Yet the rapid progress of collectivism and stateism could have been foreseen; there was every sign of it, and the capitalist class should have been the one to heed those signs devoutly and interpret them intelligently. Bismarck saw what was coming, and even Herbert Spencer predicted terrible times ahead for England, and still more terrible times for America—a long run of stateism and collectivism, then "civil war, immense bloodshed, ending in a military despotism of the severest type."

### IX

Like John Bright, nearly every one credited the "American inventor" with a brand-new discovery in his idea of confiscating economic rent. George did in fact come by the idea independently, but others whom he had never heard of came by it long before him. Precisely the same proposal had been made in the eighteenth century by men whom Mr. Bright might have thought about snubbing—the French school known as the Economists, which included Quesnay, Turgot, du Pont de Nemours, Mirabeau, le Trosne, Gournay. They even used the term *l'impôt unique*, "the single tax," which George's American disciples arrived at independently, and which George accepted. The idea of confiscating rent also occurred to Patrick Edward Dove at almost the same time that it occurred to George. It had been broached in England almost a century earlier by Thomas Spence, and again in Scotland by William Ogilvie, a professor at Aberdeen. George's doctrine of the confiscation of social values was also explicitly anticipated by Thomas Paine, in his pamphlet called "Agrarian Justice."

George's especial merit is not that of original discovery, though his discovery was original—as much so as those of Darwin and Wallace. It was simply not new; Turgot had even set forth the principle on which George formulated the law of wages, though George did not know that any one had done so. George's great merit is that of having worked out his discovery to its full logical length in a complete system, which none of his predecessors did; not only establishing fundamental economics as a true science, but also discerning and



clearly marking out its natural relations with history, politics, and ethics.

The key to an understanding of George's career may be found in the story that Lincoln Steffens tells about an afternoon ride with the devil on the top of a Fifth Avenue bus. The devil was in uncommonly good spirits that day, and entertained Steffens with a fine salty line of reminiscences half way up the avenue, when Steffens suddenly caught sight of a man on the sidewalk who was carefully carrying a small parcel of truth. Steffens nudged the devil, who gave the man a casual glance, but kept on talking, apparently not interested. When Steffens could get a word in, he said, "See here, didn't you notice that that man back there had got hold of a little bit of truth?"

"Yes, of course I noticed it," replied the devil. "Why?"

"But surely that's a very dangerous thing," Steffens said. "Aren't you going to do something about it?"

"No hurry, my dear fellow," the devil answered indulgently. "It's a simple matter. I'll be running across him again one of these days, and I'll get him to organize it!"

It is impossible, of course, to guess what George's historical position would now be if he had had less of the Covenanter spirit and more of the experienced and penetrating humor of a Socrates, with a corresponding distrust of republican meth-

od in the propagation of doctrine. The question is an idle one, yet to a student of civilization the great interest of George's career is that at every step he makes one ask it. Perhaps in any case the Gadarene rout would have trampled him to the same depth of obscurity. Probably—almost certainly—his doctrine would have been picked up and wrested to the same service of a sectarian class-politics that would have left it unrecognizable. Experience, humor, and reason go for very little when they collide with what Ernest Renan so finely called *la matérialisme vulgaire, la bassesse de l'homme intéressé*. Yet one can hardly doubt that George would emerge from obscurity sooner, and his doctrine stand in a clearer and more favorable light if he had taken another course.

Much more important, however, is the question whether George's faith in the common man's collective judgment was justified; whether such faith is ever justified. Does the common man possess the force of intellect to apprehend the processes of reason correctly, or the force of character to follow them disinterestedly? The whole future of eighteenth-century political doctrine, the doctrine on which our republic was nominally established, hangs on this question—the question, in short, whether republicanism has not put a burden on the common man which is greater than he can bear.

George never had a moment's doubt

of the answer. Yet, seeing what sort of political leadership the common man invariably chose to follow, and the kind of issue that invariably attracted him, he ended the argument of "Progress and Poverty" with a clear warning, too long to be quoted here, against the wholesale corruption of the common man by the government which the common man himself sets up. It is well worth reading now, whether one finds the root of this corruption in the common man's weakness of mind and character, or whether one finds it, as George did, in the unequal distribution of wealth. Whatever one may think about that, there is no possible doubt that George's warning has the interest of absolutely accurate prophecy.

It is rather remarkable, finally, since the reading public's whim for biography has set writers to pawing over so many American worthies, that no one has written a competent full-length biography of Henry George, who was not only one of America's very greatest men, but also was in so many respects typically American, and whose spectacular career was also so typical. His disabilities were precisely those of the civilization that produced him, and his life was sacrificed on the altar of those disabilities, precisely where the life of that civilization is being sacrificed. What more by way of interest could an able and honest biographer ask?

## Board of Trustees Defines Policy on Organization

NEW YORK—The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the board of trustees of the Henry George School of Social Science at a meeting held July 26, 1938:

The trustees are of the belief that the educational work of the School can best be promoted through the efforts of volunteer teachers and secretaries.

The Trustees are further convinced that the formal organization of the graduates is not necessary as an aid to the teachers and secretaries in carrying out their functions, and that in many cases may actually add to their problems by the promotion of programs irrelevant to or at cross purposes with the strictly educational objective of the School.

The School's policy of academic objectivity, which necessarily involves the avoidance of any political ideology or propagandist purpose, encourages people of all economic and sociological beliefs to investigate the courses offered by the School. Any intimation, no matter how indirect, of a political purpose, would immediately alienate the minds of people who are earnestly seeking an un-

biased understanding of social problems.

The definite statement of this policy in printed matter, newspaper advertising and at opening sessions constitutes a promise with which the Trustees feel the School must keep faith, and any attempt on the part of the School to establish or encourage any organization which is or might become political in purpose would be a breach of that faith.

Furthermore, a strict adherence to this policy enables the class secretaries and teachers to enjoy the cooperation of civic, religious and educational institutions in securing classroom space and enrollments.

In view of these considerations the Trustees deem it their duty to advise against and disclaim responsibility for the formation or action of any organization of graduates whatsoever, and to state that no organization is authorized to speak for or represent the Henry George School of Social Science.

The Trustees are firmly convinced that the ideals of the School will be best advanced by the thought of its founder, Oscar H. Geiger, as expressed by Henry George: "Social reform is not to be se-

cured by noise and shouting; by complaints and denunciation; by the formation of parties, or the making of resolutions; but by the awakening of thought and the progress of ideas. Until there be correct thought, there cannot be right action; and when there is correct thought, right action will follow."

## Staff of 98 Meets

NEW YORK—The opening Fall meeting of the New York faculty will be held at the Martha Washington Hotel on the evening of September 29. Thirty class secretaries and sixty-eight instructors have been invited to attend this meeting to receive instructions for the term opening the following Monday at the new school house, to learn of their assignments, to get acquainted. Dinner will be served at 6:30.

## August Sales

NEW YORK — Robert Schalkenbach Foundation reports that during the "dog" days of August, 635 books of all titles were distributed, including 501 copies of "Progress and Poverty." Sales at the School headquarters amounted to 129 copies during that month.

## NEWS OF THE CRUSADE FOR ECONOMIC ENLIGHTENMENT

Edited by Margery Warriner

**Fifteen Hundred Students Expected  
At Fall Opening, October 3rd**

NEW YORK—On September 13 three moving vans—plus several private automobiles carrying valuables—transferred the School's effects from 211 West 79th Street to the new home at 30 East 29th Street. Since then plasterers, plumbers and painters have been transforming this five-story structure, formerly used as a telephone exchange, into an efficient and attractive educational edifice. Classes will open on October third. The renovations will hardly be completed and the finishing touches will have to be done after school has started.

At this writing nearly one thousand students have enrolled. The constant stream of telephone inquiries, to say nothing of the usual mail enrollments, indicate that the opening week will see fifteen hundred new students in the classrooms. The registrar's office on the street floor is besieged every hour of the day, and up to ten o'clock in the evening, with inquirers, buyers of books, visiting Georgists, volunteer workers.

Classes in Fundamental Economics will be held every evening in the week, except Saturday and Sunday, from 5.30 p.m. to 7.30 p.m. and from 8 to 10 p.m. Also

on Saturdays from 2 to 4 p.m. "Principles of International Trade" will be taught on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday at 8 p.m., and on Saturday at 2 p.m. The "Science of Political Economy" will be given on Wednesday and on Thursday at 8 p.m. On Friday at 8 p.m. there will be a course on the "Philosophy of Henry George."

On Monday, Tuesday and Thursday at 8 p.m. three classes in "Social Problems" will be conducted, with the view of ascertaining whether the study of this popular book in a five weeks' course will facilitate the understanding of and interest in "Progress and Poverty."

An interesting feature this year will be relief of instructors of all detail work in connection with the classes by secretaries, all graduates and all volunteers.

Eight class rooms only on the second and third floors will be used this year. The development of more instructors must precede any further enlargement of the School. Teachers training classes, to which only those who have studied George's three main books are invited, will be started in November, so as to be prepared for the February term.

**Omaha Gets Started**

OMAHA, Neb.—V. E. David and Paul Koons will instruct two classes of about 20 students each in "Progress and Poverty," and A. W. Falvey a class of about 15 in "Protection or Free Trade." Twelve students have been enrolled in the correspondence course up to the time of writing. Mrs. Isabel Alcorn Bliven has been elected President of the Henry George Fellowship to succeed Earl Truex, who has left Omaha for Laramie, Wyoming. Mr. Truex plans to carry on the HGSSS educational work there. The Fellowship annual dinner was held on Sept. 9, at the Hotel Paxton. Harold Becker represented Omaha at the Congress held in Toronto, September 7, 8 and 9.

**Hamilton on Campus**

HAMILTON, Ohio—On October 13 the first class in this city in Fundamental Economics and Social Philosophy will be opened at the Y.M.C.A. building by Edward F. Alexander. The sponsor is Dr. Mark Miltkin.

**Still Plugging**

NORTHPORT, Long Island—"I have worked my whole life working for economic justice," is the burden of a two column interview with Charlotte O. Schetter which appeared in the Northport Journal. We who know her know how true this statement is. Of course she gets in a good word for the School.

**Write Your Congressman**

NEW YORK—Lancaster M. Greene is in receipt of a letter from Ramsey L. Black, Third Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D.C., noting his application for a special series of postage stamps to commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the birth of Henry George, American philosopher and economist. The Third Assistant Postmaster General advises that special stamp programs are not formulated until the early part of the years in which the anniversaries occur, and the application will be considered later. Further applications from Georgists would be in order to attain the desired commemoration stamp.

**Autogiro Georgist**

NORFOLK, Conn.—Joseph R. Carroll advises that the article on the autogiro in the September "Popular Mechanics" magazine entitled "The Missing Link in Aviation," by John H. Miller, is in reality by John M. Miller, a very able Georgist. Mr. Miller is the leading American authority on the autogiro and holds many "firsts"; first American citizen to own an autogiro, first to pilot one across the continent from east to west and from west to east, first to fly one west of the Mississippi River, first to loop-the-loop in one, and last but not least, first instructor to hold a summer Henry George Extension class. This class was held at South Egremont, Mass., in 1935.

**Arden Birthday Meeting**

ARDEN, Delaware—An annual feature here on the first Sunday in September is the Henry George birthday meeting, which was held this year in the Open-Air Theatre laid out by Frank Stephens. Henry W. Hetzel presided. Speakers were: Harold Sudeil, veteran Georgist and almost the only survivor of the "Delaware Campaign"; Julian Hickok, teacher in the Philadelphia HGSSS, Grace Isabel Colbron of New York, Katherine Ross of Arden, and Thomas Jefferson Davis of Philadelphia. Mrs. Katherine Ross had a booth at which tracts were distributed, books sold and subscriptions to The Freeman taken.

**T. T. Class in Philadelphia**

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — A Teacher's Training class will be held at the Social Service Building on Thursday evenings, beginning December 1st and continuing through to February 9th, Julian P. Hickok, secretary of HGSSS, reports.

**Topeka After High School**

TOPEKA, Kan.—George Hughes writes that graduates of the classes here are actively pressing for permission to hold their classes in the new High School Building. A petition to the School Board is being presented and many locally influential signatures in support have been obtained. This petition in part draws their attention to the Charter of the HGSSS by the University of New York, and requests the use of a class room in the Topeka Adult Night School.

**Lecture Guild Started**

NEW YORK CITY—Walter Fairchild reports the Graded Tax Committee has developed the New Frontier Lecture Guild, an educational venture which will conduct a series of civic betterment lectures, illustrated by natural color photographs. The lecturers will include Charles Belous, City Councilman from Queens, Alexander Chopin, director Long Island Press Home Owners Bureau, William Epton, City Planning Committee, Walter Fairchild, Chairman Graded Tax Committee, J. Charles Laue, Secretary, Tax Department, New York City, and William H. Quasha, of the City Club. Particulars can be obtained from Miss Elsie Horvath, Secretary, New Frontier Lecture Guild, 11 Park Place, Room 205, New York City.

**A Freshman**

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—To meet the entrance requirements of Los Angeles City College, Bill Truehart, of the Georgist Trueharts, turned in a Georgist theme. He passed. Mrs. Truehart, who recently completed the teaching of a class in San Diego (22 graduates) will carry on here.



## Toronto Entertains Thirteenth Annual Henry George Congress

TORONTO, Canada—The 13th Annual Henry George Congress and the first convention of The Tax Relief Association met here September 7, 8, and 9. The Congress enjoyed the hospitality of the Single Tax Association of Canada, of which J. H. L. Patterson is president and Herbert T. Owens, secretary. The local committee, consisting of Alan C. Thompson, Chairman; J. A. McCorquodale, secretary; J. Roy Cadwell, Ernest J. Farmer, Archie McColl, H. T. Owens, J. H. L. Patterson, A. C. Ross, and Miss Dorothy E. Coate, ensured the smooth running of the daily schedules and the giving out of information to the members.

The Congress held morning, afternoon, and evening sessions and many Georgists were heard from, reporting past, present and future activities. J. H. L. Patterson presided over the welcome to delegates and a Know-Each-Other program was conducted by Col. Rule, whereby each member introduced him-or-herself briefly, outlining how he or she became a Georgist. It was interesting to note that in the majority of cases each had been taken in hand by a confirmed Georgist, either personally or through the HGSSS.

Miss Margaret E. Bateman, a graduate of the Montreal classes, gave an informative world survey of Georgist progress which was appreciatively received by the Congress. With Miss Bateman's permission this survey will appear in *The Freeman* and "Land and Freedom" in order that it may reach a wider public.

Frank Chodorov, Director of HGSSS, outlined the work of the School in New York and gave details of plans for the coming classes starting on Oct. 3 in the new School at 30 East 29th Street. Speaking only for New York, he stressed the

voluntary activities of the graduates as teachers, writers, research workers, and giving aid in the routine office work of the School, and urged the Extension Schools to find work for their graduates in similar ways rather than encouraging the formation of organizations.

John L. Monte followed with a report of the work of the Extension Schools and answered questions raised in connection with work in the field and the manner in which it is conducted. Mrs. McAvoy of the Women's Auxiliary, Washington, D.C., told of her work in assembling a concordance of Progress & Poverty. Mr. Lancaster Greene endorsed the work of the School and asked for whole-hearted work in expanding its scope and obtaining results through education.

J. Lawrence Smith, of Detroit, outlined the plans of the Tax Relief Association, which were endorsed by the assemblage.

Harold S. Bittenheim, Editor of *The American City*, read a scholarly paper entitled "Why Handicap Housing by Unwise Taxation," and among reports from the field, Ernest J. Farmer gave an outline of what is going on in Canada, with particular reference to progress in British Columbia and Saskatchewan.

The Canadian hosts arranged a drive around Toronto for visitors, giving them an opportunity to see the business district, University, School, and Government buildings, as well as homes and gardens.

Hon. Peter Witt of Cleveland, Ohio, and Hon. A. W. Roebuck, K. C., Member for Bellwoods in the Ontario Legislature, addressed the banquet closing the Congress, and under the presidential eye of J. H. L. Patterson further brief speeches were made by some of those present, giving thanks and appreciation.

### Middletown Again

MIDDLETOWN, N. Y.—Candace B. Fuller, extension secretary, reports the opening of the fall class at the high school building on October 3.

### Radio Talks

NEW YORK—Through the good offices of Charles H. Ingersoll two radio talks will be given over WBIL. On September 25, Director Chodorov will speak on "A Successful Experiment in Adult Education." Anna George de Mille follows on October 16 with a talk on Henry George.

### Georgists Exhibit

NEW YORK—Exhibitors at the American Hobby Show being held at the Spear Auditorium, 22 West 34th St., from Sept. 26 to Oct. 8 include: Benjamin M. Burger—First Edition books by Henry George and original letters; Dr. S. A. Schneidman (an Instructor in HGSSS)—Carved ivories; and Dorothy Sara (an advanced student)—Contemporary handwritings.

### Informative Experiment

ROBERTSVILLE, Conn.—Joseph R. Carroll reports that his recently completed class on International Trade (text-book, "Protection or Free Trade") indicates that while those who had not previously taken the course in Fundamental Economics were stimulated to further study, the results show conclusively that it is inadvisable to give this course to those who are unfamiliar with "Progress and Poverty." Seventeen of the thirty-seven students who took this course had not taken the fundamental course, and their average attendance was only two sessions; on the whole their understanding of and interest in the subject was far below that of the other twenty.

### New Educational Venture

TORONTO, Canada—The Sales Tax Repeal Association, A. I. Mackay, Secretary, is offering both class and correspondence courses based upon Harry Gunnison Brown's "Economic Basis of Tax Reform."

### Publicity

NEW YORK—On August 10, the School sent to the local newspapers a brief announcement of the purchase of its new building. The next morning the *Herald-Tribune* called up for a "story"—and nearly a column of this second largest metropolitan morning newspaper was devoted to an account of the School, its purpose, its history, its method. Every newspaper in New York followed.

Next came a "research worker" from Time, a national weekly with a circulation of three quarters of a million. The story featured with a photograph of the Director taken by the staff photographer appeared in the Education department of the issue of August 22nd.

The opening item in the *Herald Tribune* started an avalanche of news stories about the School. It was copied in a number of smaller newspapers throughout the country. The Reid Editorial Service of Harrisburg, Pa., sent out a "boiler plate" editorial under the caption "Persistence of the Single Tax" which was printed, as issued or re-written, by many papers. We have one from the *Newark, N. J., News*, and one from the *Willows (Cal.) Journal*.

As a result of this gratuitous publicity a large number of inquiries about the course and the school have been received from all parts of the country.

### Rochester Forever

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Dr. Harvey H. Newcomb announces the opening of two classes in Fundamental Economics and Social Philosophy during the week of October 11.

### 1939 Congress in New York

TORONTO, Ontario, Canada—The executive committee of the Henry George Foundation accepted the invitation of the New York delegation to hold the 1939 Congress in the metropolis. The date of the opening session decided upon will be Wednesday, August 30th, and it was agreed to continue sessions until Saturday, September 2, on which day appropriate ceremonies celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Henry George will be held.

It is expected that a group from the International Union for Land Value Taxation and Free Trade will attend. Georgists from foreign countries as well as from all parts of this country will be attracted to the congress because of the World's Fair in New York at that time. The Monday following the session will be a legal holiday, thus affording visitors another day either for travelling or visiting the Fair.

The School has suggested that its spacious building be held for sessions of the congress, and for committee meetings. Classes will be conducted so that Georgists not acquainted with the school method may observe the work. At least one session will be held at the Fair grounds, where a Georgist display will be on view.

## Correspondence Course

NEW YORK—In the Sunday, September 12, issue of the New York Times Magazine section, appeared the first of a series of one-inch announcements of the free correspondence course of the HGSSS. The following day 22,000 invitations to this course were put into the mails. From previous experience this effort, plus the usual trickling in from miscellaneous sources, it is expected that one thousand new enrollments will be received by November, when a similar mailing will take place. December is an "idle" month, due to the holidays. In January, the work of getting enrollments will be renewed, and continued through May, when the summer lull makes further efforts unproductive. By June 1 there will be 5,000 new students taking the correspondence course. Names are requested.

## H. G. Club in New Castle

NEW CASTLE, Pa.—53 students who have completed the course here have formed the Henry George Club of New Castle, Pa. Officers elected are as follows: Chas. W. Means, President, Miss Esther Kaufman, Vice President, Mrs. W. A. Confer, Secretary of the Treasury, and William J. Ayers, Secretary. Directors of the Club are C. M. Eddy, C. C. Meekison, Paul White, J. H. Davis and Congressman Charles R. Eckert of Beaver, Pa.

On Sept. 1, the Club met at Orr's Hall, Grove Street, to celebrate the 9th anniversary of the birthday of Henry George. Elmer O'Neil acted as master of ceremonies and speakers were Rev. Semolite of Rochester, Charles Jones and Congressman Charles R. Eckert.

## East Bay Extension

BERKELEY, Calif.—Grace A. Johnston, secretary of the East Bay extension, reports an enrollment of seventy-five in the five Berkeley and Oakland classes. An advanced class, conducted by E. C. Redepinning, opened September 12, promises excellent teaching material.

## Toronto School Headquarters

TORONTO, Canada—After October 1 the Toronto Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science will be located at 989 Bay Street.

## Lighting Up Times Square

NEW YORK—Joe Baruch, president of Concord Books, Inc., which operates bookstores on the "Gay White Way" writes to the Robert Schalkenbach Foundation: "On Times Square every book must pay its way. Lots of books we would like to handle don't do that and we cannot afford to carry them. But 'Progress and Poverty' pays its way and more. We keep 10 or 15 copies on the counters in both our stores. They sell without any particular effort on our part."

## Stokes of England

LONDON, England—R. R. Stokes, M.P., reports that at least ten classes will be conducted in London this winter, and that no less than five classes will be held in his constituency in Suffolk. Classes in other parts of the country are being planned.

There is a general move, he writes, led by the London County Council, to obtain legislation enabling local authorities to rate site values. The Parliamentary Labor Party, of which Mr. Stokes is secretary, have a Land Values Group of thirty-three members.

## Wallis Tells England

NEW YORK—Louis Wallis, author and lecturer, whose work in interpreting Georgist economics to business men is well known in this country, has just returned from a lecture tour in England. His speech on "A Square Deal for Business" was enthusiastically received by nearly two hundred London Rotarians meeting at Hotel Cecil on August 10, and his speech is reproduced fully in the publication of this organization. It is a masterful presentation of the George fiscal policy, effectively interwoven with historical references and taxation facts of particular interest to Englishmen.

A similar address a week previous before Liverpool Rotarians received excellent and full press reviews in morning and evening newspapers having a combined circulation of over a million copies.

Mr. Wallis reports that he has under advisement an offer of an extension lecture tour offered him as a result of these speeches.

## Cincinnati Going Strong

CINCINNATI, Ohio—Seven fall classes in this city will open the fall term, according to George W. Hughes, extension secretary. Following is the list of classroom locations and dates of opening sessions:

Union Central Bldg., 4th & Vine	Wed., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m.
Hughes High School, Clifton & McMillan	Wed., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m.
Walnut Hills Commercial School, Ashland & Burdett	Mon., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m.
Norwood Y.M.C.A., Sherman & Wallers	Fri., Oct. 14, 7:30 p.m.
St. Luke's Evang. Church, 3315 Glenmore	Thur., Oct. 13, 7:30 p.m.
Oldsmobile Sales Room, 8456 Vine St.	Wed., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m.
Wyoming Civic Center, Worthington & Springfield Pike	Mon., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m.

## Chicago's Twenty-Four

CHICAGO, Ill.—From Henry L. T. Tideman, extension secretary, the following roster of Fall classes—with the notation that more will follow—is received:

No.	Day	Time	Starts	Location	Instructor
1.	Sun	3:00	Sep 11	Duncan YMCA 1515 Monroe	Henry L. T. Tideman
2.	Mon	7:30	Sep 12	11 South LaSalle, Room 1415	M. E. Welty
3.	Mon	8:00	Sep 12	So. Shore Temple, 7215 S. Jeffrey	H. B. Loomis
4.	Mon	8:00	Sep 12	Wilson YMCA, 1725 Wilson	Henry L. T. Tideman
5.	Mon	8:00	Sep 12	Englewood YMCA, 6545 S. Union Ave.	H. C. Gollnick
6.	Tue	7:00	Sep 13	30 North LaSalle, Room 309	J. W. Bauer
7.	Tue	8:00	Sep 13	Division YMCA, 1621 Division St.	G. M. Strachan
8.	Wed	7:00	Sep 14	180 W. Washington St., Room 502	G. K. Carus
9.	Wed	8:00	Sep 14	So. Chicago YMCA, 3039 E. 91 St.	B. G. Leake
10.	Wed	8:00	Sep 14	Lincoln-Belmont YMCA, 3333 Marshfield	P. J. Kantrowitz
11.	Wed	8:00	Sep 14	Gladstone Store, Riverdale & Leyden Ave.	J. Z. White
12.	Thu	7:00	Sep 15	180 W. Washington, Room 502	H. L. Bröller
13.	Thu	8:00	Sep 15	Wabash YMCA, 3763 Wabash	J. G. Guiles
14.	Thu	8:00	Sep 15	H. M. Dick Hebrew School, 3909 Congress	B. E. Lewin (Miss)
15.	Thu	8:00	Sep 15	North Ave. YMCA, 1538 Labarree St.	Edw. Atlas
16.	Fri	7:30	Sep 16	30 North LaSalle, Room 309	A. P. Anderson
17.	Fri	8:00	Sep 16	Hennessey's Undertaking Parlors, 9145 Ashland	F. J. Leverenz
18.	Fri	7:30	Sep 16	Evanston Public Lib., 1703 Orrington, Evanston	J. B. Schaub
19.	Mon	8:00	Sep 19	11901 S. 93rd Ave., Palos Park	Mrs. I. Monroe
20.	Tue	7:30	Sep 20	Immanuel Evangelical Church, 7008 Michigan	G. A. White
21.	Wed	7:30	Sep 21	Addison Cong. Church, 2132 Addison	Mrs. E. C. Goedde
22.	Wed	8:00	Sep 21	Maxwell YMCA, 1012 Maxwell St.	S. M. Levin
23.	Thu	7:00	Sep 22	Austin Library, 5609 Race Ave.	W. R. Becker
24.	Fri	8:00	Sep 23	Res. S. M. Levin, 3312 Ogden Ave.	S. M. Levin

Advanced Class in Room 502 180 W. Washington, starts Sept. 19, 8:00 p.m., H. L. T. Tideman.

## 99th Birthday Celebration

CHICAGO, Ill. — Commemorating the 99th birthday of Henry George, the Single Tax League of Chicago held a dinner party on September 2 at the Central Y.M.C.A. Dinner was served in cafeteria style and although only forty reservations were made and seventy-five guaranteed to the Management, a hundred and fifty turned up. Mr. George T. Tideman reports that they ate the cupboard bare. Francis X. Neilson and John Z. White spoke of Henry George, his writings, learning, Christian precepts and sympathetic understanding of man. J. Benton Schaub, a graduate of the Chicago School, spoke on its behalf and reviewed its phenomenal growth, mentioning that the pressing need for the knowledge offered was sufficient reason for attendance and support. George C. Olcott, treasurer of the Single Tax League of Chicago, was honorable toast master, and gave amusing anecdotes from his long association in the Georgist movement.

## Ingersoll Broadcasts

NEW YORK—The weekly broadcast schedule of Charles H. Ingersoll, President of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, is as follows:—

SUN.—8:15-8:45 p.m.; WBLI—Public Service Forum.

MON.—1:30 p.m. WWRL; 2:30 p.m. WCNW.

TUE.—10:45 p.m. WFAS (White Plains).

WED.—3:45 p.m. WCNW; 4:45 p.m. WLTH.

THUR.—8:15 a.m. WLTH.

FRI.—9:45 a.m. WPEN; 12:45 p.m. WDAS (Phil.); 2:30 p.m. WSNJ (Bridge-ton); 7:00 p.m. WTNJ (Trenton).



# One Year Old

Volume One is completed. With this issue *The Freeman* celebrates its first birthday.

A publication suffers during its inception from trials and tribulations that are akin to those of any growing thing. Editorial policy, its life-blood, must be established. The mechanical make-up, especially when circumscribed by a limited budget, presents a difficult problem. Finding and developing a staff of writers—volunteers all—who can interpret events and trends in the light of a definite editorial policy is a continuing job. Searching for sources of information, finding of pertinent articles, reading and interpreting news, research work, reading and editing copy—all this had to be organized.

It has been a work of love—a cherished pleasure—for those who have engaged in this publishing venture. All told, probably a hundred Georgists have had more or less to do with bringing this baby through its first year. Now that it is beginning to walk further careful nurturing will be necessary lest it bump its head too often on the strange impediments that confront a groping, growing publication. More articles, more news items, more carefully written stories—and

More circulation. So that no price-inhibition might impede the progress of *The Freeman* its annual subscription price was made as low as production costs permitted. But, fifty cents leaves no surplus for the cost of getting circulation. The editorial staff and the typists who volunteer their

services must be supplemented by a volunteer staff of subscription solicitors. Every reader should appoint himself to this staff, not only that *The Freeman* may live, but also that its influence may reach a wider area.

This publication can be self-supporting—a goal rarely attained by a special purpose publication, without advertising—if five hundred subscriptions per month are received. That is, 6000 per year. During the first year *The Freeman* fell short of this goal by 1600. It is reasonable to expect that we shall go “over the top” during the second year. But that will not satisfy anybody—least of all the readers, every one of whom is devoted to the spreading of the doctrine of Freedom embodied in the editorial policy, every one of whom looks for a circulation of many thousands.

There is only one way for *The Freeman* to increase its sphere of influence—only one possible circulation campaign. And that is for every reader to get another reader—NOW.

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